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of

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for having passed the M.A. Examination in the Second Class with the highest marks in History.

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A HISTORY OF EUROPE

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OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA

A
HISTORY OF EUROPE

BY
A. J. GRANT
OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN LEEDS UNIVERSITY

"Ego misi vos metere quod vos non laborastis; alii laboraverunt et vos in labores eorum introistis"

WITH MAPS AND COLOURED CHART

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TO

E. A. G.

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PREFACE

IN this book, as in my "Outlines of European History" published a few years ago, I have tried to tell the story of the development of Europe without including any narrative of the events of our own islands or of the British Empire. This plan was not adopted without much consideration. No one can be more convinced than I am that the history of England and Great Britain is a part of European History which cannot be understood without reference to the whole of which it is a part. Yet when I came to consider what sort of a sketch could be included I found that it would necessarily be so meagre as not to deserve the space which it would occupy. Moreover I cannot believe that there will be many readers of my book who have not already made themselves acquainted with the outlines of the history of our own islands. If there are any such they will have no difficulty in finding an outline of English history of any size, large or small, written by abler pens than mine.

There is another method of presenting general European history, practised both in Germany and France, which has failed to recommend itself to me. There are books in both languages, of high credit and wide circulation, in which the main theme is a fairly full narrative of national history, differing in no marked way from that of the ordinary histories; while the events of other countries are brought in from time to time as a sort of appendix to the national story. I cannot see that much is gained by this method. Events are not presented in their true proportions or in correct perspective, if they are always looked at from Berlin or Paris; and the

attempt to judge them all from the meridian of London would be even less successful. If the history of Europe is worth study it is because the subject has a unity in itself, apart from that which belongs to the life of any particular state. Its great service is to correct national egotism, to allow of unbiassed comparisons between different systems of life and government, and to emphasize the interdependence of the different elements of the commonwealth of Europe. None of these objects can be attained if the point of view of a single state is maintained throughout.

I have tried to avoid making my book a compendium of dates and facts. Such books have their great value, and Freeman's "History of Europe" still occupies an honoured place on the shelves of most students of history. But my aim has been a different one. What has been said of the artist "that his greatness is shown as much by what he leaves out as by what he puts in"—may be applied even to the humble labours of the writer of an historical text-book. My hope is that I have not mentioned names or events unless their importance or significance is made apparent in the text. I know that there are many great statesmen and many great battles, of which there is no mention in this volume.

I shall be blamed by some (if they are sufficiently interested to turn the pages of this book) for not having laid more stress on thought and invention as forces controlling the course of history. I recognize their importance, and I believe that they will soon come to occupy a much greater space than they do at present in the presentation of history. But lack of space and lack of knowledge have prevented me from giving them as much space as I feel they deserve. It will be found, too, that, in spite of lack of space, I have occasionally repeated myself, and that in one place a passage of two or three lines is verbally reproduced on a later page. I have done this in order, as far as is possible in a continuous narrative, to make my treatment of each separate topic intelligible and complete.

I trust that no one will think that the serious character of the book is diminished by the fact that I have put a poetical quotation at the beginning and at the end. I have always felt

that the wider the survey of history the stronger is the appeal which it makes to the feelings and the imagination, and that the most rigid application of historical science (if there be an historical science) cannot prevent history, when regarded as a whole, from drawing near to poetry. The famous chorus from Sophocles seems to me to give, as nothing else does, the wonder of man's record on earth; and Wordsworth's sonnet is the best expression that I have found of the sentiment with which a student of history naturally regards the future.

I owe a great debt to Professor Appleton, of Sheffield University, and to Professor Hearnshaw, of Newcastle, for the kindness and care with which they have gone through my proof-sheets. This is no conventional expression of gratitude; for their scrutiny alone allows me to give the book to the public with some measure of confidence.

The maps have been prepared by Mr. Emery Walker, and I have felt myself fortunate in having the assistance of his skill, experience, and knowledge. Some of them have, by permission, been based on those in Freeman's "Historical Geography."

LEEDS UNIVERSITY,
1912

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Many the things that strange and wondrous are,
None stranger and more wonderful than man ;
He dares to wander far,
With stormy blast across the hoary sea,
Where nought his eyes can scan
But waves still surging round unceasingly ;
And Earth, of all the Gods,
Mightiest, unwearied, indestructible,
He weareth year by year, and breaks her clods,
While the keen ploughshare marks its furrows well,
Still turning to and fro ;
And still he bids his steeds
Through daily task-work go.

And speech and subtle thought
Swift as the wind,
And temper duly wrought
To statesman's mind,—
These he has learnt, and how to flee the power
Of cold that none may bear,
And all the tempest darts of arrowy shower,
That hurtle through the air ;
Armed at all points, unarmed he nought shall meet
That coming time reveals ;
Only from death still finds he no retreat,
Though many a sore disease that hopeless seemed
he heals.

Sophocles' Antigone (5th Century B.C.) : translated by PLUMPTRE.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

PART I

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

CHAPTER I

The Beginnings of European History

THE history and civilization of Europe are marked off by certain clear characteristics from the civilizations of Asia or of Egypt. But as the continent of Europe is connected with Asia and Africa, so the civilization of Europe in its origins is connected with the older civilizations of Asia and of Egypt. We must not here consider what that connection was or what Greece owed to the Egyptians or the Lydians, to Phœnicia or to Assyria. It is true that, in a most wonderful and welcome way, the clouds are being rolled back from the dim beginning of the history of Europe, and a strange and fascinating landscape begins to appear where we used confidently to fix the realms of chaos and old night. But there are many more excavations to be made, many more inscriptions to be deciphered, and even alphabets to be guessed, before we can quite distinguish the clouds from the mountains. Theories will be advanced and attacked, and out of the warfare of conflicting views the truth or an approximation to it will, it is to be hoped, emerge at last. Meanwhile some of the elements of the many problems which confront us may be touched on.

First, not in time but in importance, must be put the poems of Homer. Whatever is mirage they are real; and with them our knowledge of European History begins. They are the oldest of all the treasures of European culture, and they have not been surpassed in value by any

Homer.

subsequent additions. The Homeric poems are not rude and fragmentary ballads, but works of a splendid, mature, and self-conscious art. Both the poems—the Iliad and the Odyssey—are concerned with the war waged by the Greeks against the Trojans and the siege of Troy. The Iliad takes us to the siege itself, and is throughout martial in character. Its main theme is the wrath of Achilles and the disasters which befel the Greeks, while their greatest warrior remained in his tent indignant with the treatment which he had received at the hands of the chieftain of all the Greeks, Agamemnon. But round this central theme is woven a marvellous story of the heroic deeds of Greeks and Trojans, of their fightings and debates, of the interference of the Gods in the strife of men who are themselves akin to the Gods, and the story, martial though it is, has wonderful pictures of the agonies of the wives and parents of those who are engaged in the great contest. The Odyssey takes us to a wider field, and to more varied and romantic adventures. Its chief concern is with the wanderings of Ulysses on his return from the siege of Troy, but before the hero has escaped from the perils of the seas and the wrath of the Gods, he passes through adventures which bring before us many sides of the life, real or fanciful, of his time. In this poem we are not merely concerned with men as warriors. Women play a large part in the story—the faithful wife Penelope, the witch Circe, Nausicaa the Princess, that unmatched picture of girlish beauty and charm. We are present with sailors on the high seas, with citizens in their political gatherings, at the athletic games of a peaceful and commercial community. If the Odyssey falls short of the Iliad in dignity and Epic grandeur, it has hardly any rival for the title of the finest story in European literature.

Recent excavations.

The poems of Homer are the first factors in our speculations on early European History. They were for long the only factor, but they are so no longer. For long the only questions that could be discussed were the authorship of the poems, their relation to historic fact, the reality of the world that is figured in their pages. But during the last half century a new element has appeared.

The archæologist and excavator have set to work. In 1873 Schliemann began to dig at Troy, and from beneath the soil there came to the light of day treasures which had been hidden for literally thousands of years. He dug at Mycenæ and Tiryns with equally happy results. He was followed by other investigators, not always as fortunate but more scientific in their methods. The investigations of Schliemann were full of interest and suggestion, but a new era in our knowledge of early civilization was opened by the discoveries of Dr. Evans in Crete from 1893. The remains of a great civilization were discovered which the historian had not previously guessed at; the beginnings of European culture were pushed back hundreds, perhaps thousands of years, behind the date of the Homeric poems; inscriptions were found in a new and as yet unintelligible alphabet. The material thus provided raises problems concerning the age of European culture and the relation of that culture to the civilization of the East which will occupy archæologists for many a long year, but they cannot detain us who have so long a journey before us. We must step out from this fascinating cloudland on to more solid ground.

Schliemann.

Dr. Evans.

The poems of Homer are themselves more solid ground. However we read the riddle of their authorship we cannot doubt that they present us with a picture, however idealized, of political and social conditions actually prevailing, and the genuine thoughts of men about men and Gods. Apart entirely from its artistic merits, this first glimpse of European society can never lose its interest.

We see through the eyes of the poet a people which accepts with unquestioning belief the existence of innumerable Gods and Goddesses by whose will or caprice the affairs of men are ruled. Zeus, "father of Gods and men," exercises over the divine world a rule that is far from being unquestioned or absolute. The Gods are superior to man in their powers; they are not subject to the same laws of decay and death; but they can claim no superiority on the ground of morality. Even Zeus himself is far from being all-powerful or all-wise; his standards of conduct are the same as those held by the heroes who fight below on the plain of Troy.

The world of Homer.

The social conditions are simple. The men fight and farm, and to a small extent trade. Slavery is the basis of the social order, and capture in war is the chief source of slavery. Women in Homer's pages play a part of great influence, but their legal position is one which is difficult to distinguish from slavery. The metal in commonest use is bronze; but there are signs that men are just emerging from the bronze into the iron age, and iron is mentioned.

The political conditions of the Greeks as represented in these poems are of even greater historic interest: for out of them the later political institutions of Greece were developed, and they have never ceased to influence the political ideas of Europe. There is a king at the head of each social group; a king whose position is derived partly from birth and partly from his own prowess in fight or counsel. He is by no means absolute, for he must always debate on the chief questions of policy with his nobles, and we must mark this Council of Nobles as the second political element in the Homeric state. Another institution remains of even greater importance. The initiative is with the king and his nobles, but they cannot act in matters of the greatest moment until they have taken the people into their confidence, and put the matter before the General Assembly for their acceptance or rejection. Here, then, in their most primitive shape, are those forms of government which later were labelled with the names of Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy.

Politics in Homer.

This is the vision which we get of European society by the golden half light of Homer's poetry. We may assume that these conditions prevailed somewhere about 900 B.C. We must pass over three hundred years and see it again by the clearer light of contemporary narrative.

The poems of Homer themselves are the best point at which to begin the study of European History. The prose translations of the *Iliad* by Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of the *Odyssey* by Butcher and Lang, deserve special recommendation. For the problems raised by recent excavations consult R. H. Burrows' *Discoveries in Crete and their bearing on the History of Ancient Civilization, Schliemann's Excavations; an Archæological and Historical Study*, by C. Schuchhardt; Percy Gardiner, *New Chapters in Greek History; historical results*

of recent excavations in Greece and Asia Minor; James Barker, *The Sea Kings of Crete.* The introductory chapters of the well-known Greek historians Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall are all now quite out of date. On Homer, Jebb's *Introduction to Homer;* Lang's *Homer and the Epic;* Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic,* give different views of the fascinating problem.

CHAPTER II

The Early History of Greece

THE history of European civilization is throughout characterized by expansion. It is the story of how what was at first the possession of a restricted class became the property of all. Still more clearly it is the story of how the light which at first burnt in a small corner of Europe spread its light first over all Mediterranean lands; then over all the lands of Western Europe; at last over a great part of the surface of the earth. Quite unmistakably, European civilization begins in Greece; and though it has received additions of the most important and revolutionary kind from Rome, from Judæa, and from many another source, it has never lost the impress of the original impulse given in Greece. It has been claimed that whatever is progressive in modern life is of Greek origin. The story of Greece, therefore, in spite of its small area and the transitory character of its military and political achievements, deserves our careful study.

Geography of Greece.

The area of Greece was small, but we must not exaggerate this feature. For Greece in the sixth century B.C. meant a great deal more than what is meant by that word to-day. Greece, indeed (or Hellas, to use the word which was employed by the Greeks themselves), indicated rather a type of culture than a geographical area. Wherever the Greeks lived there was Greece. And Greeks were to be found living in freedom not only in central Greece, to which alone the word is now applied, but also in western Asia Minor, in all the isles of the Ægean Sea, in Sicily

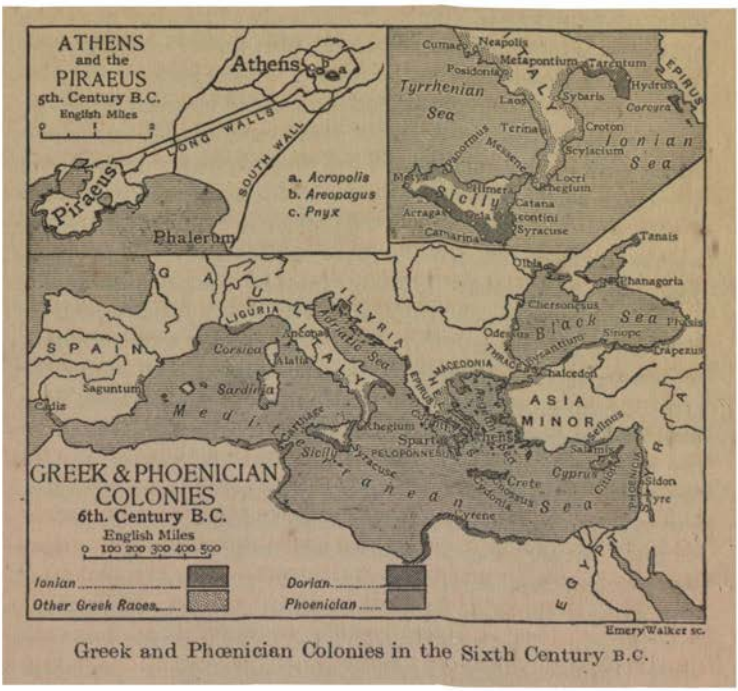
and south Italy, and in many a home in the Black Sea, the north of Africa, and the western basin of the Mediterranean. This widely scattered race had no political unity. The spreading of Greek settlements over so wide an area had been the result of a series of colonizing enterprises; but the colonies of Greece had a character widely different from those of modern times. For the Greek colony was from the first politically independent of the mother state, and connected with it, if at all, only by bonds of affection and ceremonial courtesy. The history of Greece, therefore, is the history of a vast number of widely separated states; sometimes grouped by interest or force into larger groups; but in spite of the efforts of her most enlightened statesmen never effectively welded together in any firm union, and therefore at last the victims of the less civilized but more united power of Macedon.

There were wide differences in the political, social, and religious conditions of these states thus scattered from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Black Sea. But they have also certain points in common.

Greek Religion.

The essentials of their religion were everywhere the same. There was an infinity of local cults, but all worshipped the great gods to whom we are introduced in the pages of Homer. These gods were, to begin with—most of them at least—the personification of natural phenomena. Thus Zeus is the open sky, Poseidon is the sea, Apollo is the sun, Demeter and Persephone represent the earth and the sown corn. As Greece developed the character of these deities developed also. Zeus rose into a pre-eminence which did not at first belong to him, and was at last regarded almost as the one supreme and all-powerful God. Moral attributes and those of the highest kind were in process of time ascribed to the gods, and thus the way was paved for a higher faith. Innumerable were the temples and shrines of these gods, which were to be found in all Greek lands, but certain stood pre-eminent and were a valued common possession of the whole Greek race. Two shrines require special mention. The first is Delphi, to the north of the Corinthian Gulf, where the great temple of Apollo stood, from which the god spoke to the people with an authority unknown elsewhere.

There were unnumbered oracles throughout Greece, but the oracle at Delphi stood in reputation high above the others,



Greek and Phœnician Colonies in the Sixth Century B.C.

and its influence was an important, though an insufficient, bond of union among the Greek states.

Its situation was near the base of one of the highest mountains in Greece, and the wild and desolate scenery added to the awe with which it was approached. The great temple rose amidst a crowd of smaller buildings, and there was a racing ground closely adjacent for the Pythian Games, which were held there at regular intervals. It was a valued right of all Greeks to approach and consult this oracle, which exercised upon Greece a great and a civilizing influence. Sometimes States consulted it as to important public business—the sending out of a colony, or the acceptance of a constitution; sometimes individuals brought

The Delphic Oracle.

to it questions of morals to be decided; sometimes the God was asked to pierce the veil of the future and prophesy of what was to come. To appeals of the last kind the answer was often given in vague phrases which might be interpreted according to the event. The action and influence of the Delphic priesthood is shrouded in much mystery; but for a long time it stood for what was humane in religion and elevated in conduct. The God Apollo deserved his attributes as the God of light, of healing, and of knowledge.

The next shrine of general importance was at Olympia by the banks of the Alpheus in the west of the Peloponnese. There arose there a group of temples and buildings enriched by some of the noblest specimens of Greek art; and close by were celebrated, in honour of Zeus Olympius, the most important of all the great "games" or athletic festivals of Greece. At first (the date of the first festival is conjecturally fixed at 776 B.C.) the only event was a short race of about 200 yards; and to the end the winner of this race was called the Olympian victor. But soon other contests were added—races of various lengths, boxing, wrestling, leaping, hurling the quoit and the javelin: a chariot race was also introduced, a contest reserved for the rich families of Greece by the expense of competition. The wrestling and the boxing were doubtless brutal displays; but the characteristic of these, and still more of the other great games of Greece, is the general humanity and absence of brutality of the sports. If a nation's games are the best index to its character, the games of Greece bear very favourable witness to Greek civilization. Only Greeks could be admitted to compete; and the Olympian games acted as a valuable bond and symbol of Greek nationality. By the banks of the Alpheus in the year of the Olympian festival Greeks of all states could meet in peace and friendly rivalry.

The Olympian Games.

A strong resemblance may be noted in the political ideas of all the Greeks. It is true that there was also wide divergence. Monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy were all to be found, and all in several different forms. But all Greek states were city states. That is a conception which our modern political

Political ideas of the Greeks.

conditions make it difficult for us to grasp, but it is the central fact in the political life of Greece. Each Greek city either was or desired to be a separate state; the cities might be grouped together in federations or coerced into obedience by some one strong city; but such a procedure, however useful, ran right against the grain of Greek feeling, and usually proved to be transitory. There were some cities with a large population and a wide territory, but there were also cities which according to modern standards would be called villages, which nevertheless enjoyed (or suffered from) complete independence; with a separate constitution, a separate army, even a separate system of coinage. Another common feature underlying all differences was the public assembly. Representation was unknown; but in nearly all states it was the rule for the whole body of citizens to be called together to debate, or at any rate to decide, on the greatest of political issues. In considering the various constitutions of the Greek world, one of the chief points to be considered is the varying amount of power which was given to these popular assemblies.

The states of Asia Minor, of the Ægean Sea, of Italy and of Sicily, all made important contributions to the progress of Greek civilization; but we may confine ourselves to the cities of the southern portion of the Balkan peninsula, which alone has retained the name of Greece. The history of the people was much influenced by the geography of the land. All was called Greece right up to the north of Thessaly, where the Cambunian range and Mount Olympus marked the northern frontier. But the real life of Greece only belonged to the more southern portion which stretched south of the pass of Thermopylæ and the mountain range which extended west of that. Confining our attention to this southern portion alone we may notice two main features; the mountains and the sea. Nowhere is there any extensive plain, and the horizon is usually occupied by mountains of great height, in some instances running up to 9000 feet. These mountains acted as a great bar to traffic and intercourse. They broke up the country into separate units which did not easily communicate with one another, and thus assisted in producing that multitude

Influence of the geography of Greece.

of separate states which has already been noticed. But if the mountains seemed to forbid communication, intercourse was vastly assisted by the sea which was, for the Greeks, always the natural and chief highway. Good harbours for the small ships of the time were numerous, but they were chiefly to be found on the eastern and Asiatic side. Greece was indeed naturally connected with Asia and found intercourse with Italy and the west more difficult. The islands which studded the Ægean allowed the Greek sailor to pass from one to the other and to find himself in Asia without having once lost sight of land.

Thus, while the mountain system of Greece fostered division the sea was a means of uniting the inhabitants. Both mountains and sea acted as a defence to the land without which the Greek would have been merged much sooner into some half barbarian or Oriental Empire.

Among the Greeks there were subordinate differences of race. The chief races were the Dorians and Ionians. The difference between them was perhaps as wide as that between English and Scotch in the seventeenth century. The Dorians are unknown to Homer. They had invaded Southern Greece subsequently to the composition of those poems, and their successful invasion had altered the character of Greece in many ways. They were generally a stronger, more vigorous, more warlike, less cultured race than the Ionians. The chief Dorian state was Sparta, of which more shortly; and next to Sparta came Corinth and Argos. The Ionians were chiefly to be found in Asia Minor and the Ægean islands. On the mainland Athens was the one great Ionian state, and regarded herself as the leader of the whole Ionian race. The Ionians were generally more refined than the Dorians, more commercial, less warlike, more open to the influences of art and culture.

Dorians and Ionians.

We must look more closely at the life and history of the four states which have been mentioned, for Greek history depends much upon them, and especially on the first two. Sparta was situated by the banks of the Eurotas, a rapid mountain stream, which never dries up in the summer. Great mountain chains surrounded her on

Sparta.

every side except the south, and even there the Eurotas flowed through so narrow a gorge that the position was easily defensible. The Dorian Spartans were not the original inhabitants of the Eurotas valley. They had, at the dim beginning of history, invaded and conquered the country, and they were still surrounded by the descendants of the conquered populations in numbers greater than their own. It is the presence of this mass of conquered but still hostile people which gives the clue to Spartan history: for it was only by constant military preparation and training that the Spartans could hope to survive among them. Spartan institutions were devoted to maintaining the supremacy which had been won. With this object in view the whole of the Spartan's life from birth to manhood was devoted to a training which was to make him brave, hardy, incapable of panic, counting flight in battle the height of disgrace. For the men family life was almost unknown until middle life had been reached. The young Spartans were brought up in great training schools, living hardly, eating coarsely but plentifully, taught to bear pain without flinching, and to count devotion to the state as the supreme virtue. There was for them little in the way of intellectual training, but they drilled and hunted and engaged in mimic warfare which often came near to being serious; and, though their lives were not touched by art or literature, they were proud of their system and looked down on the Athenians as effeminate and as falling below the dignity of manhood. Their political system was nearer to that described or implied in the poems of Homer than any other in Greece; for here was monarchy and a council of nobles, and here was a general assembly of the people. But even in Sparta the Homeric constitution had been departed from in many important particulars. For in the first place Sparta had not one king but two, and the rivalries and quarrels of the kings kept the monarchy weak. The real authority in Sparta was the Ephorate, an institution quite unknown to Homer. This was a board of five men, elected for a year by the people; and into their hands during their term of office was given the almost absolute control of the domestic and foreign policy of the state. Sparta seems to us a grim,

unattractive state, but she was held in the greatest regard by the Greeks. For Sparta possessed the virtues which the Greeks usually lacked; discipline, persistence, the power of maintaining an established order. While most Greek states were constantly changing, Sparta maintained the same polity from generation to generation. We need say little of her history before the time of the Persian wars; but she had fought many wars and nearly always with success. As a result she ruled over a larger area than any other city state in Greece. She had conquered the rich district of Messenia, which lay west of the mountain range of Taygetus, and she had wrested a valuable strip of territory on the north from the neighbouring Dorian state of Argos. Over these and all her territories she ruled as a despot; she did not open the ranks of her citizenship to any; she could conquer, but the secret of statesmanship was hidden from her.

The strength of Sparta lay south of the isthmus of Corinth, and she did not willingly engage in enterprises outside of it.

Athens.

North of that isthmus Athens was, for the greater part of Greek history, unquestionably the most important state. The situation of Athens had none of the security of Sparta. The country of Attica, over which Athens ruled, was mountainous; but none of the mountains afforded a frontier of much value, and upon the east and south the land was easy of access from the sea. It is indeed to the maritime states rather than to those of the mainland that Athens belonged, and from the first the sea, useful to all Greek states, was a necessity of life to her.

The site of Athens was determined by the fine rock-fortress, the Acropolis, which rose at a distance of over four miles from the sea. It was at first valued for reasons of defence, but later became the centre for the religious and artistic life of Athens. The country was fertile according to Greek standards, and the harbour of the Peiræus was one of the best in the whole of Greece. The divinities most closely associated with the city were the Goddess Athena, to whom the olive tree was sacred, and Poseidon, the lord of the sea.

The population of Athens was much more homogeneous than that of Sparta. There was no Helot population to be

constantly watched and kept in subjection. There was a large number of slaves, but they gave Athens little trouble, and there was therefore no reason for maintaining the tense military life which prevailed in Sparta. It is difficult to pierce through the early legends of Athenian history to a groundwork of fact; but it seems that there were originally several separate communities in Attica, and that Athens was formed by the voluntary cohesion of these and their concentration in Athens. It is certain that at first Athens was ruled by kings, and that the Homeric council of nobles is represented at Athens by the Council of the Areopagus,[1] and that the Athenian Ecclesia or Assembly is a descendant of the gathering of the people which we see in the pages of Homer. But before the dawn of clear history much of this had changed. The monarchy had given way before the reiterated assaults of the aristocracy, and we find the reality of power vested in the nobles, or Eupatrids, when we get a clear view of Athens about the year 650 B.C. But the rule of this noble caste was not accepted contentedly, and we read of more than one effort to shake if off or to modify it. The nobles, however, still ruled, and the other classes still resented their rule when the name of Solon first comes before us. We know from his own poems what were the problems which faced him, and in what way he attempted their settlement. There was on the political side the protest against the monopoly of power by the Eupatrids, and on the social side there was the fact of great distress among the farmers of Attica, who had borrowed money from the rich men of Athens and had been sold into slavery when they were not able to repay their debt. A good deal that is legendary attaches itself to Solon's name, but through it all we can see the figure of a really noble and wise statesman. He restored the Athenians who had been sold into slavery, and the enslavement of citizens was henceforth forbidden by law. He modified the constitution in such a way that, while all the old forms remained, the monopoly

The Institutions of Athens.

Solon.

[1] So-called from the hill of that name—better known to us as the hill of Mars. It is a small rocky eminence, a little to the west of the acropolis. The famous council sat there, apparently in the open air.

of the landed aristocracy was destroyed and the popular element was much increased. It was not a democracy in the sense which the Greeks gave to that word later, but certain democratic elements were introduced, and a road was opened for the introduction of more. Solon was always regarded with great veneration as the real founder of the Athenian constitution.

Further changes soon followed. Many Greek states passed through the same stages of political development. They were at first monarchies, they then substituted an aristocracy of some sort for their monarchy. This aristocracy was next overthrown by a popular champion who founded his personal power on the support of the people, and was generally known in Greek history as a tyrant. Then the tyrant was in his turn overthrown and his place was taken either by a democracy or an oligarchy. Something analogous to this may be found in other states and at a later period in the world's history.

Solon had seen the danger of tyranny and had striven by his constitutional changes to avert it, but the same danger threatened during the last years of his life, and he could not prevent the Athenians from treading the road that led thither. The city was torn by factions; they were called the factions of the plain, the seashore, and the hill; the rivalries of the land-owners, the commercial classes and the peasants probably lie hid under these names. Pisistratus appeared as the champion of the men of the hill. He was given a bodyguard, and when he felt himself strong enough he seized the acropolis and made himself master of Athens. The Athenians came to execrate the memory of the tyrant, and they placed the murderers of his son among their national heroes; but while Pisistratus lived the tyranny did little harm to Athens, and bestowed on her many benefits. No nominal alteration was made in the constitution of Solon, but the reality of power rested with the mercenary garrison of Pisistratus, which held the acropolis. And, while order was thus maintained, notable progress was made in many directions. The commerce, the agriculture, and the industry of Athens were carefully fostered. Now, too, for the first time, Athens became, what she was to

The "tyranny" of Pisistratus.

be for so long, the leader of Greece in arts and letters. Foreign artists were invited to Athens, and excavations of the nineteenth century have revealed the remains of their work on the acropolis; temples rose on the sacred hill and near it; the "tyrant," too, is said to have shown his sense of the importance of Homer's poems by arranging for the drawing up of a sort of authorized version. If all tyrants had been like Pisistratus the name would not have the evil associations that it has everywhere now. But the Athenians desired the full exercise of their freedom; they had risen in vain against the rule of Pisistratus, and they refused to acquiesce in that of his sons. An early plot failed, but then a curious intrigue of a noble Athenian family with the oracle of Delphi and the Spartans resulted in the expulsion of the tyrant's family. Liberty was restored to Athens, and Hippias the son of Pisistratus, after an unsuccessful effort to induce the Spartans who had driven him out to restore him, fled for refuge to the court of the King of Persia. We shall see him later acting as guide to the great Persian expedition, which sailed in 490 B.C. to overthrow the liberties of Greece.

Athens, thus mistress of her destinies once more, was not content to return to the Solonian constitution. After a period of some confusion a further advance towards democracy was made, and the changes introduced are associated with the name of Clisthenes. The chief change was in effect the widening of the basis of citizenship. Hitherto none were citizens who were not also members of the four old Attic tribes, and it was hardly possible for any outsider to procure admission. It is clear, on the other hand, that there was a large population, attracted to Athens perhaps by the commercial advantages of its situation, and of this class many would be desirable citizens. By Clisthenes it was decided that membership of one of the old tribes should no longer be a condition of citizenship. New and artificial tribes were created to act as constituencies (to use a modern word which is not wholly applicable), and by this means the citizen roll of Athens was doubtless largely increased. Other changes introduced at this time will be considered

Development of the Athenian Democracy.

when we are describing the full working of the Athenian democracy.

Sparta and Athens are doubtless the most important of all Greek city states, but it would be a mistake to think that all Greek history depends on them. Next to them perhaps Corinth claims most attention. No state in all Greece was so admirably situated for commercial purposes. She lay upon the narrow isthmus which divides central Greece from the Peloponnesus, and she had good harbours, not only on the eastern sea, but also on the gulf of Corinth. So that, alone among Greek states of the mainland, she was favourably situated for carrying on commerce, not only with Asia Minor, but also with Sicily, Italy and the Western Mediterranean. She never won in ancient times the supremacy which seems to belong to her position, but she was the leading commercial city, or at least the city in which commercial interests most predominated. The influence of commerce on the relationships and destinies of states is not at first sight so clear in the ancient world as it is now, but it was important, and the wealth and trading ambitions of the maritime states have a great influence on Greek history. From an early date Corinth was noted for her wealth, her luxury, and the vast quantity of slaves that surrounded her citizens. Her political life had passed through most of the phases which we have already noted as characteristic of the ordinary Greek state. She had had a monarchy and had abolished it. The resulting aristocracy had in its turn been overthrown by tyrants who had ruled from 655 to 581 B.C. But when the tyranny had been overthrown it did not give way to a democracy, but to an oligarchy. We shall find Corinth and Athens in constant rivalry; they represented opposite political principles, and were also kept apart by trade jealousy.

Corinth.

To the south-east of Corinth lay the city and state of Argos. The plain in which she lay contained the best known remains of pre-historic Greece. The walls of Tiryns, and a few monuments of Mycenæ still bore testimony to a greatness which had passed away and been forgotten. The Argives were Dorians, and had at one time been equal in influence with Sparta within the

Argos.

Peloponnese. Later on, the Spartans defeated them and took away part of their territory. The result was an abiding jealousy and hatred between Argos and Sparta. The relations between the different Greek states changed rapidly; but Argos and Sparta were hardly ever anything but bitter enemies.

We can do little more than mention the names of a few other Greek states. In the mainland beyond those already mentioned there was, in the north, Thebes the leading state in the district of Bœotia, despised at one time as rough and unpatriotic, but destined for a time to prove herself the first state in war and second to none in the arts of statesmanship; upon the isthmus there was Megara, now an insignificant village, but once the trade rival of Athens and of Corinth, and the mother of colonies, many of which became famous, while one of them, Byzantium, under its new name Constantinople, is still one of the important capitals of Europe. In the west of the Peloponnese Elis had an importance which was due neither to political nor military strength, but to her control of the Olympian games, that great rallying centre for all Greece. Nor must we omit altogether the states which further east had done much for the promotion of what was best in Greece. The islands of Naxos, Chios, and Samos were rich and progressive communities, and the island of Lesbos was also distinguished for having been the centre of a literary movement, in which the name of the poetess Sappho is the greatest. Upon the Asiatic mainland Miletus, Ephesus, and Halicarnassus stood out from the rest for their wealth or population, or for the great men and great movements which sprang from them.

Thebes, Megara, Elis, etc.

Thus about the year 500 B.C., Greece was full of an energetic and progressive people, which in politics was making experiments in liberty of great importance for the whole development of Europe; and on the side of art and philosophy was engaged in the solution of problems and the working out of ideas which have ever since lain at the very foundation of European civilization. The division of the country into petty states was perhaps an advantage to the development of new ideas in politics, art, and philosophy; for it set up eager competition, it provided material for com-

parison, and it made the repression of unpopular ideas difficult or impossible. But when a strong, barbarous, and united power coveted the possession of the land, this political disunion was a terrible danger, and this danger came at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

For the whole course of Greek history consult the large histories of Greece by Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall, and Holm. Grote is particularly valuable for his practical discussion of the working of Greek institutions; Curtius for his knowledge of Greek geography, and his attention to the artistic and philosophic life of Greece; Thirlwall for his absence of all partisanship, wide outlook, and attractive style; Holm because he gives in a short space a summary of recent researches and controversies. Plutarch's famous *Lives* are of the greatest interest throughout nearly the whole course of Greek and Roman history. They are among the great books in the world's literature; and are historically valuable because they draw from contemporary authorities that are now lost to us. His lives of Lycurgus and Solon are specially interesting, though both must be read with some reservation, for his aim is to teach ethical lessons through the medium of biography, and he handles his authorities uncritically.

CHAPTER III

The Great Persian War and its Sequel

IT has sometimes been said that the history of Europe is the history of the struggle between the East and the West. The phrase is not very happily chosen. It would be truer to say that the most dangerous enemies of European civilization—perhaps its only really dangerous enemies—have originally had their home in the East, though they have attacked Europe sometimes from the South, sometimes from the West, sometimes even from the North. The three fundamental features of European civilization have been Greek Thought and Art, Roman law and discipline, and the ethics and worship of Christianity; to these must be added at a later date the science which has been developed out of Greek thought. It

The conflict of East and West.

is true that the most dangerous enemies of these ideas have come from the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates, from Syria, from Arabia. These enemies were the most dangerous because they did not merely attack with barbarous ignorance, but came with a rival religion, a rival code of ethics, even later with a rival science of their own. In the struggle between East and West thus defined there have been three great chapters. First, the rivalry between Greece and Persia; which lasts, broadly speaking, from the rise of Cyrus in 559 B.C. to the victories of Alexander the Great which culminate in 331. The next chapter is to be found in the struggle against the first generations of Mahomedanism, and we may take this as lasting from 622 A.D., when Islam dates its birth, to early in the eighth century, when the forces of Islam were defeated at Constantinople (718), and at Tours (732). The third chapter begins with the crusades, and is chiefly concerned with the struggle against the Turkish power. The first struggle which we have now to consider was the most dangerous of all, for European civilization was confined to a narrow area, and its complete extinction was not impossible.

The rise of Persia.

While the soil of Greece was occupied by tiny states whose fierce rivalries seemed to endanger the permanence of the great work they were accomplishing, the valley of the Euphrates had been the scene of mighty imperial movements. For three centuries the great Assyrian Empire had dominated the west of Asia. Causes which we cannot see had undermined its strength, and it had broken up before the attacks of northern barbarians. Upon its ruin several kingdoms had been established; Lydia in Asia Minor, Media, Babylon, and Egypt were the chief. But about 559 the Median Empire was overthrown by the Persian mountaineers under their king, whom the Greeks knew by the name of Cyrus, and he aimed at bringing under his rule all the lands that had ever belonged to Assyria. He fell upon Lydia in 546, and Asia Minor proved unable to resist him. The conquest of Lydia brought Persia into touch with the rich, cultured, but defenceless Greek cities of the west coast of Asia Minor. They were soon absorbed into the Persian Empire.

The death of Cyrus in 529 did not stop the progress of Persian conquests. Babylon had already fallen. Egypt was soon conquered. The Persian power made its way even into India. Within the world that the Greeks knew there was no power equal to Persia or comparable to her, when in 521 Darius assumed the title of the Great King. But vast as was his power, it was challenged by the Greeks of Asia Minor, who lived uneasily under the rule of a race alien in language, in religion, and in ideas. But their rebellion was soon seen to be hopeless. Their rivalries did not allow them to unite; their temperament did not allow them to submit to discipline. As a last resource they appealed to the states of the mainland, and there came out an expedition from Athens and her neighbour Eretria to their help. The newcomers succeeded in burning the Persian city of Sardis, but then went home and left the Greeks of Asia to their fate. In 494 the Persians defeated their fleet, and the last embers of rebellion were stamped out with the capture of Miletus.

Advance of Persia under Darius

A natural impulse drove the Persian Empire from conquest to conquest, and the liberties of central Greece would have been in danger even if the Athenian expedition had never sailed and never burned Sardis. The first expedition of Darius into Europe resulted in the submission of Thrace and Macedonia, and thus brought the Persian frontier up to the limits of Greece (512 B.C.). Then as soon as the Greek revolt in Asia Minor had been crushed he aimed a blow against the states of Southern Greece, and especially against Athens and Eretria, the two states which had co-operated in the burning of Sardis. In 492 his first expedition which was sent round by the north of the Ægean sea came to an ignominious end through the wreck of the accompanying fleet. But two years after that another armament was ready, and it was to be despatched this time not by land, but directly across the sea. It was commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, and it was guided by Hippias, once tyrant of Athens. All went well with the expedition at first. Naxos, Delos, and Eretria all fell into the hands of the Persians; then, acting on the advice

Persian attack on central Greece.

of Hippias, the host moved across the intervening strait and landed on the fateful field of Marathon.

Herodotus, the first of Greek historians, sums up his impressions of the history of Athens in a memorable phrase. "You may see," he says, "all through history how excellent a thing liberty is." It was liberty that triumphed at Marathon. Athens, led by Miltiades, who had at one time fought under the banners of the Persians, and assisted only by the tiny state of Platæa, gained at Marathon a surprising victory over the vastly larger forces of the Persians, and Datis and Artaphernes led back their discomfited forces to Persia (490 B.C.).

Battle of Marathon.

It is easy to exaggerate the importance of Marathon. There was nothing decisive about it. To Darius it must have seemed only one more reason for pressing on to the subjugation of Greece; but his purpose was delayed by the revolt of Egypt, and then his death soon followed. After a short interval he was succeeded by his son Xerxes, in whom for the first time a wholly unmilitary and incompetent ruler seems to have mounted the Persian throne. It was a great stroke of good fortune for Greece that she had to face in the next crisis of her struggle with Persia a weak voluptuary like Xerxes, and not a resolute and capable ruler like Darius. But Xerxes was in no doubt as to the renewal of the attack on Greece. He began almost at once to collect a huge force both of ships and men, so that there might be no danger of a repetition of the disgrace of Marathon.

Xerxes.

As we watch the mighty host about to start we may reflect for a moment on the character of the two powers that were thus brought into antagonism. The Persians were not barbarians in the modern meaning of the word. They had a civilization, a government, a religion of their own, and there were points in each that were superior to those of the Greeks. The Greeks indeed came later to idealize their great enemies, and to see in them the primitive virtues unspoilt by the influence of luxury. Even contemporaries admitted that the Persians possessed courage and truthfulness beyond the measure

Issues at stake in the Persian war.

usual with the Greeks. But none the less European civilization was here struggling with a force whose victory would have annihilated it. It was essentially liberty that was at stake—liberty in almost every sense of that word which is so difficult to define. On the side of the Greeks was freedom of thought and of speech, and the participation of the citizens in the affairs of government. Their religion stimulated their imagination, but did not place upon them a yoke grievous to be borne. They had in however imperfect a form the principle of monogamy and of family life. Art and literature and philosophy had all thrust out promising shoots. Had Persia won she would but have added a new province to an empire already unwieldly large. The victory of Greece gave her people two centuries during which they could develop themselves and their ideas freely, and during those two centuries they laid the intellectual foundations of modern Europe.

Herodotus.

The story of the Persian war is told us by Herodotus, the earliest, and perhaps the most charming of all writers of European history. He was a younger contemporary of most of the events which he records, and he desired to tell the truth about the heroic deeds of the war. But there is unquestionably an admixture of legend with his history; he gives a confused account of battles and campaigns; he exaggerates numbers sometimes in grotesque fashion. But the legend of the Persian war is itself a part of history, and it was a perpetual inspiration to the Greeks to recall how with diminutive forces they had fought the millions of Persia, and had driven them back in dreadful rout. Nor can any deductions of historical criticism much diminish the glory of their achievement.

The march of Xerxes.

We see through the glamour of the Herodotean narrative the vast host of the Persians (numbering, Herodotus would have us believe, some five million souls) move forward to the Hellespont and cross over to Europe, marching continuously for seven days and seven nights across the bridges which had been prepared by Greek engineers. From the Hellespont they marched under the command of Xerxes himself through

Thrace and Macedonia. They found the pass of Tempe—the most northerly point where resistance might have been made—deserted, and it almost seemed as though Greece were going to submit without a struggle. But where the Pass of Thermopylæ opened a road between the mountains and the sea into central Greece, they found at last an army prepared to dispute their further advance.

It was by no means a united Greece which resisted the attack of Xerxes. Argos stood aside, refusing to accept the leadership of Sparta. Thebes joined the Persians in the hope of humiliating Athens. Syracuse the greatest of the western colonies would only join if she were allowed to command, and that was refused her. Even the God of Delphi seemed to have deserted the national cause and prophesied the victory of the "God of war borne in his eastern car." The brunt of the fighting fell upon Athens and Sparta, and Athens deserves special praise for voluntarily subordinating herself to Sparta both by sea and land, though she provided by far the greater number of vessels. Athens had passed through stormy times since the battle of Marathon. Two great party leaders disputed for the leadership of the state. Aristides, the conservative leader, resisted the proposal to devote the energies of the state to the building of a fleet, and thought that Athens might be saved now, as she had been saved before, by her army alone. The cause of the fleet was championed by Themistocles who had been introduced into the ranks of Athenian citizenship by the reforms of Clisthenes. He won the Athenians to his views, and Aristides was banished. When Xerxes came against Greece Athens possessed a large fleet, and might have claimed to rule at sea while Sparta ruled on land. But she secured the unity of the Greek forces by accepting the command of Sparta.

Greece on the eve of the war.

It had been the first idea of the Greek generals to resist the Persians at the pass of Tempe, but though a force had been sent forward, the pass had been found untenable, and had been abandoned. A small force of Greeks under the command of the Spartan King Leonidas was sent to hold Thermopylæ, while a Greek

Thermopylæ.

navy, to which Athens contributed the greater number of the ships, held the approaches to the pass by sea. But in spite of the heroic self-sacrifice of the Spartans and of many other Greeks the pass was won by Xerxes, and central Greece lay in his hands. Athens had to be abandoned. It seemed that one resolute blow might lay the whole of Greece at the feet of the conqueror. But now there came a sudden and decisive change.

On neither side does the full importance of the fleets seem to have been recognized. To the Persians the ships were mainly valuable as a means of transporting provisions, and of ensuring retreat. The Greeks used them only for defensive operations, and in subordination to the armies. But it was the fleets that really decided the issue. The Greek fleet had halted in the bay of Salamis in order to co-operate with the Athenians in their flight from Athens; certainly with no idea of fighting a decisive battle. But accident and the policy of the Athenian leader, Themistocles, forced on a battle. The Persian King was confident of victory, but his fleet, fighting in the narrow strait, could make no use of its superior numbers, and was heavily defeated by the Greeks, who were fighting for their homes, were well acquainted with the locality, and were much more skilful in the handling of ships than their adversaries.

Salamis, 480 B.C.

Æschylus, the greatest of Greek poets after Homer, himself probably fought in the battle, and has described it in his play called *The Persians*. The description is put in the mouth of a Persian—

> "First from the Grecian fleet rang out a cry,
> A song of onset! and the island crags
> Re-echoed to the shrill, exultant sound.
> Then on us Eastern men amazement fell,
> And fear in place of hope. The Greeks rang out
> Their holy, resolute, exulting chant
> Like men come forth to dare and do and die.
> And to our ears there came a burst of sound,
> A clamour manifold, 'On, Sons of Greece!
> On, for your country's freedom! strike to save
> Wives, children, temples of ancestral Gods,
> Graves of your fathers! now is all at stake.'"[1]

[1] The translation is that of Mr. E. A. D. Morshead.

The battle of Salamis is justly counted one of the most decisive battles in history. Greek liberty and with it European civilization was saved. But this would hardly have been the result if Xerxes had been made of different metal. His fleet was still larger than that of the Greeks, and his army was practically intact; but he had no heart for further fighting, and leaving Mardonius behind with a large force he fled back to Persia. The winter that followed was used by the Persian leader in an attempt to dissolve the union between Athens and Sparta; but, though Athens accused Sparta of slackness in coming to her assistance, the league was maintained. Next year a great Greek force (for the victory of Salamis had encouraged all patriotic states to make a great effort), marched into Bœotia. There in 479 the great battle of Platæa was fought. This time it was not good fortune, but the superior fighting powers of the Greeks which gave them the victory. The Persian power was revealed as a "colossus stuffed with clouts," and the Greeks soon passed from their early terror into a well-founded contempt for Persian soldiers and their ways. The naval battle of Mycale, fought on the coast of Asia Minor at the same time as the battle of Platæa, set the seal to the Greek triumph and showed that the victory at Salamis was no accident.

Platæa.

These three great victories still left the Persians in possession of many Greek cities in Asia Minor and the islands; and there was always the possibility of another Persian expedition coming to revenge the disasters of Xerxes. It was therefore determined after the battle of Platæa to keep the Greek armies in readiness, and to form a league of all Greek states for the prosecution of the war. The formation of this league is an important event. It marks the nearest approach that was ever made to Greek unity, and, though it endured unbroken only for a very short time, it forms the starting-point for the two great leagues into which Greece was divided down to the Peloponnesian war. It provided, moreover, for the prosecution of the war against Persia, and aimed at the recovery of all Greek lands from the Persian yoke.

The Greek League.

The course of the war against Persia must be summarized in a very few lines. The command of the forces of the league soon passed from Sparta to Athens under circumstances which we shall have to notice again. First the Persians were driven from the islands and coasts of the Ægean; then the Greeks ventured further afield. They became the aggressors. They found a really great leader in Cimon, and under him they gained a decisive victory over the Persians both by sea and land at Eurymedon, far in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean. Later they attacked the Persian power in Egypt, at first with brilliant success, though disaster fell upon them in the end. Lastly, in 449, they despatched an expedition under Cimon against the Persians in the island of Cyprus. The Persians were wholly defeated, but Cimon died during the course of the campaign. In 448 peace was made between Greece and Persia, by which it was stipulated that Persia should never again send any armament to the coasts of Asia Minor or into the neighbourhood of the Ægean sea. "The Great King" still remained the most important neighbour of the Greeks, but never again was there any danger of an attack from that quarter upon the liberties of Greece.

The end of the Persian war.

The sequel of the Persian war in Greece is a disappointment. If all or most of the Greek states could have united in some sort of a federal scheme the future would have been different and better than it was. But the jealousy of the states was too strong; we have seen that even the Persian war was not enough to unite them all, and when that danger was removed the league that was founded on the battlefield of Platæa could not long be maintained. From the first there was wide difference of opinion between Athens and Sparta as to the conduct of the league, for, while Athens was all for an energetic and forward policy, the Spartans were unwilling to undertake indefinite obligations in far distant lands. In 476 the Spartan King Pausanias was recalled to answer certain charges of misconduct, and during his absence the command of the fleet then stationed at Byzantium was offered by the rest of the allies to the Athenians and accepted. When

The disruption of Greece.

a new Spartan leader came out he had either to retire or serve under the leadership of Athens. Sparta could not think of accepting a subordinate position. The Spartan squadron sailed home, and the Athenians were left in command of naval operations. So it came to pass, therefore, that there were soon two leagues in Greece. Sparta was at the head of a league of land-states, and Athens for some time remained a member of this. But the maritime states in the meantime had formed themselves into a separate league, called the Delian League from their place of meeting in the island of Delos, and of this Athens was from the first the President. The Delian League was a novel and a hopeful experiment in Greek politics. The states joined of their own will, for the advantages of such a league were obvious; it would keep the Persians at bay, and would secure good order in the Ægean. It was arranged amicably what contributions each state should pay, in men or ships or money, to the common fund. Each spring there was to be a meeting of the representatives of the different members of the league at Delos, and there the policy of the league during the coming year was determined. We seem to see the beginnings of a modern federal constitution. But the bright promise was soon clouded. As the danger of a renewed Persian invasion passed away, the states were no longer willing to pay their original contributions; but secession was not allowed by the terms of league, and Athens coerced the seceders into obedience. The details are unknown, but the general result is clear. By the year 445 the Delian league had been transformed into the Athenian Empire. The contributing allies had become subject states. Athens was the Imperial mistress and no longer the president. We can see that the formation of some state larger than the city was the chief political need of Greece, and the Athenian Empire seems a step in the right direction. But contemporaries saw in Athens only a tyrant ruling despotically over states who had as good a right to independence as herself.

The Delian League.

The Athenian Empire.

Henceforth the Greek state system was grouped round the two great rivals, Sparta and Athens. And these two rivals

soon drifted into war. Athens for some time dreamed of ruling not only over the islands, but over a large tract of the mainland as well. This ambition soon brought war first with the states of central Greece, and then with Sparta herself. It is an obscure and uninteresting struggle which follows. Athens gained some victories at first, but on land her soldiers were not the equals of the Spartans or even of the Thebans. By the year 445 she saw her boasted land empire melt away, and she was forced to make with Sparta the Thirty Years' Peace of that year. The Spartan alliance and the Athenian Empire recognized one another; they promised not to try to withdraw members from one alliance into the other; they promised that if any difficulties arose they would arbitrate before fighting. The year 445 sees then a decisive check to the military ambitions of Athens. But about the same time she was arriving at the very zenith of her greatness in what she is really great. Her government, her social life, still more her art and her literature form one of the chief landmarks in the history of Europe. It is to them that we must now turn.

The Thirty Years' Peace—445.

The History of Herodotus is the great source of our knowledge of the Persian war. Plutarch does not add much in his lives of Themistocles and Aristides; but his life of Cimon is valuable, because our other information on the period between the battle of Platæa and the Thirty Years' Peace is so scanty. Æschylus' Drama, *The Persians*, is of great importance; it was written by one who had lived through the campaign and acted before an audience, of which a large proportion must have fought in the battle. The ordinary histories of Greece all devote full attention to the campaign. G. B. Grundy's *Great Persian War and its Preliminaries* is an examination of the war in the light of all recent evidence.

CHAPTER IV

Greece in the Age of Pericles

PERICLES, in his famous Funeral Oration in which he sums up the characteristics of Athens, claimed for her that she was "the school of Greece." He meant that Athens represented all that was best in Greek civilization, and that she showed Greece an ideal after which she might strive. His claim was justified. It is true, indeed, that Athens might have herself learnt discipline and persistence from Sparta, and that other districts would in the future make important additions to the art and philosophy, and even to the political ideas of Greece. But with small deductions the phrase is true. Athens was the school of Greece, and for many centuries Greece was to be the school of Europe.

Athens the School of Greece.

The social life of Athens presents few original features. The full citizens were probably about 50,000. But besides the citizens there was a large non-citizen population in Athens. First, there were those who had come to Athens, for purposes of trade for the most part, but had not received citizen rights; and after the changes of Clisthenes it was with the utmost difficulty that any alien could procure admission into the citizen ranks. These free aliens—metics as they were called—lived for the most part in the Peiræus, and through their hands passed most of the commerce of the state. But besides the metics there were the slaves. It is impossible to make any estimate of their numbers, but they certainly outnumbered the free population. They were not ill-treated according to the standards of the time. They were at the absolute disposal of their masters, and for misbehaviour were sent to work in the mines at Laurium, which was a torture that usually soon led to death. But the Athenians were a kindly and humane people, and their slaves seem to have been better treated than any other servile population in Greece. They wore

Metics.

Slaves.

no distinguishing dress, formed part of their master's family, and were often on friendly relations with him. Observers, who had Spartan severity before their eyes, thought the freedom which was permitted to slaves in Athens dangerous, a sign of laxity of manners and general indiscipline. But the Athenians were rewarded for it by the immunity of the state from slave risings. In time of war and especially at the end of the Peloponnesian war, we hear of the desertions of the slaves in great numbers; but there is nothing in the history of Athens comparable to the rising of the Helots at Sparta, which on more than one occasion nearly brought the state to ruin. A little later than the point which we have now reached, Athenian thought was much concerned with slavery. Euripides found that slaves often possessed a nature which deserved freedom better than that of their masters, and Aristotle sought in vain for some justification for an institution, which seemed to him essential to the very existence of society.

The women of Athens.

Of the women of Athens it is not necessary to say much, for they entered very little into the life of the state. The position of women in the days of Homer seems to have been freer than it was at Athens in the days of Pericles. The growth of city life and perhaps the contact of Athens with the East had forced upon the citizen women of Athens an almost oriental seclusion. They were confined to the women's apartments, and from these they rarely went out except for religious or state ceremonies. No provision was made for their education; there was usually a wide disparity in age between the wife and the husband, nor did public opinion regard mutual affection as necessary for the marriage-state. The women of Athens, therefore, must have lived a life far removed from Athenian life and art and thought; though there were striking individual exceptions. Greek speculation dealt with the question of the position of women, and there are many signs of uneasiness and discontent with the established order. Aristophanes, in his wildest comedies, shows us the women of Athens plotting their emancipation and the control of the state; later, Plato suggested the abolition of family life and the complete equality of the sexes with regard to training and occupations; Xenophon gives us,

on the other hand, a delightful picture of a wedded pair living on a farm in Attica, mutually helpful, and working together for the moral improvement of both.

Athens stood to all Greece as the very type of a democracy. But when we remember the metics and the slaves, forming as they did the larger part of the population of Athens, and entirely excluded from all participation in public affairs, we shall see that the Greeks did not use the word quite in the same sense as we do. By calling Athens a democracy they meant that within the citizen body there was no privileged class, whether of wealth or birth, and that the mass-meetings of the people could control every department of the state. Athenian political methods were very different from anything which the modern world knows, and the root of the difference lies in the existence of the general assembly of the citizens and the powers which it wielded. Always once a month and often at more frequent intervals the citizens—the Demos—were called to their place of assemblage, the Pnyx. Their assembly there was known as the Ecclesia, or summoning. Every effort was made to gather as many of them there as possible. And when the Demos was assembled in the Pnyx there were no theoretic limits to its competence. It controlled the affairs of war and peace; it discussed taxation; it dismissed if it chose the most important officials; and with some modification of its machinery it acted as the supreme authority for the passing of laws, and for judicial trials. No other important state in history has ever given such power into the hands of a general meeting of citizens.

The Athenian Democracy.

The Ecclesia.

All councils, ministers, and officials were the instruments of the Ecclesia. The chief officials of the state were the ten "generals," who were elected by the whole people, and were the heads of the executive government. But they were not elected by a party vote; no one of them was Prime Minister or anything analogous to it; there was not in Athens, we may safely assert, anything like party government, or representation, or the cabinet system. All these things would have run counter to the supremacy of the Demos in the Ecclesia, and the Athenian system aimed chiefly at the maintenance of that

supremacy. Next to this feature, and indeed in close relation to it must be mentioned the method of appointing officials by lot. There were an immense number of officials in the Athenian state, and it was part of the policy of the democracy to make their number as large as possible. But with a few exceptions they were chosen by the throwing of lots; by a method that is to say which made the choice of men specially fitted for each post impossible. Nothing is stranger in the Athenian democracy than this; nothing to the Athenians seemed so democratic. It established not merely equality of opportunity, but actual equality of chance without regard to character or talents, and it also prevented the officials from arrogating to themselves an importance apart from the general assembly. The number of officials in the small Athenian state is another strange feature. A Greek writer enumerates over 6000 officials as being elected annually by lot; so that if we remember the small total number of Athenian citizens we shall see that it was almost the rule for a citizen to hold some state office, if it were only the office of a juror in one of the large juries which conducted all trials at Athens. Perhaps the most important of those who were elected by lot were the members of the council of 500, who conducted under the authority of the Ecclesia the routine business of the state. Every detail of their organization seems to have been aimed at the suppression of the independence of the council and its subordination to the Ecclesia. The Athenians themselves knew the dangers of the lot and they knew that some offices were so important that they could not be filled safely by an appeal to chance. So the generals, the executive officials of the state, were chosen by vote, and when Athens later became straitened by want of funds, the finance officials were chosen in the same way, though in the time of Pericles they were appointed by lot.

Use of the lot.

Pericles claims for this system freedom, equality, and efficiency. "The law secures equal justice to all alike; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs not as a

Efficiency of the Democracy.

harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action." The liberty and the equality of the Athenian state are indisputable, but the future was to show decided limits to its efficiency. In the end Athens paid dearly for her belief that the service of the state did not require either special training or ability.

Pericles and his position in the State.

If the democracy of Athens showed herself at this time "equally capable both for peace and war" it was largely because of the eminent man who directed her policy. Pericles was of high noble descent, but from the first he had thrown in his lot with the democracy and brought it to its final form. He was a friend of the architects, sculptors, poets, and philosophers of the day, and the position which Athens assumed as leader of Greece in all that concerned the spiritual side of man was due in part to his patronage and interest. His position as leader of the democracy was a strange one. He was not president or Prime Minister. He held no office which gave him the right to control the policy of the state. It is true that he was for fifteen successive years elected to fill the office of *strategus* or general; but in that position he had nine colleagues of equal rank with himself, and he could be deposed at any time during his year of office. His power was rooted in a different way, which the political experience of the modern world barely allows us to understand. He was the trusted adviser of the people in the Ecclesia. When he spoke they listened. What he advised they as a rule adopted. His power was thus an intangible one which might pass from him at any moment, and it did actually pass from him for a time at the beginning of the next great war. But his dignity of bearing, his persuasive eloquence, his firmness and superiority of statesmanship gave him so strong a hold on the confidence of the people that few Prime Ministers have ruled longer or ruled more really than Pericles did, though he had no basis for his power beyond his own persuasive tongue, and the platform in the Ecclesia.

Pericles, in the speech from which we have quoted, amidst much that is beautiful and wise, surprises us by the ground on which he rests the greatness of Athens. He points to her victories in war, and to the extent of her empire over unwilling subjects. In these he sees "the monuments of power which will make her the wonder of succeeding ages." But she won few more victories; her little empire melted away; and yet she has not ceased to be the wonder of succeeding ages. She has earned their wonder not by victories and empire, but by her genius and the spirit of her civilization, and by the contributions she made to art and thought in almost every form.

The true greatness of Athens.

To deal with externals first, Athens, during the age of Pericles, became a thing of beauty. The ordinary houses of Athens remained mean and poor, but the acropolis and its neighbourhood were covered with buildings, which mark an epoch in the history of architecture and of man's appreciation of beauty. The acropolis was no longer a fortress. Athens was protected by her great walls, and especially by the "long walls" which connected her with the sea. The acropolis was now the centre for the religious and ceremonial life of Athens. It was due to the impulse and protection of Pericles that the Parthenon was now built upon it, and was decorated by the sculptures of Phidias, which even in their fragments are among the most priceless treasures of the world's art. The Parthenon was only one of three temples built on the acropolis during this period, and the base was occupied by theatres and halls. In architecture and sculpture the supremacy of Athens was unchallenged. The masterpiece of Phidias' art was the great statue of Athena, for which the whole Parthenon was a shrine. It was made of gold and ivory, and has entirely disappeared; we can only guess at its appearance from representations on coins and from late and clumsy copies. But it produced, on those who saw it, the effect which only the highest religious art can produce. In addition to this statue the whole exterior of the Parthenon was decorated with groups of sculpture, either designed by Phidias or executed under his direction. Large fragments of these remain in a good state of preservation,

The buildings of Athens.

and attest the worth of Greek sculpture at its best and noblest.

To the south-east of the acropolis was the theatre of Dionysus, and this must always rank as one of the great centres from which inspiration, not only artistic, but also religious and ethical, has radiated upon Europe. Drama is one of the most characteristic products of the Greek genius. The theatre meets us everywhere among the ruins of ancient Greece; and the influence of the drama is strongly marked on all the literature of the Greeks, and finds its way even into their religious ceremonies, and their political meetings. The Athenian theatre could hold a great part of the free population of Athens; dramatic representations were a part of the worship of Dionysus, the God of wine, and never lost the marks of their religious origin. The scenery was permanent and simple. Not more than four actors were ever engaged in the dialogue at the same time. In tragedy the acting was probably declamatory and monotonous. But no drama has ever been so important to the life of the state as the drama of Greece. The highest subjects of religion or politics or social ethics were dealt with in it. It supplied for Athens the place of the pulpit and press in our modern life. The Athenian comedy in its unrestrained license was a great and designed contrast to the dignity and restraint of the serious drama. But it also refused to confine itself to topics of private life or stories of merely personal appeal. It dealt directly, and usually in a hostile spirit, with the politics of the time, criticized philosophy, or demolished the Utopian dreams of the period. The greatest names of the Athenian drama belong to the Periclean Age. Æschylus, the most majestic and profound of all the tragedians, was born about 525, and died about 456. He belongs, therefore, rather to the period of the Persian wars than the Periclean Age, and yet Pericles was an important influence in Athens before he died. Sophocles in his long life of ninety years covers the whole of the Periclean period. He was born in 495—five years before the battle of Marathon—and died in 406, two years before his beloved Athens fell into the hands of her enemies at the close of the Peloponnesian war. He has

The Athenian Theatre.

Æschylus.

Sophocles.

less of the prophet in him than Æschylus; he handles his subjects chiefly with an eye to dramatic effect, and æsthetic values. But what he loses in profoundity he gains in sweetness and humanity, and he is if not the greatest at least the most characteristic of all Athenian poets. Euripides, whose name is always indissolubly connected with the other two, is in most ways a great contrast to them. He deals with subjects of the same sort, drawing them always from the legendary history of Athens and Greece. But he has none of the mysticism and reverence of Æschylus; none of the delight in beauty for its own sake of Sophocles; there is in him a note, almost new in Greek literature, a note of scepticism, criticism, and defiance. The injustices of woman's lot, the cruelties in the life of a slave touch him to the heart. It is this revolutionary element in him which has made him so influential, and has given rise to such divergent opinions as to his merits and character. We must mention here, too, the name of Aristophanes, the comedian, who wrote comedies very different from anything that the world has called by that name since then. They breathe the very spirit of carnival, but amidst all their buffoonery they exhibit the very highest powers of the poet and of the thinker as well. If Shakespeare had written a Christmas pantomime we should have had a product not unlike the comedies of Aristophanes.

Euripides.

Aristophanes.

All these men were poets and wrote in metre; but the equally difficult art of prose also had its beginnings, so far as Europe is concerned, in the Greece of this period. Herodotus, a native of Asia Minor, but long resident in Athens, wrote the history of the great Persian war, and in this work touched on the history, not only of Greece, but also of Lydia, Persia, and Egypt. It is an epoch-making work in the history of human thought. Its *naïveté*, its ready acceptance of the supernatural, its uncritical reproduction of the most improbable legends are what strike us first. But the scientific spirit is there too, in his effort to give a comprehensive picture of Greek life, in his sincere if unavailing pursuit of the truth, in the balancing of evidence, and the spirit of inquiry.

Athenian prose-writers.

Herodotus.

Thucydides seems separated from him by a very long period, but was as a matter of fact a younger contemporary. He wrote the history of the next great war, the Peloponnesian war, which we are soon to glance at. His is one of the greatest minds that Greece produced, and his history remains unsurpassed as a piece of narrative. But it is more than a brilliant narrative; it has in it the beginnings of social and political philosophy. It might be maintained that its composition was the most important result of the devastating war which it describes.

Thucydides.

Science and philosophy, too, made notable strides during this period. The physical sciences had begun in Asia Minor, and Thales of Miletus is reckoned as one of the first geometricians and speculators. He and his successors were the first to look nature in the face and to try to understand her meaning without introducing the hypothesis of supernatural wills. Outside of geometry their work seems strange, and even grotesque to us; but it inaugurated a movement which has not really been interrupted down to our own days. To these beginnings of science Athens contributed comparatively little. But her services to philosophy were unequalled by any other part of Greece; for Socrates was an Athenian. He was born in 469, and was put to death in 399. He is, therefore, a younger contemporary of the Periclean Age. He was a true philosopher in the original meaning of the word, for he was a lover of wisdom; but he appeared to his contemporaries as a critic of the science and thought which were in fashion in his own age. The ordinary pursuits of the Athenian and therefore the ordinary teaching of his time seemed to him irrational and evil. He cast scorn on the gropings of the inquirers into physical science. He desired knowledge as eagerly as they, but it was a knowledge which he believed to be more easily attainable. He hoped to learn something of the nature and the will of the Gods, of the nature of man and of the ends after which he should strive. And the method which he adopted was as original as his aims. He kept no school; he sought for no scholars. But he conversed eagerly with all who would talk to him in the sunny market-place of

Science and philosophy.

Socrates.

Athens. He would lead them on to discuss with him the meaning of virtue, of courage, of holiness and the like. And if he did nothing else he at least convinced them of their ignorance, and of the need of accurate definition of the words which they used so glibly. His criticism was associated with reverence and humour, and he gathered round him many of the brightest intelligences among the youth of Athens. Thus he was the founder of moral philosophy and of the human sciences, and European history has no name of greater importance than his in the whole history of thought.

It has been necessary to cast this glance upon the thought and art of the time, for without question these are the true gifts of Greece to European civilization. Many other nations have surpassed the Greeks in the arts of government and in military skill; but no nation can claim to have added as much as they to the world's fund of truth and beauty. And great as was the actual positive worth of what they did, its value does not end there. It was not only an actual achievement; it also opened the road for countless others; it was a stimulus and a prophecy.

Curtius, Book III., ch. 3, sketches the life of Athens during this period. Pericles' Funeral Oration is in Thucydides, Book II., chs. 35 to 46. The institutions of Athens, though at a rather later period, are clearly sketched in Aristotle's treatise *On the Athenian Constitution* (translated by F. G. Kenyon). Grant, *Greece in the Age of Pericles.* Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth.* Grote's history is occupied throughout with the explanation and the defence of Athenian institutions. The contemptuous views expressed in Mitford's *History of Greece* may now be read with interest and some amusement.

CHAPTER V

The Fall and Revival of Athens

THE great truce of 445 was an attempt to find some permanent basis for the inter-state system of Greece. But the passions of Greece were too strong, and her political jealousies too keen to allow peace to endure for long. Moreover, there

was no enemy threatening her existence. Persia was not dangerous any more. The time of Macedon had not come. So little more than ten years after the Thirty Years' Truce the Peloponnesian war came, which sealed the doom of the independence of Greece.

There is nothing mysterious about the origins of the war. What would at a much later date have been called the principle of the balance of power was influential in Greece, though the phrase had not yet been invented. The Greek states always spontaneously allied together against one which seemed by its strength to overshadow them. Athens now seemed to be the great danger, despite her defeats on the mainland and in Egypt. Her empire was, according to Greek standards, a vast one, and was now despotically governed. Her trade was advancing rapidly. The Peiræus was the chief harbour in the Ægean sea, and traders were crowding to it. If her military and naval power provoked the jealous opposition of Sparta, her commercial growth was especially obnoxious to Corinth. Corinth indeed must have felt herself strangled by the advancing power of Athens. Upon the east Athens possessed Salamis and Ægina, and with her overwhelming fleet could hold up the commerce of Corinth when she chose. Even on the west she had planted the Helots, who had rebelled from Sparta, at Naupactus, the narrowest point of the gulf of Corinth, and Naupactus held the gulf of Corinth as securely as Gibraltar holds the Mediterranean. The Athenian Empire was already great, but the ambitions of Athens were not yet all realized. The Greek colonies which were scattered over Sicily and the south of Italy were rich in themselves, and valuable centres for trade. There were many Athenians who dreamed of drawing them also into the Athenian net. Greece in many ways seems to present to us the history of Europe in miniature, and the origin of many European wars seems prefigured in this the greatest of all the civil wars of Greece.

Causes of the Peloponnesian war.

Commercial jealousy of Corinth.

The application of Corcyra for admission into the Athenian Empire brought matters to a head. Corcyra, though a colony of Corinth, had quarrelled with the mother state, and now

applied to Athens for admission to her empire in order to avoid the gathering revenge of Corinth. There was nothing in the Thirty Years' Truce to prevent it, but it was realized at Athens that, if Corcyra were admitted, a general war would probably ensue, and the matter was therefore debated anxiously. In the end it was determined to admit Corcyra. Corinth appealed to Sparta for help.

Corcyra.

Division of Greece during the Peloponnesian war.

Athens and Allies — Sparta and Allies — Neutral States

Towns founded later than, and battles fought after 400 B.C., shown thus:-[Mantinea 362 B.C.],[Megalopolis]

Greece in the Fifth Century B.C.

There followed much diplomatic fencing, but passions were inflamed on both sides, and in 431 B.C. the struggle began.

The war which followed—the Peloponnesian war as it is called—has probably been described more brilliantly than any other war in history. Thucydides the Athenian, who wrote of it, took a prominent part in it. He was banished for his failure in certain naval operations, and after that lived with the enemies of Athens. He had thus

Thucydides.

unique opportunities of information. To his knowledge he added profound thought, great impartiality and a wonderfully effective style. The result is one of the greatest of all historical compositions, a book which is a real landmark in the history of thought.

Pericles who ruled in Athens under the forms of the democracy with an almost personal rule—under whom, in the words of Thucydides, Athens was nominally a democracy, but really a personal government by the first man in the state—faced the war with confidence. It seemed to him inevitable, and he thought that Athens would be triumphant. He knew indeed that Athens had no land force which she could oppose to the disciplined and stubborn armies of Sparta with any hope of success; but he believed that behind the fortifications, which connected her with the sea, Athens was invulnerable. And Athens had on her side an overwhelming navy and a far greater supply of money than Sparta. Pericles urged Athens to stand on the defensive, and he believed that before long Sparta would be forced by exhaustion to sue for peace. The war policy of Pericles.

Such a policy tenaciously pursued might have led to another truce. It could hardly have given Athens a decisive victory, or settled the questions out of which the war had sprung. The first years of the war were wholly indecisive. In 431 and again in 430 the Spartans and their allies entered Attica with a large force, but the Athenians retired behind their walls and allowed the Spartans to ravage their fields undisturbed; the Athenians meanwhile engaged in maritime expeditions which inflicted damage, but opened out no prospect of a decisive issue. But in 430 a more terrible enemy than the Spartans attacked Athens. The plague showed itself within her walls, crowded as the space was by the vast immigration from the country districts, and soon raged like the Black Death in England in the fourteenth century. The effect on the resources and temper of the Athenians was very serious. There came another serious blow in the next year. For Pericles, who had recovered from an attack of the plague, was carried off by an obscure illness. His ascendency over the minds of the Athenians was their best chance Death of Pericles.

of success. After his death there was no one to give continuity to the policy of Athens. The Demos in the Ecclesia ruled without effective control; it showed many admirable qualities; it showed courage, patriotism, and endurance; but without good guidance it was liable to be led away by excitement, and to adopt plans without sufficient consideration. The war dragged on for several years with many exciting incidents, but with nothing that was decisive. Many of the events which are so wonderfully told by Thucydides are really quite trivial. In 425 the Athenian fleet cut off a few hundred Spartans in the island of Sphacteria on the coast of the Peloponnese, and, after nearly letting their prey slip through their fingers, in the end they forced them to surrender. So small was the free population of Sparta that the loss of two hundred citizens might perhaps have brought the war to an end for a time. But the Athenians, elated beyond measure by their success, refused all conditions, and the war went on. A new turn was given to it, when in 424 the Spartan general Brasidas—one of the few distinguished men whom Sparta produced during the war—marched with a small force into Chalcidice in the north of the Ægean sea, thus reaching a distant part of the Empire of Athens without exposing himself to the attacks of her terrible fleet. Athens did not treat the members of her empire with cruelty, but she had failed to conciliate them to her rule, and Brasidas by diplomacy and a show of force soon won many of them to his side. It was much the worst blow that Athens had received during the war, and she determined on a great expedition to recover her lost prestige in the northern districts. But the army which was under the command of Cleon, the popular leader of the Athenian democrats, was hopelessly defeated at Amphipolis. In the battle both Cleon and Brasidas were slain. Exhaustion and the indecisiveness of the struggle produced a desire for peace on both sides, and in 421 peace was made on the basis of the restoration of all conquests.

Capture of Sphacteria.

Brasidas.

For six years the peace was in name maintained; but the jealousies of the two great rivals filled all Greece with intrigues and contests. Athens was the scene of much party

rivalry. The conservative party was led by Nicias, a man respected for his life, and trusted for his honesty, but without political ability or moral courage. On the popular side a new leader had arisen in Alcibiades. There was no more brilliant man in Greece during his time. Handsome, eloquent, endowed with real capacity both for war and diplomacy, he might have given new life to Athens. But all was spoiled by his purely egotistic ambition, and no one contributed so much to the ruin of Athens as this brilliant son of hers. His first effort was to form a Peloponnesian confederacy against Sparta, and in this he came near to success; but then the league was broken up by the Spartans in a battle, which was won by the splendid fighting qualities of the ordinary soldiers. Soon Alcibiades turned to a greater and more dangerous scheme. The struggle between Athens and Sparta had so far been indecisive. It had become quite clear that Athenian soldiers could not face the Spartan armies with any chance of success, and the Spartans made no attempt to cope with the fleets of Athens. Each state was supreme on its own element.

Nicias and Alcibiades.

From the beginning of the war many ambitious Athenians had dreamed of conquests to be made in Sicily and Italy. There was no danger of another Brasidas marching thither by a land route. And if Sicily and the southern portion of Italy were added to the Athenian Empire the balance would incline decidedly to the side of Athens. The quarrels of the Sicilian states afforded a pretext for interference, and Alcibiades urged on the Athenians the desirability of undertaking an expedition, nominally for the assistance of one Greek state against another, but really for the conquest of Sicily. In spite of the opposition of Nicias the expedition was decided on. Three generals—Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus—were put in charge of the greatest forces which had ever been sent out from Athens. Most Athenians were confident of success.

The Sicilian expedition.

Yet success was not really probable. The tragic disaster which soon followed was indeed due to what may be called accidents. But Sicily possessed a large Greek population full of ambition and warlike energy. The Athenians were clearly

unequal to several other states of central Greece in military qualities. There was little chance that they would be able permanently to hold down the population of Sicily, led by the strong state of Syracuse, and situated so far from Athens herself.

Athenian disasters in Sicily.

The expedition was from the first a disappointment. The Sicilians showed no inclination to receive the Athenians or to join them against the Syracusans. Syracuse might perhaps have been taken by a sudden assault, but the generals were at variance with one another, and the golden chance slipped by. Then came a strange incident. Alcibiades was recalled to Athens to stand his trial for sacrilege. For Athens had been profoundly stirred by insults which had been offered to the statues of the Gods, and by rumours of even worse impieties done in secret. The name of Alcibiades had been mentioned in connection with these things, and perhaps party hate availed itself of this plea to recall him. He refused to face Athens while such a temper prevailed, and fled to Sparta, where he placed his knowledge and his skill at the service of his own country's worst enemy. The steps which Sparta took were taken at his suggestion. The war was openly renewed. A Spartan garrison was permanently established in Attica. The place chosen was Decelea in the mountains, and from this fact this latter part of the war is sometimes known as the Decelean war. Most important of all, a Spartan commander with a small force was sent to Sicily to give heart to the Sicilians.

The end of the Athenian expedition.

As a result of these steps complete ruin fell upon the Athenian expedition, and the story has been told with such skill by Thucydides that it still seems one of the greatest tragedies in history. After the arrival of the Spartan general, Gylippus, the Athenian attack on Syracuse failed completely. Nicias wrote home for reinforcements, and Athens by a supreme effort sent out another great force under the command of Demosthenes. The result was only to increase the number of the victims. For the arm in which Athens most trusted, and as it seemed with complete justification, now failed her. The great Athenian fleet was cooped up in the waters of the Syracusan harbour.

The men were wasted with disease; and the ships had deteriorated, as wooden ships always will where there is no possibility of taking them out of the water and drying or scraping them. In a great sea fight in the harbour of Syracuse they were hopelessly beaten, and all chance of flight by sea was thus taken away. An effort to escape to a friendly town was defeated, and led to the surrender and the death of the two generals.

Here the war would have ended if Sparta had had the energy to drive the blow home. But as Thucydides says the Spartans were very "comfortable enemies," slow and unenterprising. It must be remembered, moreover, that ancient states, and Sparta above all, had no accumulated treasure, and knew nothing of the way in which posterity may be made to pay for a war by the contraction of a national debt. Athens on her side showed admirable energy and courage, and thus it came to pass that there were still nine years before the dreary war came to an end. The most curious feature of this latter part of the war is the reappearance of Persia as a force in Greek politics. It was not that she had regained the prestige which she had lost at Salamis and Platæa. It is not with soldiers that she interferes, but with money. Another feature of the closing period of the war is the transference of hostilities to the Hellespont and the road to the Black Sea. The reason for this is that Athens was dependent on the corn supply which came from thence. After the disaster in Sicily her empire had broken away from her, and could not be coerced back into obedience. Even the island of Euboea was soon lost to her. If her ships did not bring corn from the Black Sea famine would reduce her to surrender.

The continuance of the war.

Such are the general features of the struggle. It seemed for a time as if Athens in spite of all might yet prove victorious. For Alcibiades soon quarrelled with the Spartans, and the Athenians were willing to receive him back in spite of all that happened, so great seemed his talents and so high his influence with the Persians. In 410 he won for them the greatest victory that fell to their lot during the whole course of the war, for the Spartan fleet and army was wholly defeated at Cyzicus in the Propontis.

Hopes of an Athenian victory.

But little came of this. Alcibiades returned in triumph to Athens, but the people could not overcome their distrust of him. He was deposed from command and nearly disappears from history. A great general Lysander emerged on the Spartan side. He gained the confidence of the Persian Prince, Cyrus, and in 405 crushed and captured the whole Athenian fleet and army at Ægospotami on the Hellespont. Even the spirit of Athens was broken now. The blockade of the city followed, and after a long agony Athens surrendered. Her fortifications were destroyed, her democracy was overthrown; her empire had already vanished. It seemed that for the future she would rank as one of the second rate states of Greece, and would exist only on the sufferance of Sparta (404 B.C.).

The fall of Athens.

But such was not the case, and having followed the history of Athens to the lowest point of her humiliation we will note the stages by which she rose, not indeed to her old condition of strength and confidence, but at least to an independent political life.

Athens owed her revival partly to the jealousies of the other Greek states. Hostility to Athens had held them together for a time, but when Athens was crushed their union gave place to hostility. Sparta allowed Athens to survive that she might balance the power of Corinth and Thebes. Her first triumph was the recovery of her free democratic constitution. The oligarchy which had been established by Sparta ruled tyrannously, and under the leadership of Thrasybulus and other exiles there was soon fierce insurrection against the new government. The democrats gained victories, but with their unaided strength could hardly have driven out their opponents. But the Spartans interfered again, wisely abandoned the support of a thoroughly unpopular government and allowed the restoration of the democracy. But Athens was still without fortifications connecting her with the sea, without a navy, without any empire or foreign connections. She had not, however, to wait long for the beginning of better things. Sparta had beaten Athens largely with the help of Persian gold and Persian support. The Spartan King Agesilaus saw with indignation

The revival of Athens.

the humiliating position into which Greece had sunk with regard to Persia. He determined on a step such as no Spartan king had ever contemplated before; he resolved on a war of conquest against Persia. The real weakness of Persia had been recently demonstrated by an expedition of Greeks in support of a pretender to the Persian throne, who had penetrated into the heart of Persia, had won a great battle near Babylon, and after their leader had fallen in the battle had made their way back to the coast in spite of all the efforts of the Persians to stop them. Had Agesilaus been able to carry out his great enterprise it might have been the beginning of great changes both for Persia and Greece. But, while Agesilaus was in Asia Minor, the hatred and jealousy of Sparta, stimulated perhaps by Persian gold, led to the outbreak of a rebellion against the rule of Sparta. The first efforts of the Spartans to crush the movement were unavailing. Agesilaus was recalled. He was just about to begin his attack upon Persia, but he loyally obeyed the call of his state, and his return was sufficient to restore the balance of military strength in favour of Sparta. Greece was disturbed by intermittent hostilities for some years, but there is only one incident which it is necessary to recall here. Persia availed herself of the general uprising against the power of Sparta to attack her on sea. The Persian navy was commanded by the Athenian Conon. The Spartan fleet was defeated at Cnidus on the coast of Asia Minor, and then Conon sailed forward with the Persian ships and appeared victoriously before Athens. But the Persian vessels had not come to undo the work of Salamis. The Persians saw in Athens now a valuable counterpoise against the might of Sparta, and the first and most important result of Conon's victory was the rebuilding of the walls of Athens which connected her with the sea. The work of the Peloponnesian war was thus largely undone. Athens was again a strong power at sea, and she could again bid defiance to any power which only controlled the land. She never rose again to supremacy in Greece, but she ranked henceforth among the two or three chief states. Soon she saw her way to the re-establishment of her empire, or rather of some part

Agesilaus attacks Persia.

Athenian maritime power re-established.

of it. She tried to avoid the old pit-falls, and to attach her allies to her by mutual interest. But the tendency of Greece to state isolation was too strong, and the new empire fell to pieces more rapidly than the old.

The history of *Thucydides* (the best translation by Jowett) is the supreme authority for the first part of the war. *Xenophon's Hellenica* continues the narrative. It has none of the greatness of Thucydides' work, but is full of interest, and has been well translated by Dakyns. *Plutarch's Lives* of *Pericles, Alcibiades, Nicias* and *Agesilaus:* the Life of Pericles specially valuable. *Cornford's Thucydides Myth-historicus* and *Grundy's Thucydides and the History of his Age* discuss various aspects of the Peloponnesian war.

CHAPTER VI

The Passing of Greek Independence

Greece after the Peloponnesian war.

For those who are trying to see the whole course of European history, and to understand how the fabric of European civilization has been built up, the political and military history of Greece after the Peloponnesian war possesses only a secondary interest. There are great statesmen, great orators, even great soldiers; but none of them are laying the foundations of the future order of Europe. Greece was divided against herself and incapable of union, nor was any one state strong enough to coerce the others into obedience. So the politics and wars of the period lead us nowhere, and their chief interest is that they show us the way by which the foreign power of Macedon marched to the conquest of the divided land. But of Greece in her decline, as of Greece at her zenith, it is equally true that her real importance is not to be found in her politics and her wars, but in the art and the literature, the science and philosophy which she continued to give to the world. To these we must return later. Meanwhile we must trace in

outline the history of the land until her liberties were overthrown by the battle of Chæroneia (338 B.C.).

The fall of Athens had left Sparta supreme in Greece. No other state was ready to take the place of her great rival. It seemed that she could mould Greece to what form she pleased. Perhaps with wiser statesmanship and a different national character she might have done for Greece the unifying work which Rome afterwards did for Italy. But Sparta was quite unequal to the situation. Her whole outlook was rigidly conservative; she conceived of no triumphs except through war; her policy had neither sympathy nor generosity. Her citizen population was very small, and she resolutely refused to admit any aliens to her franchise. Her rule in consequence lasted for a shorter space than the empire of Athens.

The decline of Sparta.

We saw at the close of the last chapter how the Spartan king Agesilaus had meditated a great campaign against Persia, and how he had been recalled at the most critical moment by news of the outbreak of resistance to the dominion of Sparta in Greece herself. It is needless to look deeply for the causes of the new movement. The Greek states all desired independence, and Sparta seemed to them to be exercising a sort of tyranny. So we soon find Thebes, Argos, and Corinth united in an alliance against Sparta, and the allies were subsequently joined by Athens, whose recovery after the great war we noted in the last chapter. But Sparta was still the first military state in Greece, and even before the return of Agesilaus it was clear that the allies were unequal to a contest with Sparta; the arrival of Agesilaus and his army further increased her superiority. But though Sparta could win victories, she could not by her unaided forces drive her enemies to a complete submission; and she applied for help to a strange quarter. Sparta posed as the most patriotic of Greek states; she was proud of the part she had played in the great Persian war, and she had just been engaged in a campaign against Persia which had been prevented by accident from achieving a great success. Yet it was to Persia that she now appealed for help in bringing the war to an end. She proposed to allow Persia to occupy once more the Greek states of Asia Minor, which had been liberated after the great

The "Peace of the King."

war; in return for these huge gains Persia was to support Sparta with her treasure and her armies and enable her to force on Greece what terms she would. Those terms were nominally the independence of all Greek states, and the break up of all leagues. But it was clear that this really meant the restoration of the supremacy of Sparta, for her own league was not to be broken up, while those dangerous to her would be resolved into their elements. The terms of the new arrangement were intimated to Greece by a letter from "the great king," and Greece had to accept them. The King of Persia seemed to have Greece at his feet, and the work of Salamis and Platæa seemed undone (387 B.C.).

The subjugation and revolt of Thebes.

But whatever the disgrace it was a great triumph for Sparta. All resistance disappeared. Thebes was now her greatest rival, and on Thebes her blows fell with special hardness. First she was made to abandon the leadership of the towns of Bœotia, which she had assumed, and which gave to her a power second only to that of Sparta; and shortly afterwards, in the year 383, Sparta managed in a time of peace, and by an act of treachery which shocked the conscience of Greece, to capture the citadel of Thebes, and thus Thebes became subject to her rule, and was held by a Spartan garrison which was permanently maintained there. The year 383 marks, then, the very zenith of the power of Sparta; but retribution was soon to come. In 379 a conspiracy resulted in the murder of the officers of the Spartan garrison at Thebes, and the liberation of the city. There ensued a long, dreary, and somewhat featureless war, in which the Athenians gave some assistance to the Thebans, and the Spartans ravaged the country of the Thebans again and again though with indecisive results. But Athens was weary and exhausted with the war, and suggested peace. It was agreed that the terms dictated a few years before by the King of Persia should again be taken as a basis, and that every state should be called upon to accept them. The Thebans refused unless they were allowed to retain their supremacy over Bœotia. The Spartans were rejoiced to see them thus isolated and prepared to deal against them a decisive blow.

But Thebes displayed unexpected strength. Her reputation did not stand high. She had played a poor part in the great war against Persia, and the Thebans were considered to be dull witted and lethargic. A new spirit, however, had been passing over the country, and Thebes possessed two statesmen of first rate merit in Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The Thebans had always fought well. They had defeated the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, and they had shown great courage and endurance in an encounter with the troops of Agesilaus on their return from Asia, and it had been their custom to fight in a deeper line than was usual with the Greeks. Still they were not thought equal to resisting the might of Sparta single-handed. When, however, King Cleombrotus led an army into Bœotia, he encountered near Leuctra a Theban army which was prepared to resist him. Epaminondas, the Theban leader, had arranged his army in a fashion new to Greek experience. It had been the rule for Greek armies to fight in long lines, and for the whole line on each side to be brought into action at the same time. But Epaminondas held back his line in the centre and the right, and threw forward his left in close and dense formation upon the Spartan right. He gained a complete victory (371). Cleombrotus was killed, and though the Spartans fought with great courage nothing could turn the tide of battle. For the first time in the history of Sparta her army had been out-generalled, out-fought, and completely defeated. And the defeat was final. Sparta had none of the elasticity of the Athenians. At a single blow Sparta was precipitated from the pedestal on which she had stood for so long, and never again controlled the destinies of Greece.

Epaminondas and the battle of Leuctra.

Would Thebes succeed where Athens and Sparta had failed? Would she weld by persuasion or force the jarring elements of Greece into one stable whole? In Epaminondas she had a great soldier and a great statesman. If he failed it would be because the task was too great for any one, who had only the forces at the disposal of a Greek state to work with. He won a power in Greece greater than had ever been held by any individual before. With a great army he

The Theban supremacy.

invaded the Peloponnese, and Sparta could not venture to dispute his entrance into what had been a sacred Dorian enclosure. It was the aim of Epaminondas not merely to humiliate Sparta but to raise into vigorous existence the races on whom she had for many generations trampled. Arcadia to the north of Sparta had never received the city organization which to a Greek was the necessary condition of a high civilization. Epaminondas founded the city of Megalopolis to act as the capital of Arcadia. Then entering Messenia, which had been conquered and reduced to a state of helotage at the very beginning of the history of Sparta, he restored the Messenians to independence, and founded for them the city of Messene. Most of the city states of Greece co-operated with Epaminondas in his great work. But soon the old jealousies and rivalries emerged again. The Theban supremacy was as little liked as the Athenian Empire had been. For a time Thebes carried all before her. She extended her influence into districts which had hitherto been almost free from the interference of the great Greek states. Thus she set Thessaly in order, and when Macedonia was torn with civil wars she entered as arbiter, and one of the princes of the royal house of Macedon was taken to Thebes as a hostage. His name was Philip; he was destined to add to it the title of "the Great"; and in his career, which marks the opening of a new chapter for Greek and European history, his residence in Thebes was undoubtedly an influence of the greatest importance. But the end of the Theban power was not long in coming. In 362 Epaminondas entered the Peloponnese again to support his arrangements, which were threatened by an alliance of Spartans, Athenians, and other discontented states. In the battle of Mantinea which followed Theban tactics again gained the day, but in the moment of victory Epaminondas himself was slain (362 B.C.). His death brought with it the collapse of the Theban supremacy, and Thebes sank at once into the position of a small Greek state. Probably she had attempted a task too great for her forces, and certainly she had no statesman who was equal to taking up again the work and ideas of Epaminondas.

Philip of Macedon at Thebes.

From 362 to 338 there was no leader among the Greek

states. But meanwhile there arose on the northern frontier a new power—the monarchy of Macedon—which proceeded with ever-increasing success to influence Greek affairs, and finally succeeded in controlling them as they had never been controlled before. The Greeks usually called the Macedonians barbarians, and sometimes represented the Macedonian attack on the liberties of Greece as being the same kind of event as the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes. But it seems that there was a large admixture of Greek blood in the Macedonian race, and that their language was a dialect of Greek. The claim of their royal family to be regarded as Greek had never been disputed by the umpires at Olympia, whose authority on such matters was regarded as final. The Macedonians were indeed backward Greeks—Greeks in much the same political condition as they are represented in the pages of Homer. They were for the most part rough mountaineers and farmers; their cities were few and small, and they had little acquaintance with the arts and sciences which were being carried forward to such perfection in southern Greece. Though revolutions and rebellions had been frequent among them, no other form of government had been suggested for them except monarchy, and at the death of Epaminondas the monarchy was firmly established, and in 359 Philip, the former hostage of Thebes, occupied the throne. We know him chiefly from accounts derived from unfriendly Greek orators and writers, but even so it is clear that he was a man of remarkable talents—a great and an original soldier, a great organizer, capable of meeting the Greeks with their own weapons of corruption and intrigue, and of beating them when it came to the arbitrament of the sword. And behind him was a robust, simple, united population, which supported him through all his schemes, and carried them through to victory.

The rise of Macedonia.

Greece presents us with a very marked contrast. We must not too lightly speak of her *decadence*, for the word is difficult to define, and, as we have said, Greece was still doing a noble work for the discovery of truth and the development of beauty. But certainly, in face of the threat of Macedonian interference, her chances of

The decadence of Greece.

survival seemed small. There was no state to lead and no statesman to guide her. No alliance lasted for a longer time than was required to beat down a power which seemed too strong. And inside each state parties were apt to degenerate into mere factions, ready to secure a party success even at the price of national ruin. It is extremely hard to speak with confidence of the moral condition of any people or period. In some ways the moral standards of Greece were improving. Her thinkers took a more humane view of slavery and asserted, though in vain, the unity of the Hellenic race, and the need of defending its independence against dangers which threatened from the west as well as the north. But in what may be called the political virtues there seems to have been a real decline. Except in Sparta and in some of the more pastoral regions of Greece military service was shunned, and the defence of the state was entrusted to the care of mercenary soldiers whose leaders begin to assume an importance in Greece similar to that of the *condottieri* of Italy in the fourteenth century. The devotion of the population of Athens to pleasure, though to the refined pleasures of the Athenian theatre, was deplored by her patriotic statesman Demosthenes, because it made the citizens refuse to spend the necessary money on the national defence, and to bear the burdens which were required for the safety of the state. Lastly, the charges of corruption are so universal that it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the actions of politicians were often decided by motives of personal profit. Such a population had little chance of victory in a contest with the warlike and centralized monarchy of the Macedonians.

Demosthenes and Macedonia.

Step by step, by force and by fraud, the King of Macedon made his way to dominion over Greece. The revived Athenian Empire might have done much to stay his progress, but just at this time that empire began spontaneously to break up. In vain the Athenians attempted to coerce the members into obedience. They no longer had the naval prestige or power of the old days, and they were beaten in two decisive encounters. They let their empire drop, and had to meet Macedon with their own resources. For it was upon Athens that the task of resisting Macedon

chiefly fell. This was due partly to the fact that her commercial and maritime interests were first threatened, but it was also due to the presence in Athens of the great orator Demosthenes. He was no soldier, perhaps not strictly a statesman; his one weapon was his power of speech, and in that he has not been excelled and probably not equalled by any orator in ancient or modern times. He possessed every power that a speaker can use for the persuasion of his audience—humour, sublimity, irony, clearness of argument, dexterity in appealing to the strongest passions. His policy is not so incontestible as his eloquence. His mind was full of the past greatness of Athens and of Greece. Thucydides was his chief source of inspiration, and he dreamed that the age of Pericles might return, and that Athens might again be the school of Greece and her saviour from foreign dominion. It is possible that it would have been wiser in him to accept the supremacy of Macedon, and it is certain that he represented the Macedonians in unfair colours. Yet most modern readers are drawn over to his side. It seems better that Athens should fall in a heroic struggle to maintain her independence than that she should seek safety in a tame acquiescence in a foreign yoke.

Friction between Philip and Athens began immediately after the accession of Philip to the throne. The city of Amphipolis was close to his frontiers, and valuable because of its nearness to the gold mines of the neighbourhood. He attacked it, and induced Athens to abstain from interference by an illusory promise of handing it eventually over to her, and thus secured a most valuable possession. Next he turned against the maritime confederacy of Olynthus which was a threat to all his coasts. Demosthenes believed that if Olynthus fell Athens would be the next victim, and he called on the Athenians to send help. They did as he urged them; but not soon enough, nor in sufficient force to avert their doom from the Olynthians. A little before this another struggle had broken out in Greece. It is known as "the sacred war," but it was in truth little more than a frontier war between the Thebans and the Phocians, in the course of which the Phocians had seized on the treasures of

Progress of the arms of Macedon.

the temple at Delphi in order to pay their mercenaries. The Thebans had fallen so far from the height at which they had stood in the days of Epaminondas that they were defeated by the Phocians, and at last appealed to Philip for help against their once despised enemy. Thus Philip could interfere in central Greece as the defender of the God Apollo against the sacrilegious Phocians. He used the position with the greatest skill. In 346 he forced the Athenians to accept peace at his hands and at the same time made himself master of the pass of Thermopylæ which had been held by the Phocians. He was thus in possession of the key to central Greece, and never let it pass out of his hands.

The end of free Greece.

Greece had still eight more years of independence. It is a period most hard to unravel, for our information comes mainly from the speeches of the party leaders at Athens. Demosthenes strove with might and main to organize resistance to Philip and delivered his famous Philippics attacking the character and policy of the Macedonian king. But an obscure intrigue connected with the administration of the temple of Delphi soon gave Philip another opportunity of entering Greece with an armed force. Now at last his designs were so plain that Thebes joined with Athens, and some other Greek states in a war against him. But all was in vain. When in 338 the Greek forces met the Macedonians at Chæroneia they sustained for some time the onset of the Macedonian foot, but were then swept away by the cavalry led by Alexander, who was one day to succeed his father Philip and reign as Alexander the Great. The independence of Greece was over, and never again appeared except in a spasmodic and illusory form.

Was the victory of Macedon an evil or a good thing? It is not easy to decide. The Greeks had of late made no good use of their liberties; the Macedonians were not cruel or unsympathetic rulers, and their rule, as we shall see, resulted in an immense expansion of the language and ideas of Greece. But it was not altogether an illusion which made Demosthenes, and those who thought with him, fight for the maintenance of Greek independence. The intellect and taste of Greece had still great things to give to the world, but it was

only in an atmosphere of liberty that the fairest flower of their art and poetry could develop itself.

We have said that the intellectual life of Greece since the Peloponnesian war is a great contrast to her fruitless wars and politics. The great age of Greek poetry was indeed over, though Aristophanes still produced his comedies down to 388. In sculpture there is much fine work done by Praxiteles and others, but nothing that is worthy to rank with the art of Phidias. Temples were built in plenty, but nothing which possesses or deserves the reputation of the Parthenon. But for all this there is no ground for speaking of Greece as intellectually decadent. It would be rather true to say that her chief interests had been transferred to other objects. The oratory of Demosthenes alone would suffice to show that the intellect of Greece was as keen and brilliant as ever. And in science and philosophy greater work than ever was being done. The seed sown by Socrates had fallen on most fruitful ground. Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle all derive directly or indirectly their impulse to philosophy from him, and there are no greater names in the history of philosophy than the last two. In Plato the apparently simple teaching of Socrates is carried on to heights undreamed of by the master; for Plato was a poet as well as a metaphysician and philosopher. His speculations are among the most permanent influences in European civilization, and extended wide outside of his own circle of followers. He treated of ethics and metaphysics, of religion and of politics. All Greek and Roman thought bore traces of his influence; Christianity absorbed much of his spirit and his ideas; modern political and economic thought shows many traces of its derivation from him, and has sometimes revived itself by a return to his writings. With touching devotion he ascribes all his ideas to his master Socrates. Aristotle (384–322) was a less poetical, less emotional, less religious thinker. He took all the knowledge of the day to be his province. Ethics and æsthetics, politics, and physical science all received his attention, and all were advanced by him. His writings are not great literature as those of Plato are, but he makes

The intellectual life of Greece.

Plato.

Aristotle.

more definite contributions to science. His own age valued him, and he was the teacher of Alexander the Great; his influence, too, is clear in Roman history; but curiously it is not until the Middle Ages that his reputation stood at its highest point. He became then the founder of the brilliant school of Arabian scientists and philosophers, and from them his philosophy passed again into European thought. His authority was rated only a little lower than that of the Scriptures, and he was called by Dante "the master of those who *know*." At the Renaissance his authority was for the moment shaken, and the merely superstitious reverence with which his name had been regarded was destroyed. But sober criticism has rather raised our sense of his importance. Few men if any have contributed more than he to form the intellectual basis on which our whole civilization rests.

The great historians of Greece (Grote, Curtius, Thirlwall) are here our best guides. Grote writes of Macedonian history with some unfairness: he cannot forgive Macedonia for having destroyed Greek liberty: Thirlwall will be found at once fairer and clearer. The speeches of Demosthenes lose much in a translation, but even in that form are the best authority for the intricate politics of the time. Plutarch's lives of Pelopidas, Agesilaus, Phocion, and Demosthenes.

CHAPTER VII

Alexander the Great and his Empire

THE battle of Chæroneia does not bring us to the end of Greek history by any means, but it certainly marks a great change in its chief features. The predominance of the city state was at an end. Hitherto the city with its ring-wall, its popular assembly, its small territory adjacent, has been the political unit. It was never destined to be so again to at all the same degree. The city state still existed in Greece; Rome was at first a city state; there were city states in Italy and Germany in the Middle Ages. But the history of Europe is henceforth

concerned with much greater states than those which Greek sentiment admitted. The Macedonian monarchy now conquered a great empire in the East; then the republic of Rome built up another great empire in the West. In course of time that broke up, and smaller states emerged, but the city state never returned to its old importance.

After the battle of Chæroneia all Greece, with the exception of Sparta, surrendered to Philip. He showed no desire to play the tyrant. Rather he wished to be accepted as the representative of Greece. It was clear that Macedon must rule, but under that rule there would be room for much local independence for the individual states. Philip's immediate object was to arrange the affairs of Greece so that he might be ready to enter upon a great campaign against Persia. But on the eve of his great enterprise he was cut down by the hand of an assassin. He had done his work, and the accession of his more capable son did not change the direction of the policy of Macedon. In 334 B.C. Alexander passed over into Asia, and began his wonderful series of campaigns which changed the face of history. He marched from Macedonia to Egypt, to the Caspian Sea, and the Punjab, and victory always attended his arms; hardly a single check occurred to mar his record. The causes of this series of victories are to be found not merely in the genius of Alexander, though history knows few or no generals of greater genius. What other causes are there? First, Persia was really a weak and helpless state—"a colossus stuffed with clouts," as was said of Spain in the sixteenth century. The royal palace was the scene of constant intrigues and often of bloody feuds. The organization of state and army was notoriously corrupt; the Persian army had made little advance on the arms and tactics which she had employed in the great war against Greece. But even against a better prepared enemy Macedon would have been a most formidable antagonist. She was a military power of a kind new to history. The monarchy was strong and enthusiastically supported by the people in most of its enterprises. All that Greece knew of tactics and warfare had been adopted and improved. The battle array which had served Epaminondas

Schemes and death of Philip.

The cause of Alexander's victories.

so well in his wars against Sparta had been developed into the famous Macedonian phalanx. This was a dense array of footmen armed with long spears called *sarissæ*. So dense was the mass, so many were the spear points projecting before the line, that the charge of the phalanx carried all before it whenever any enemy dared to resist its direct assault. But the favourite arm of Alexander was the heavy cavalry which he commanded in person; it was the heavy cavalry which delivered the decisive blow in most of his battles. Most noticeable also in Macedonian warfare is the use of siege engines. The Greeks had been curiously deficient here; in the Peloponnesian war the Spartans had never even attempted to break through the many miles of walls by which the city of Athens was defended. But Alexander never found fortifications strong enough to hold him at bay. The siege of Tyre is the best proof of what he was capable of in this direction. One important point of organization must also be noted. The Greeks cannot be said to have had an officer class. In Athens the generals of this year might serve in the ranks next year. But the Macedonian system was quite different. Alexander had no doubt that special training and the experience of a lifetime were necessary in those who had the direction of military affairs, and the officer class in the Macedonian armies received special training.

The early victories of Alexander.

From the first Alexander showed his immense superiority over the forces of Persia. He defeated the army—not a large one—which attempted to dispute the passage of the river Granicus. He then passed along the west coast of Asia Minor, and swept the Greek cities into his net without much difficulty. Only at Halicarnassus was there serious resistance, and there his siege engines showed what a new force had come into the world. He struck next into the centre of Asia Minor, and overawed the populations of the interior, and then moved south-east through the mountains of Cilicia, expecting that the Persians would attempt to hold against him one or other of the passes; but all were abandoned, and he reached the Mediterranean again without encountering an enemy. Shortly afterwards, however, by the banks of the river Issus, he found an immense and

unwieldy army waiting for him. King Darius was present in person. But mere numbers were of no avail against Alexander, and Darius was driven in hopeless rout (333). Alexander did not pursue him, but left him to collect another army at his leisure, while the victorious army marched south to annex Syria and Egypt. The great city of Tyre, confident in her island situation, refused submission, and so strong were the defences of Tyre that it seemed that Alexander would here have to confess defeat; but his engineers built a mole from the shore to the city walls, and soon Alexander was master of the great city. He entered Egypt next, rather as a liberator than a conqueror, for the Egyptians had always felt the Persian rule a foreign one. The country with its fertile soil and its important strategic position came over to him without an effort at resistance. He founded the great city of Alexandria, destined at a later date to be one of the chief centres for the diffusion of Greek civilization, and then prepared for his march to Mesopotamia. An immense Persian host had been collected to resist him, but in a great battle, which has always borne the name of Arbela, though it was fought at some distance from that place, the Macedonian army was again victorious, and Darius was again a fugitive. The great Persian capitals which had for so long dazzled the imagination of the Greeks now fell, one after the other, unresisting into the hands of Alexander. He did no damage at Babylon and Susa, but the Palace of Persepolis was burnt to the ground. His aim now was to make himself master of the person of Darius, for he wished to appear not merely as the conqueror of the old Persian monarchy, but as its successor, and an arrangement with the fugitive king would have been of the greatest service to him. But Darius was killed by one of his own generals.

Battle of Issus.

Conquest of Egypt.

Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

Alexander had the assassin put to death. It was henceforth one of his chief aims to conciliate Persian feeling, for he wished to found an empire which should be half Macedonian and half Persian. He encouraged marriages between his soldiers and Persian women; he himself adopted something of the Persian habits and dress, and introduced a sort of Persian ceremonial into his

Effort to conciliate the Persians.

Court. He began, too, in accordance with the ideas of the East, to claim for himself almost divine honours. The story was current how, when he marched to the temple of Zeus Ammon in an oasis of Egypt, the priestess had saluted him as the son of the god, and Alexander encouraged a belief in this strange story. There was policy as well as vanity in this attitude; he would need some sort of supernatural sanction if he was to be accepted as king by the wide dominions which it was his aim to rule. His new policy met with its chief opponents from the old Macedonian officers, who, accustomed to the freedom of camp life and the simple ceremonial of the Macedonian court, were unwilling to accept the inferior position which was allotted to them in Alexander's new schemes.

Invasion of central Asia and India.

His career of conquest was by no means at an end. It is probable indeed that his remaining campaigns showed his military genius more decisively than his early victories over the effete armies of Persia; for henceforth he had to fight against wild and untamed races, in lands little known, where the nature of the country was the best protection to the inhabitants. He was determined to bring within his sway all that had ever been claimed by the crown of Persia. He marched north to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea; he fought in what is now Beluchistan and Afghanistan; finally he made his way through the passes of the Himalayas into the plains of the Punjab. The resistance of the natives was overcome, and he may have dreamed of the conquest of the Indian peninsula. But his soldiers, sated with glory and laden with booty, refused to enter upon this new adventure, and Alexander, perhaps not unwillingly, gave the order to return towards Babylon. But he did not propose to retrace his former route. With one part of his army he marched westwards, following as far as possible the coast route, and finding greater trials and sufferings in the waterless Gedrosian desert than he had suffered at the hands of any enemy. Another part of his army was placed on a rapidly built navy and sent down the Indus under Nearchus. It was missing for a long time but at length made its way to the mouth of the Euphrates, having had its own great difficulties to contend with, and having

added very materially to the geographical knowledge of the world.

To what conquests was Alexander now to turn? Would he devote himself to the organization of his empire, and show as great a capacity for organization as for conquest? Or would he turn his arms against the West now that the East had nothing more to yield him? If he had lived to take either course he might have powerfully influenced the future. But in 323 B.C. a wasting sickness fell upon him while he was at Babylon and he died. His vast achievements had been crowded into a life of less than thirty-three years.

Death.

The result of these conquests may be summed up in the phrase "the expansion of Greece." Alexander appreciated to the full the superiority of the intellect of Greece; and the trade, the civilization, and the language of Greece poured down all the channels which his armies opened. The influence of Greece indeed did not extend permanently beyond the Tigris; but henceforth Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt were Greek lands, and the time soon came when Greek learning found homes in the newly won lands, where it throve even more vigorously than in old Greece. The chief of all these new homes was Alexandria, and the debt of the modern world to that great city is too little recognized. Scholarship, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, received an impulse there perhaps greater than any that was given outside of Athens. This, however, belongs not to Alexander but to his successors, and it is necessary in the briefest way to summarize the fate of his dominions after his untimely death.

Influence of Alexander's conquests.

Had Alexander lived it is doubtful whether he would have been able to devise any system by which the many widely differing states, lands, and races could have been held together after his death. His early and unexpected death made the break up of his empire inevitable. There was none to take his place: no child of mature years: no law of succession to determine the appointment of a successor. His marshals—the great generals who had fought under him and shared his glories—laid hands

Break up of Alexander's Empire.

on such parts of his dominions as they were best able to reach, and there ensued a long scramble for crowns and sceptres. We can make no effort to trace the course of the confused struggle which followed. We can only note the general results; we shall return again to the history of this period for a moment when we come to the collision between the Roman Republic and the East.

Three fairly strong and stable states emerged from the confusion, and many others with less of strength and stability. Ptolemy possessed himself of Egypt, and his descendants occupied the throne there up to within a few years of the Christian era. The strength of the situation of Egypt; the fertility of the soil when irrigated by Nile water; the excellent commercial situation of the land made of the Ptolemies' empire a rich and powerful state. For Egypt itself the coming of this Greek dynasty marked an altogether new epoch. The people lived their life as of old, and the faith and ceremonial of the Egyptian religion still subsisted: but the reigning dynasty was pure Greek, and fully alive to the importance of Greek art and thought. Alexandria became not only a great trading centre, but also the great home of Greek learning.

The intellectual influence of Alexandria.

Much of the Alexandrine learning was mere compilation and pedantry. But poetry also flourished there. The greatest name is that of Theocritus, who flourished early in the third century B.C., and who amidst the sands of Egypt sang of the pastoral pleasures and beauties of Sicily. His is the greatest name in pastoral poetry. Philosophy and science were both eagerly prosecuted, and in both departments the Alexandrine school gave to the world things of the utmost importance. In science the name of Euclid is only the best known (not really the greatest) name among a number of geometricians and men of science. Greek philosophy was studied and the Alexandrine school had ultimately great influence on the development of Christian theology. Philo the Jew lived there at the beginning of the Christian era, and he prepared the way for much that was afterwards prominent in Christian dogma. Two centuries later (184–233 A.D.) Origen of Alexandria exercised a profound influence on

Christian thought, and especially introduced into Christian theology many of the ideas of Plato. Nor must the Alexandrian school of medicine be passed over in silence. It continued the researches of the Greek biologists and anatomists, and produced in Galen (131–200 A.D.) perhaps the greatest force in the history of medicine, the study of whose writings at the time of the Renaissance is regarded as the starting-point of modern medical science. All this comes long after the period we have now reached; but it is introduced here to show how continuous was the intellectual life of the Greek world, and how even in this late period it was still from Greeks that the thoughts were coming which ruled the world.

But to return, while Ptolemy established a Greek dynasty in Egypt, Seleucus did the same by the banks of the Euphrates. Much of the Eastern possessions of Alexander were soon lost and the actual possessions of the Seleucid Empire were usually limited to Syria. Nor can we trace to Syria influences of the same beneficial kind that we have found in Ptolemaic Egypt. But Greek cities and Greek art flourished there, and it was through Syria that Greek influences penetrated Judea right down to the birth of Christ. The Syrian rulers claimed the title of "King of Kings," and were swollen with pride and contempt for other nations; but no state collapsed so immediately as Syria, when it came into collision with the legions of Rome.

Syria.

The successors of Alexander ruled with more firmly rooted power in Macedonia. There was a long period of confusion, but then the crown of Macedonia fell into the power of the descendants of Antigonus, one of the generals of Alexander, and they retained it until the Roman power came to dispossess them in the second century B.C. They never ruled, however, over all the territory that had belonged to King Philip. Greece struggled against the yoke, and though the Macedonian kings kept a kind of pre-eminence in the land by means of garrisons in certain fortresses (which were called the Fetters of Greece) they never directly controlled the cities or the people of Greece. East of Macedonia Thrace lived for the most part in masterless confusion until, in the first century of the Christian era, it was made into

Macedonia.

a Roman province. Westward Epirus broke off into a separate kingdom, which, under its King Pyrrhus, played an important part in Roman history.

Asia Minor was never controlled by any one of the followers of Alexander. It was fiercely contested for between them, and so its various divisions managed to maintain a large measure of independence. The peninsula was a strange mixture of states. Kingdoms like Pontus and Pergamus, cities like Rhodes, republics, tyrannies, confederations, empires—all are to be found on the coasts of Asia Minor; and in the interior there was the strange community of Galatia, consisting of Gauls, men of the same wide-spread race as the inhabitants of Gaul then and Wales and Ireland now, who had poured into the Balkan peninsula, and, after doing much damage in Greece and elsewhere, had found a permanent home in Asia Minor. Their wanderings are an early incident in that great movement of the peoples which we shall be so much concerned with at the fall of the Roman Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Asia Minor.

Thirlwall carries his history on to the Roman conquest of Greece. Grote ends with the death of Alexander: Curtius with the battle of Chæroneia. Arrian's *History of Alexander's Campaigns* is the nearest approach to a contemporary narrative. Plutarch's Alexander is one of his finest works. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest; the Empire of the Ptolemies; the Silver Age of the Greek World.* Bevan's *House of Seleucus.* Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon.*

CHAPTER VIII

The Rise of Rome and Her Early Constitutional Struggles

If Alexander had carried out his intention of attacking the lands of the western Mediterranean he would have encountered strong powers. He would have found on the north coast of Africa in Carthage a vigorous and warlike community

which it would have required all his efforts to overthrow. And if he had gone to Italy he would have found Rome, already strong and conscious of her greatness, but engaged in a desperate struggle with her neighbours the Samnites. If Alexander had thrown his weight on the side of the Samnites, who can say what the consequences would have been for Rome and through Rome for the world! We must turn back now to see what kind of state this was that was working out its great destiny by the banks of the Tiber.

Rome and Greece compared.

The Romans and the Greeks come before us in ancient history as great contrasts, both in character and in achievement. Greece is the fountain head of art, science, philosophy; from Rome Europe has derived its ideas of law and government. The Greeks were changeable, the Romans were conservative; the whole bent of the Greek mind was æsthetic and speculative; the Romans were practical and excelled pre-eminently in administration and war. But it must always be remembered that the Romans and the Greeks were nearly akin to one another; their languages were closely related; under all dissimilarities there was a great likeness in their religion and their institutions. Above all, despite the vast difference of their destinies, despite the fact that Rome established the most enduring of all known empires, and Greece established nothing in the political sphere which was enduring at all, they start from the same point. Rome, like Athens or Corinth or Sparta, begins as a city state.

The obscure origins of Rome.

The clouds that surround the early history of Rome are peculiarly difficult to penetrate. When Rome arrived at full national self-consciousness she turned with great pride to her own past. Her poets and historians told with loving care and without conscious deceit the legends and early history of the small state which had grown so large. But they read into that early history their own institutions of a later date and their own imperial ideals. They amplified hints that had been handed down by early tradition, and when there were no hints they frankly invented. The result is one of great interest and value; but the value is not primarily a historical

one. The legends must always be read as showing us the ideals of Rome at her best. They are indeed the Bible of the Romans. But we cannot accept them as a narrative of facts. It is not for us here to attempt to distinguish truth from legend in these early stories, but rather to recount the little that may be known about the beginnings of Rome.

Geography of Italy.

Italy, like Greece, is a land in which the mountains and the sea have played a great part in moulding the destinies of the people. But Italy is not broken up into self-contained districts as Greece was, nor has she the indented coast that gave to Greece so many harbours and roadsteads. The great range of the Apennines runs from the west to the east across the great northern plain, but then keeps close to the east coast for most of its course. Hence, except for the great river Po, the rivers on the east coast are small, and unimportant, while all the chief streams enter the sea on the west. In the early days of navigation Italy communicated easily with the western islands—with Sicily, Sardinia, and even with the north coast of Africa; but communication with Greece and the east was a more difficult matter. About the middle of the west coast of Italy the Tiber makes its way into the sea, carrying down from the Apennines for most of the year a rapid flood which was, however, navigable by the small ships of the time. Fifteen miles from the mouth a group of low hills rose on its left (eastern) bank, and a fortified post on one of these, the Palatine hill, is the real beginning of Rome. Rome was from a very early date a commercial centre of importance. The wares of the Latin communities on the left bank and even of the Etruscans on the right were there taken aboard and conveyed down to the mouth of the river and thence to other ports of Italy and perhaps to foreign countries. There was probably a time when at least two communities were to be found among the seven hills, but they had at a very early date been all absorbed into one, and that was surrounded by a ring wall, the building of which was ascribed to one of the early kings of Rome, Servius Tullius. Of these kings history or legend gives us the names of seven. It is at least certain that Rome

The Kings of Rome.

was at first ruled by kings, and that these kings were of the type which has been made familiar to us in the pages of Homer. The King of Rome commanded in war and administered justice, but he was far from absolute. By his side was the Senate, the council of Elders as its name may be translated, and the citizens had also a meeting of their own, something analogous to the Ecclesia of the Athenians. The relations between these different elements of the state would be decided by custom and tradition, not by law. But monarchy proved an unstable form of government in Rome as in Greece. Tarquin the Proud is given as the name of the last king, and his expulsion is dated at the year 510 B.C.

Rome was henceforth a republic. The place of the king in the constitution was taken by two magistrates called consuls, who were elected for a year, and during that year commanded the armies and were the chief magistrates within the city. But if they had in their joint hands the functions of the king they were far from ruling with the power of a king. Each was checked by his own colleague; they ruled only for a year; and during that year they were expected to pay the greatest deference to the Senate. The Senate was indeed the great institution of Rome. It consisted of the great men of the city, who held their places in it for life. Its duties were nominally only to advise the magistrates, but it came to be the real ruler of the Roman state; for its members were all experienced in public affairs, and their life tenure of office gave them a natural ascendancy over the constantly changing magistrates. The third element yet remains to be noticed. The citizens met in their assemblies (*comitia*). The chief of these was the *comitia centuriata*, or the meeting of the *centuries*. Here the citizens were arranged according to the rank they would hold when called upon for military service, and the votes were given in such a way that wealth and not numbers really decided the issue. The *comitia* had great if indefinite powers; they elected the consuls; they acted as a court of appeal from the decisions of the consuls; and they made the laws of the state. The history of Rome shows us great rivalry between the three elements of the state that we have mentioned. For the

The early Republic.

greater part of the history of the republic it is the Senate which really rules; but the time came when its authority was challenged by the popular assembly with success; but the power of the people was short-lived, and led quickly up

Races in Italy.

to the triumph of the executive part of the state, and this triumph brings in the empire. This evolution took close on five hundred years to accomplish.

At the close of the regal period it must have seemed most unlikely that the future of the Italian peninsula lay with Rome. She was by no means the strongest or most civilized

state in the peninsula. Such a title would probably have been deserved by the Etruscans who lay both to the north and south of Rome. This strange people, whose origins are still undetermined, and whose language is still unread, was stronger in numbers and richer than Rome; it had, moreover, made more progress in the arts of life; Rome in the end owed much to it in architecture and religious ideas. In the south of the peninsula were a number of Greek states of whom we have seen something already. Cumæ and Tarentum especially exhibited all the usual features of a Greek city; and beyond the straits of Messina there was the great city of Syracuse, which seemed likely at one time to establish her rule over all Sicily, and much of Italy. And besides these representatives of ancient civilization there were in the north, in the plains of what is now called Lombardy, the Gauls, warlike, excitable, and akin to the great race which inhabited Gaul beyond the Alps. The centre and south of Italy was full of a people akin to the Romans but more backward. Among these the Samnites are the best known name. They were the highlanders of Italy, and with them Rome waged her longest and most doubtful wars.

The races of Italy.

The task which lay before Rome was not merely one of external conquest. She had also her own internal troubles and her settlement of these is at once one of her greatest achievements and the condition of her foreign triumphs. The state seemed threatened by a civil strife, which might have rent it in twain and taken it from the list of great Italian powers. For in Rome there was a privileged class, which eagerly defended its position against an unprivileged class, which no less eagerly demanded admission within the charmed circle. The privileged class consisted of the *patricians*, and represents the old citizens of Rome; the unprivileged, the *plebeians*, were of diverse origin, but they were alike in being excluded from participation in the honours of the state. The plebeians indeed, like the patricians, were admitted to a vote in the *comitia* of the centuries, but in that assembly wealth, as we have seen, could outweigh numbers, and no plebeian

Domestic troubles of Rome.

was admitted to the consulship or to any office of the state. The plebeians do not seem to have been cruelly treated. They were not like the helots of Sparta; they were in a position superior to that of the resident aliens of Athens. But in history revolutions have usually come not from those who have nothing, but from those who, having already much, demand more. In addition to their political grievances the plebeians had serious social grievances. The law of debt was hard upon them, for if they were not able to repay what they borrowed they became the slaves of those who had lent them money. It was the social rather than the political grievance which led to their first rising. In 494 they demanded redress of their grievances, and upon refusal they determined to withdraw from Rome. They marched out to a hill not far from Rome—the Sacred Hill it was called—and there announced their intention of forming a separate state if their wishes were not granted. Rome could not exist without them, and the patricians had to yield. The form which their surrender took is a curious one. The plebeians were not admitted to the rights of patricians, but they were henceforth to have an organization and magistrates of their own. These magistrates were to be called *tribunes of the people;* of these magistrates there were in the end ten. Their powers and their history are the strangest thing in the Roman constitution. Their chief powers consisted in checking and annulling the action of the ordinary magistrates of the state. Thus they could interfere with the decision of any magistrate and procure an appeal to the people; they could absolutely veto the action of any magistrate and prevent any proposal from being brought before the *comitia* of the centuries. But they had also direct and positive powers of their own. They could try certain cases; above all, they could summon the assembly of the people not in the arrangement of *centuries*, which gave the predominance to wealth, but in the formation of the *tribes*, where votes were of practically equal value, and could then propose measures which, however, would be binding upon the plebeians only. Thus the organization of the plebeians becomes a state within a state; in some of its features

The first secession of the plebs, 494 B.C.

it reminds us of a strong trades-union in its dealings with the masters. It was an institution which would have brought the whole state to a standstill if it had been used purely in the interests of a party. That such an institution should have worked on the whole well, and lasted as long as the republic lasted, is decisive testimony to the strong public spirit which was to be found in Rome through all her fierce party strife.

But this solution of 494 could not be final. The two parties must be welded into one state. We will briefly mark the stages of this process, but it must be remembered that it took place while Rome was engaged in her struggle for dominion in Italy, and stands in close connection with that struggle. Had it not been for the pressure of foreign war it is probable that the patricians would have resisted more tenaciously.

The twelve tables of the Roman law.

The next great step came in 449. First the plebeians demanded that the laws of Rome should be drawn up and made public. Hitherto the law of Rome had been merely customary, and the patrician judges were the only interpreters of the customs. The plebeians at Rome, like the unprivileged classes in the early history of Athens, felt that to be safe from the arbitrary action of the magistrates the first thing necessary was that they should know what laws they had to obey. So a commission was appointed, and the laws of the twelve tables were drawn up and made public, and the first step had been taken which was ultimately to lead to the codification of the Roman laws and their recognition as an authority throughout Europe. But no sooner had the laws been made and published than further demands were put forward. There was another threat of withdrawal, and then in 449 came the next decisive victory for the plebeians. By what are known as the Valerian laws it was decided that the decisions of the people in their tribes should be binding on the whole people of Rome. It was a great step towards the unification of the state. There were now two assemblies—the centuries and the tribes; the one plutocratic in character, the other thoroughly democratic. Different sorts of business were brought before them, but their decisions were equally binding on all. The chief political

The equalization of the orders.

grievance of the plebeians was now their exclusion from office. They had to wait seventy years before this grievance was entirely remedied, but in 445 a great part of it was removed. It was then decided by a curious compromise (and yet it is characteristic of the conservative Romans to yield the substance while withholding the name), that in each year it should be possible either to choose *consuls*, in which case they must be patricians as before, or "*military tribunes with consular powers*," in which case they might be either plebeians or patricians. After this it was social rather than political grievances which agitated Rome. The poor plebeians complained that, in the division of the land which Rome in her ever victorious march took from the conquered peoples of Italy, the patricians and the rich plebeians got far more than their fair share, and that the poor plebeians were practically neglected. The tension over this question seems to have been very bitter, but in 377 B.C. two tribunes proposed the Licinian laws, which were passed ten years later. These laws were partly economic in character; limiting the amount of public land which each citizen might hold, and ordering the employment of a certain proportion of free labourers. These regulations bear witness to the growing social evils of the time, and will come before us again. The political part of the Licinian laws was more simple. The consulship was re-established, and it was enacted that one consul must always be a plebeian and that both might be.

The Licinian laws.

We may regard the struggle between patricians and plebeians as ending here, though minor privileges were still for a time obstinately defended. From henceforth the citizens were all on a practically equal basis. It had been a remarkable struggle. The Romans said, probably with some exaggeration, that the issue had been reached without the shedding of blood. Certainly there have been few contests of such importance in history decided by such peaceful and legal means. And undoubtedly one result of this was that a contest which might have torn the state in pieces, had only resulted in producing a firmer union. Among the causes which gave Rome the victory over her enemies in the field the peaceful character of this constitutional struggle is perhaps the chief.

One other point must be noticed before we pass on to the conquest of Italy. When the kings had been abolished their place had been taken by two consuls, and for some time these were the only magistrates in the state. But their authority had now been divided among several officials. Prætors had been appointed to act as judicial magistrates; censors to make out the lists of citizens and to fill up the ranks of the Senate; ædiles to attend to the order and sanitation of Rome; and after the Licinian laws the tribunes cease to be merely opposition magistrates, and take their part in the ordinary administration of the state. The dictatorship was something different in character from all other magistracies of the state. There seems to us to be too little authority in Rome to cope with her constant military needs, and, though this lack was to some extent remedied by the permanence and public spirit of the Senate, it was a real one. But in times of real difficulty the Romans were accustomed to give to their state the concentration and rapidity which a military crisis demand by the appointment of a *dictator*. He held office only for half a year but during that time he was absolute. It was in effect the re-establishment of the monarchy for a limited period.

The executive officials

Good histories of Rome, on a large scale, are more difficult to find than histories of Greece. The greatest history of the Roman Republic is without doubt Mommsen's *History of Rome*, which goes to the death of Julius Cæsar. Heitland's *Roman Republic* (3 vols.) has recently been published, and gives a critical and careful account of the whole period: it is valuable, too, for its references, which are entirely lacking in Mommsen. Duruy's *History of Rome*, translated from the French, is a lucid account, and is well illustrated. Of the smaller histories those by How and Lee, Shuckburgh, and Wells may be mentioned. The early history of Rome is mostly derived from Livy's History, in which he traced the history of Rome from its foundation to the age of Augustus. Much of it has been lost, but the early books remain, and the early history of Rome must be largely a criticism of these. Niebuhr was the first historian to question their accuracy. Ihne's *Early Rome* gives within a small compass the sceptical view of early Roman history. The legends of the regal and early republican period, even if they are only legends, are full of interest for the light they throw on Roman character and thought.

CHAPTER IX

The Roman Conquest of Italy

It is difficult to trace the long series of campaigns by which Rome made herself mistress of the peninsula from Luca and the Rubicon on the north to the Ionian sea on the south, for the accounts which have come down to us are coloured by national pride, and in many ways unsatisfactory. Nor do we need to do more than trace the main stages and to determine if we can the causes of the victory of Rome over rivals who seemed at first to have many advantages compared to her. The earliest neighbours of Rome were the Etruscans on the north, and on the south the Latins. With the Latins she was from the first in intimate and friendly relations, and it was as head of the Latin league that she struggled with the Etruscans. Had these been united their numbers and their wealth must have given them the victory over Rome, but there was nothing but a loose federation among their various cities, and Rome could direct her forces against the neighbouring town of Veii alone. Beyond the Latins to the south there were other races akin to them with whom, however, the Latins were at constant feud. The chief were the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Hernicans. From the time of her earliest conflicts Rome observed one principle which guided her to the end. *Divide et impera* was her chief maxim in dealing with external dangers, "divide in order to conquer." So Rome made alliance with the Hernicans, who lay between the Æqui and the Volsci, and in their company made intermittent war against the others. After a struggle which lasted for nearly sixty years the Volscians and Æquians were subdued, and, though they rose in rebellion again, Rome always maintained the mastery. An equally important event was the conquest of Veii, which is dated in the year 396. But when Rome was thus becoming a power of some importance she found herself suddenly face to face with a new and terrible

The neighbours and enemies of Rome.

danger. A great Gallic force had for some time been attacking the Etruscans from the north; and now, having forced their way through Etruscan opposition, this army fell upon the Romans. The two armies met at the river Allia (390) not far from Rome, and the Roman troops were swept away by the impetuous charge of the Gauls with their two-handed swords. The city of Rome was taken, and it might seem that her career was finished. And yet it is probable that the Gallic invasion rather helped than injured the Romans. The Etruscans were permanently weakened, but the closer union and higher public spirit of the Romans allowed them to revive, and when the Gallic flood had ebbed we soon find them as strong as ever, fighting against enemies who were notably weaker. But it is not until after the consolidation of the state, as a result of the Licinian laws, that the decisive onward movement begins. Then we see the Etruscan cities defeated one by one; and, when the Gauls again attempted to interfere in Italian affairs, they were decisively defeated by the Romans. Rome became a power known beyond the confines of Italy, and entered into friendly relations with the great commercial state of Carthage, which was destined to be her most dangerous rival. Then in 343 began the real tussle with the Samnites for the mastery of Italy.

Battle of the Allia.

The defeat of the Etruscans by the Romans.

The Samnite wars began in that year, and it is difficult to say when they ended. The year 290 B.C. is sometimes given as the end, but the war was continued under other names after that, and the last embers of Samnite resistance were not stamped out until the year 82 B.C. But it is perhaps a mistake to speak of the Samnite wars at all. What passes by that name is really a series of wars in which every racial element in Italy, in turn or in alliance, strove to throw off the Roman yoke. We see engaged in this contest the Latins, the Etruscans, the Greeks, the Sabines, and in the end a Macedonian army from across the Adriatic sea; but the fiercest and most tenacious enemies of Rome were the Samnites themselves. In any movement against Rome they were always to be found as an important element. They were the highlanders of Italy; racially akin to the Romans but less civilized and less

The Samnite wars.

commercial. Their mountain fastnesses were a great defence to them, and before the end came they had inflicted on Rome many serious defeats.

The beginning of the Samnite wars is dated in 343. The rich district of Campania had been overrun by them, and the Campanians in their extremity appealed to Rome. A short campaign drove out the Samnites from Campania and substituted the suzerainty of Rome for that of the Samnites in that lovely country. Before the next Samnite war the Romans had to overcome a danger close to their own doors. Rome was the head of the Latin League, and the Latins had given them loyal support in their wars. But now the victories of Rome were raising her to a position of mastery rather than presidency in the league, and the Latins demanded equality. They asked that in each year one of the consuls should be a Latin, and Rome's refusal brought war at once. A war of two years brought the Latins to their knees; the League was dissolved, and Rome, true to her policy of "division," made separate treaties with each state in it. Ten years later (in 327) came the second Samnite war. In this Rome had to fight almost for her existence. A Roman army under two consuls was entrapped, and forced to lay down its arms; Roman colonies were taken; as the balance of the war seemed to incline against Rome other races joined with the Samnites in the attempt to destroy her power; the war became a struggle between Rome and the combined forces of central Italy. But Rome fought on with the greatest endurance and came victoriously through all. In 304 the Samnites had to accept the terms of Rome; the Etruscans and some of the other combatants had retired from the struggle earlier. But the peace was only a breathing space, and in 298 the Samnites took up arms again, and again the Etruscans joined with them. The chief seat of the war this time was Etruria, and a Samnite army marched to co-operate there. But in 295 the allies were defeated by the Romans in the great battle of Sentinum, high up the Tiber valley, and in 290 the Samnites again made terms with Rome. But Rome still was engaged in constant fighting in the peninsula. The

First Samnite war.

Second Samnite war.

Third Samnite war.

Etruscans rose once more and called on certain tribes of the Gauls for help. A decisive defeat at Lake Vadimo established the supremacy of the Romans over both races on a firm basis. Then in 281 Rome had to face a danger of a new kind. The Greek cities of the south coasts had hitherto taken little share in the wars of Italy. They had probably seen with pleasure the advance of the more civilized power of Rome, and the defeat of the barbarous Samnites. But Rome's conquests had now brought her into touch with the Greeks themselves, and the future relation of Rome with these outposts of Hellenic culture had to be decided. Of the Greek cities of the South Tarentum was much the most important. Her splendid harbour and strong defensive position were bound to give her great importance in the Ionian sea, whether for commerce or war. Rome had already made a treaty with Tarentum; but an attack on Roman ships in the harbour of Tarentum brought on war in spite of this treaty. With a light heart the Tarentines decided upon war. But they soon cooled in their enthusiasm, as they discovered how superior were the forces of Rome to anything they could bring forward. They looked round for allies, and they induced Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, to come over to their assistance.

War with the Greeks and with Pyrrhus.

The Kingdom of Epirus was a fragment of the empire of Alexander and still maintained much of his military traditions. Pyrrhus was a soldier of repute who had made a special study of tactics and the art of war. The Romans, therefore, would now have to make the acquaintance of the Macedonian phalanx under the command of an excellent soldier. They would have to oppose their short swords to the long sarissæ, their loose formation to the dense pack of the phalanx. Pyrrhus, moreover, would have under his command a number of elephants, and the Romans had had no experience of them or their effects in battle. If the war that followed had found any worthy historian it would have been one of the most interesting in Roman history. The general result is plain. The tactics and weapons of the Romans were at first quite unequal to the struggle; they were beaten in battle after battle. And yet they won the

Rome and Epirus compared.

campaign! To understand this is to understand the secret of the greatness of Rome. Rome won not by mere physical courage nor by military ardour (though she possessed both), but by statesmanship, by endurance, by the loyalty of her citizens, and by the fidelity of her allies. All the south of Italy joined Pyrrhus—the Greeks, the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and many of the Samnites. But the centre of Italy did not rise at the appeal of Pyrrhus, and Rome could raise more troops to take the place of those she had lost; she could think out new methods of fighting; and she refused to bow her head to disaster. Pyrrhus, too, had his difficulties with his Greek allies, who did not relish his efforts to drill and organize them. So he accepted an invitation from the Greeks of Sicily, and went over to save them from the Carthaginians. He won many victories, but failed to drive them from their last stronghold in Lilybæum. He returned to Italy again in 276, but he found that, since he left Italy, many of his allies had fallen away from him, and that the Romans were notably stronger. A battle fought at Beneventum, in the heart of Samnium, resulted in the entire defeat of his phalanx and his elephants. Pyrrhus now abandoned Italy and soon after was killed in an obscure struggle. The victory of the Romans was the victory of a people over a splendid leader of mercenary soldiers; their moral qualities and their wise policy had defeated Pyrrhus as they defeated the Carthaginians a century later. "Had I been King of the Romans," Pyrrhus is related to have said, "I should have conquered the world." Tarentum, and all the Greek towns of Italy soon surrendered, and the Romans were masters of all that they called Italy, for it must be remembered that they did not include under that name the Lombard plain and the valley of Po. The position which Rome had acquired in Italy had drawn the attention of powers outside of Italy. The Carthaginians had concluded an alliance with her; Egypt had made a treaty with her. Her future military and foreign problems will lie outside of Italy. She has become a Mediterranean state, and she will have to consider her relations with the other Mediterranean states.

We have marked the stages by which the city of the seven

hills became the mistress of all Italy. This was a great achievement in itself; but there had been greater conquests made before this, for instance by Alexander the Great. But the unique fact about Rome's conquests is that they are permanent. The wars of Greece leave little more trace than the breaking of waves in mid-ocean; the empire of Alexander was no sooner won than it began to break up; but Rome's acquisitions are the beginning of the public order of Europe. It is necessary to consider the causes of Rome's victories, and of their duration. Stress must always be laid on the intellectual character of Rome's military methods. Of all the nations of antiquity she trusted least to the mere fighting of battles. So careful were her preparations that a lost battle was soon recovered and a victory was made a stepping-stone to further gains. The discipline of the Roman armies was equalled only by that of the Spartans; and, while it was as thorough as that of the Spartans, it was far less rigid, and left more to the responsibility of the individual; the legion was a collection of men each with his appointed place, but each with a certain amount of initiative; it was not a machine like the Macedonian phalanx. The building of Roman roads allowed the armies of Rome to strike at the enemy with a rapidity hitherto unknown. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Romans were the inventors of the road as distinguished from the track, and it requires an effort of the imagination to understand how important the invention was. The roads in the end were of great assistance to commerce, but their first object was military. They carried the armies of Rome swiftly into the heart of the enemy's country; they allowed them to suppress a rising before it had time to organize itself; they fulfilled all the purposes of the railways on the frontier of India. It was the second Samnite war which led to the building of the great roads. The first was the Appian way which ran from Rome into Campania. Later in the war other roads were built, north and south-east, into the disaffected districts, and the Appian way was prolonged through the heart of Samnium, and ended at Brundisium. If they were left unprotected the roads might have led the

The permanence of the conquests of Rome, and its causes.

Discipline.

Roads.

enemy to Rome as well as Roman soldiers against the enemy. But the roads were held by an elaborate system of Roman colonies. By this word the Romans meant something very different from what it has meant at any other point in history. The Roman colony was merely a permanent garrison settled in an enemy's country, and paid with the lands of the conquered people. The colonists remained citizens of Rome if they were so to begin with (some of the colonists did not possess the full Roman franchise); they were bound to maintain their military efficiency and to guard the interests of Rome in their districts, and, above all, to guard the roads. From them spring many of the most important of the Italian towns.

Colonies

Discipline, colonies, roads—these are the chief clues to the military successes of Rome. But they would have been unavailing if they had not been supported by statesmanship of a high order in dealing with the conquered districts. Rome did not in name annex the districts which she conquered in Italy; she made alliances with them; they were technically called her *socii*—her allies. In all these alliances there was one common condition; all were bound to supply specified contingents to the Roman armies and from henceforth the Roman armies were largely composed of the allies; most of them also paid taxation to the Roman treasury. But if military service was the universal condition there was in all else great variation of treatment. The allies, the Romans felt, must be divided in interest in order that they might be governed. If we examine Italy at the close of the Pyrrhic wars we can see the following classes of communities. First the Roman citizens: these were not to be found only in Rome and the neighbourhood, but also in the Roman colonies, and in certain towns to which the Roman franchise had been given as a special reward. Then came a number of communities, which possessed not the Roman but the Latin franchise. Such communities had the management of their own affairs; they could trade freely, and they could intermarry with the Romans; individual citizens could also obtain full Roman franchise. But they were clearly on

Rome's dealings with the conquered.

a footing a little inferior to the Romans, and in war they served not in the legions but in special divisions. Next came the allies with varying rights, but all possessed of a large power of self-government and all bound to serve in the Roman auxiliary forces. Their relations with one another and their communications with Rome were limited by strict conditions.

Such was the Roman system. Contrast it with the way in which the Athenians or the Spartans treated those whom they had conquered, and it at once becomes apparent how much more generous was the practice of the Romans. They were rewarded for the generosity of their statesmanship. Their allies remained faithful to them on the whole, in spite of sore trials and great temptations to desert them. It was the political quite as much as the military wisdom of the Romans which allowed them to absorb Italy in Rome, and then on that basis to spread the Roman dominion over all Mediterranean lands.

Another feature of Roman victories deserves mention in concluding this chapter. She had constantly had recourse to the appointment of a dictator to meet the stress of the war. During the period of the Gallic wars Camillus was appointed dictator five times, if the current narrative of these events may be accepted, and his heroism, generosity, and miraculous good fortune were among the most cherished legends of the Roman people. There were dictators also appointed during the stress of the Samnite wars. The procedure is characteristically Roman, and bears witness to the sound political insight of the Romans, and also to the confidence which they felt in one another, even during the period of their bitterest political struggles. They loved liberty with a strong though sober passion; but they realized, too, that there were occasions when liberty must be sacrificed for the sake of efficiency, and that war required at times greater rapidity and more complete secrecy than could be secured by debates in the *comitia* and the Senate. The common devotion to the state was at the same time sufficient to dispel the fear that a dictator would refuse to lay down his power when his term of six months had come to an end. Everywhere in

Dictatorship.

early Roman history it is the character of the people that most calls for our admiration. Rome seems greater than her greatest men.

The references of the last chapter will apply to this. Plutarch's Lives of Camillus and Pyrrhus.

CHAPTER X

Rome and Carthage

ROME was mistress of Italy; but Italy was not destined to be the limit of her conquests, but rather the beginning of her career of empire. For Italy is not a really self-contained whole. Sicily is almost a part of Italy, and when once Sicily is occupied, the shore of Africa lies temptingly or dangerously near. Nor could it be a matter of indifference to the rulers of Italy whether Sardinia and Corsica were ruled by a hostile or a friendly state. Thus Rome was drawn on into a struggle much greater than she intended, and found herself committed to a contest for dominion over all Mediterranean lands.

The first and the greatest of the wars fought for this end was that with Carthage. History is perhaps not sufficiently generous to the Carthaginians. Only insignificant fragments of their literature and of their art have come down to us, and we have to collect the story of their institutions, and of their rise and fall from the mouths of their enemies and destroyers. They do not seem to have contributed much, or much that is good, to European culture; but this verdict would perhaps be modified if we knew more about them. The Carthaginians were the leading Semitic state. They were an offshoot from Tyre, and their settlements —rather trading centres than colonies—were to be found all along the seaboard of the western Mediterranean. They were a people whose interests and motives were almost wholly commercial. The Greeks were eager traders, and the Romans conducted their policy with a view to commercial advantage.

Carthage and the Carthaginians.

But neither the Greeks nor the Romans were so exclusively devoted to commerce as the Carthaginians. They were in the north of Africa an immigrant and a conquering race, and they never succeeded in attaching to themselves the original inhabitants of the land. As compared with that of the Romans their polity lacked unity and cohesion. In place of the citizen armies of Rome we find, when we look to Carthage, troops of mercenaries, whose only interest was their pay; and though they fought excellently and showed surprising devotion when they were led by capable generals, they could not be relied upon to sustain adversity as the Roman armies could be. And, while Rome had succeeded "by patience and policy" in attaching the peoples of Italy to her, the Carthaginians seem to have made no effort in that direction. The native population had been subdued, but it remained hostile and a ready ally for any invader. Carthage had at first been a monarchy, but in the middle of the third century B.C., it had become an exclusive commercial oligarchy, which resembles in some ways the constitution of Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. A council of 104 members, which filled up vacancies as they occurred, was the chief power; but an independent and almost unlimited power was allowed to generals in the field. Of the intellectual development of Carthage we cannot speak. Of her religion more is known. Its gloom and cruelty stand in marked contrast to the brightness of the Greek and the social character of the Roman cults. The chief deity was Baal who was honoured with human sacrifices, and Astarte concerning whose rites strange stories of licentious orgies were told.

Contrast between Rome and Carthage.

The Romans had long known the Carthaginians, and had more than once co-operated with them against a common foe. Sicily was the scene of their first contest. The Carthaginians had marked the island for their own, though they had never succeeded in ousting the Greek states from independent control of a part of the east of the island. When, therefore, the Romans on a flimsy excuse occupied Messana, their action led to a contest with Carthage,

Carthage in Sicily.

in which the original grievance was soon lost sight of, and the prize was clearly the dominion of the island. The first Punic or Carthaginian war lasted from 264 to 241, and must not be given even in outline here. Apart from many romantic details the chief interest of the war is to be found in the contest for naval supremacy which underlay and determined the whole struggle. Carthage was a great maritime state already; the Romans, on the other hand, though they had found it necessary to create a fleet during the Samnite wars, were almost without fighting ships or naval experience. Yet under the pressure of necessity they created a fleet, and in the end defeated that of the Carthaginians, and so won the island of Sicily. The achievement was, perhaps, later exaggerated by legend; but the main features are historical; and the story is in the highest degree characteristic of Rome and her military successes. She built ships from the model of a Carthaginian "quinquireme" which was drifted ashore; she drilled her rowers on dry land; she invented a novel grappling instrument—the famous raven—which was let down on to the deck of the enemy when he approached near enough, and thus converted the naval battle into a hand to hand encounter of soldiers. By these means Rome gained two great victories near the beginning of the war, and in 256 conducted a large expedition to Africa, and seemed likely to bring the war to a sudden end by the capture of Carthage herself. But then there came a series of disappointments. The army, which was landed in Africa, was defeated; storms destroyed more than one well-equipped Roman fleet; and even in Sicily itself, where the Romans seemed supreme, two towns, Panormus, and Lilybæum, held out with unexpected tenacity. It was indeed round the siege of the last-named fortress that the last scenes of the war turned. The Carthaginians found a commander of real genius in Hamilcar Barca, and Roman fleets and armies suffered annoying and expensive checks. But the dragging nature of the war was not only due to Hamilcar's genius. The Romans were in hard straits for money, and it is due to financial reasons that the last stages of the war were for long so indecisive. At last by a great effort, which

First Punic war: the struggle for naval supremacy.

was as much the work of individuals as of the state, the Carthaginian fleet was again decisively defeated before Lilybæum, and this victory at last forced the Carthaginians to submit (241). The Carthaginian power disappeared from Sicily. A portion of the east side of the island was still in the hands of Syracuse, but the rest was annexed by Rome, and became her first oversea Province. The same qualities of inventiveness and tenacity which had given her the rule over Italy had now carried her safely over the first stage of her Imperial career.

End of the first Punic war (241 B.C.).

But the power of Carthage was by no means broken, and another and more stubborn struggle could be clearly foreseen. There was peace between the two powers from 241 to 218 B.C., and then came the greatest of all Rome's wars, the decisive contest with Carthage, the second Punic war. But important events came before that war broke out, and they much modified the relations of the combatants, and influenced the character of the campaign. On the side of Rome the most important fact is that Rome pushed her dominion, or perhaps rather her claims, up to the Alps. The land between the Alps and the Apennines was inhabited by the Gauls, a race akin to the inhabitants of the land which is now called France, and to the warriors who had in 390 inflicted on Rome such an overwhelming defeat. For strategic reasons the Romans must have desired to reach the Alps, and the rich plain through which the Po makes its way to the sea was very valuable for agriculture. In a series of campaigns the Gauls were defeated in their mountain and forest fastnesses. Scipio and Flaminius—names soon to be better known in a greater contest—are associated with the war, and to the last named belongs the beginning of the great road which ultimately led the Romans up by the banks of the Tiber across the Apennines to Ravenna, and so into the heart of Cis-Alpine Gaul. But, though the country was nominally conquered, the population remained unsubdued, and soon welcomed an opportunity of throwing off the Roman yoke. To this period also belongs another extension of the Roman sway. The Romans possessed Sicily already; during this period they obtained possession of Sardinia and Corsica as well.

Roman conquests in Cis-Alpine Gaul.

The islands owned the sway of the Carthaginians, but Carthage ceded them to Rome rather than provoke another contest.

Carthage during this interval made gains almost as important as those of Rome. It probably seemed to contemporaries that they were greater. For the loss of the islands must have seemed brilliantly compensated for by the acquisition of Spain. The conquest of Spain was the work of the great family which had already given Hamilcar to the first Carthaginian war. Hamilcar himself, after settling a desperate outbreak of the mercenary troops, had taken the first steps in the conquest of the peninsula; his work was then taken up by his brother Hasdrubal, and after Hasdrubal's death it was carried forward by the greatest of all Carthaginian names, Hannibal. Hannibal was the son of Hamilcar, he had been associated with his father in his early Spanish campaigns, and he had sworn perpetual hatred to the Roman name. Under his guidance the Carthaginian arms passed victoriously up to the Pyrenees. It was doubtless a superficial conquest, but at least there was no power in Spain which could venture to meet Carthage in the open field. In 219 Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, and with its fall the conquest of the peninsula would be completed. But Saguntum placed itself under the protection of Rome, and the Romans ordered Hannibal to desist from his attack on their ally. He disdainfully refused and though the siege ended after eight months in the victory of Hannibal, it was clearly only the prelude to an immediate war with Rome.

Carthaginian conquest of Spain.

Rome faced the war without misgivings. Armies were levied and sent to Spain. It was assumed that the war would be fought there. But the Romans had not yet learnt to know Hannibal.

It has been a matter of frequent controversy how far the course of history has been the work of great individuals of genius, how far of general causes over which the individual has little control. It can hardly be doubted that the character and continuation of the second Carthaginian war were largely the result of Hannibal's own genius and determination. European history knows no greater

The military greatness of Hannibal.

soldier. His name stands with those of Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and Napoleon. But his fame is deservedly greater than theirs in one respect. Their victories were won over enemies clearly inferior to themselves for certain plain reasons; Alexander defeated the effete power of Persia and the barbarous races of the further east; Cæsar's conquests were over the disunited forces of barbarous Gaul and the ill-disciplined and badly led forces of a weaker rival; Napoleon owed much of his triumphs to the enthusiasm of the French revolution, and the stagnation of the military systems of Europe. But Hannibal attacked Rome when Rome was at the very height of her power and efficiency, when the discipline and endurance of her troops were unsurpassed, when her government was in the highest degree capable, and her generals showed great talents for command. That Hannibal conquered and that Rome survived are striking testimonies to the high qualities of both combatants.

While Rome was preparing for a normal campaign in Spain, Hannibal had determined to carry the war into Italy itself. The Carthaginians could no longer rely on the naval control of the Mediterranean, and Hannibal therefore marched by land from Spain through the Pyrenean passes across France, and then entered on his amazing exploit, the crossing of the Alps. There have been several other generals down to the time of Napoleon who have gained or claimed a high fame for the crossing of these mountains with an army. But Hannibal's feat was immeasurably the most difficult of all. Without maps, with insufficient geographical knowledge, in face of hostile tribes, he carried his force of soldiers accustomed for the most part to the heat of Africa, and accompanied by elephants, over the snow-covered passes of the Alps, and down the steeper southern slopes on to the plains of Italy. The Roman forces were already *en route* for Spain, and had to be recalled to meet this danger almost at their own gates.

The campaigns which follow are among the best known in all history. Their outstanding features are these. Hannibal proved himself the master of the Romans whenever he met them on Italian battlefields, and his victories almost broke the nerve of the Republic. From 218 to 205 B.C. he marched from one

end of Italy to the other, and hardly met with a check. Why, then, did not Rome fall? The reason is to be found, as we shall see shortly, more in her character, constitution, and policy, than in military considerations; but even in the domain of war there were limits to Hannibal's successes. He was invincible on the battlefield, but he was not so successful in his sieges, and his general conduct of campaigns has not escaped criticism. Moreover, he was not well supported from home. This was due partly to the fact that the control of the sea had passed from Carthage, but it was also due to the jealousy which was felt for him by the politicians of Carthage. The war seems at times a duel between a man and a nation.

Second Punic war.

The course of the war must be very slightly sketched. When Hannibal had appeared in the northern plain of Italy he soon revealed his powers to the Romans. Their cavalry was defeated in an engagement fought on the Ticinus, and soon afterwards the Roman army was defeated with overwhelming loss in the great battle of the Trebia; a battle in which Hannibal showed his skill in arranging ambuscades, and the Roman foot gave proof of that endurance and discipline which was in the end to turn apparently hopeless defeat into victory. Then Hannibal crossed the Apennines, and, when the Roman army was sent to intercept him under Flaminius, he turned on it and defeated and destroyed it at the battle of Lake Trasimene. If Hannibal had marched on Rome after this second great victory might he not have taken Rome and destroyed her power at a blow? That is the question which the Romans often debated and history has never quite made up her mind about it. Hannibal decided against it. He hoped to crush Rome by surer means. After Trebia the Gauls of the north had joined him in great numbers, and he now hoped that the Italians of the centre would flock to his standards and throw off the hated yoke of Rome. It was a reasonable hope, but it turned out to be fallacious. The Italians did not hate Rome as the Africans hated Carthage. There were many defections, but the centre of Italy on the whole stood firmly by Rome, and their fidelity was her salvation.

Early victories of Hannibal.

Trebia and Trasimene were soon followed by an even greater disaster for the Romans. After Trasimene they had for some little time, on the advice of Fabius "the Delayer," whom they appointed dictator, refused to accept battle, and had confined themselves to watching and harassing their great enemy. But in 216 bolder councils prevailed. Newly elected consuls faced Hannibal with a large and high-spirited army at Cannæ in the south-east of Italy, and history knows of no more complete military disaster than that which fell upon them. They were out-manœuvred and then out-fought by the great Carthaginian; only a few thousands out of the great army survived. Hannibal's own officers urged him now at least to march on Rome; and in all probability they were right. But Hannibal pursued the same policy as after Trasimene. He would gather into his net all the discontented Italians, and all those who were overawed by his triumphs. He could not doubt that most would come over now. To a large extent he was right. The Greeks of the south declared for him; many of the Samnites readily joined him; the outlook for Rome was as black as it could well be. But her own courage did not desert her; there were no serious divisions among her people, and still her allies of the centre of Italy stood firm. Rome modified her military policy; refused to give battle to her great opponent, but equally refused to think of any surrender. And thus it came to pass that the battle of Cannæ marks not the end of Rome, but the end of the prodigious victories of Hannibal. He was still a conqueror, but henceforth he found Rome stronger year by year, while his own forces, constantly diminished by the accidents of war, were not reinforced from Carthage, and year by year it proved more difficult to gain help from the peoples of Italy as the star of Hannibal waned.

Battle of Cannæ.

The Romans soon began to win back some of their losses. Their siege operations were as successful as Hannibal's were the opposite. They recaptured Capua and Syracuse and Tarentum—great cities whose alliance had been among the most valued results of Hannibal's victories. But Spain was the chief theatre of Rome's aggressive action. It was of the first importance as being the land from which

Scipio.

Hannibal could best hope for reinforcements. Even in Spain the Romans at first met with nothing but disappointments. So unsuccessful were they that at one time they thought of abandoning all attempts at conquest. But then the young Scipio rose to be the saviour of Rome. Scipio's name is the one that stands out from among the Roman leaders of the Hannibalic war. Others like Fabius and Marcellus served Rome loyally and efficiently, and have won the praises of Roman historians and poets. But Scipio is, on the Roman side, the hero of the war. He had served in the early stages of the war; he had saved his father's life in the first encounter with Hannibal at the Ticinus, and he had escaped from the terrible disaster of Cannæ. It speaks much for his character that after such experiences he still dared to hope and work for the overthrow of Hannibal. Roman loyalty, public spirit, discipline and efficiency were his in full measure; what marked him off from the ordinary Romans of his time was a vein of imagination and enthusiasm, and an unmeasured self-confidence, which his enemies called pride too great for a republic. He derived these qualities possibly in part from his acquaintance with Greek learning which was beginning to filter into Italy. He caught the public imagination from the first, and seemed the man destined for the salvation of Rome. His first exploits were in Spain, where he defeated Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal, and occupied most of the chief cities of the peninsula.

But strangely the defeat of Hasdrubal in Spain threatened Rome with a new danger. He abandoned Spain and marched with all his army to reinforce his brother in Italy. If the junction had been made Hannibal would have been in a position to strike again, and perhaps this time he would have struck at Rome itself. But Hasdrubal was intercepted and defeated at the Metaurus (207 B.C.). His brother heard of his arrival in Italy, and of his defeat and death at the same time, and had to struggle on with his diminishing forces alone. But to the end the Romans made no attempt to fight him down on the soil of Italy itself.

Battle of Metaurus.

But the end was not long in coming. Scipio, victorious in Spain, was, after his triumph in Rome, allowed to lead an

army over into Africa. Carthage was threatened, and in her alarm recalled Hannibal. He came back, and in 202 met Scipio in the battle of Zama. His army was a hastily collected force; the Romans had learnt to avoid his deadly ambuscades, and a hard fought day went against the Carthaginians. Hannibal himself advised them to yield. They had to surrender territory and ships of war; they saw rivals strongly posted on their flank in Africa itself; but their own independent existence was not destroyed.

Defeat of Hannibal at Zama.

The great duel was over, and Rome had won. There was no rival now left to her in the western Mediterranean. The great islands were hers; Spain was hers; much of the commerce of Carthage passed over to Roman traders. And with the commerce of Carthage came also much of the methods which Carthage had used. The victory was not all pure gain to Rome. Vast numbers of slaves and a new and harder system of using them were introduced into Italy. A harder spirit seems henceforth to guide her policy. Her overseas dominions were to present her with problems which proved in the end fatal to republican institutions.

The histories of Livy and Polybius are the great original authorities for this chapter. Shuckburgh's translation of Polybius is especially to be recommended: it is strange that this great historian is so comparatively little read. His descriptive power, truthfulness, and political wisdom make his history of the highest value. In addition to the ordinary historians of Rome, Dr. Arnold's *Second Punic War* is a narrative of great excellence. Bosworth Smith's *Carthage and the Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* by O'Connor Morris.

CHAPTER XI

Rome the Mistress of the Mediterranean

It will be well now to consider what sort of a state was the Rome which had emerged victoriously from its long duel with Hannibal. The constitution was not altered in name.

The conservative spirit of Rome was more willing to make changes in the government of the state than to give names to them. But it is certain that the long struggle had not left the character of Rome quite the same; the institutions were not altered in name, but their working and the comparative importance of the different parts had certainly changed.

The Roman Constitution.

The theory of the Roman constitution was that all power emanated from the people; the magistrates were appointed by them, and were their servants; the Senate was merely a council of advice. But in fact it was the Senate which ruled, and its rule had been immensely strengthened by the great war through which it had guided the state with such success. It is not difficult to see how this had come about. The very greatness of Rome had made the control of the state by the *comitia* an impossibility. The citizens of Rome were now counted by the hundred thousand, and they were scattered over Italy, and in increasing numbers over Europe as well. How could they come together at frequent intervals to discuss affairs of state? What had been possible to Athens, because Athens was a small state, was not possible to Rome, just because Rome had gained such great and such permanent success. The *comitia*, though they were still called "the Roman people," were indeed merely the muster of those residents in Rome who had nothing better to do than to attend political meetings; they could not, as a rule, include the more vigorous elements of the state. Nor could the real control of the state and the direction of its policy lie with the individual magistrates. The whole constitution of Rome was against that. All the magistrates were grouped in "colleges," or committees of two or more. The action of each magistrate could be neutralized by the opposition of his colleague, and the tribunes could block the business of the state by a declaration of their veto. Moreover, all the executive magistrates of the state held office only for a year, and could not in so short a time master the business of Rome. Indeed, at first sight the constitution of Rome seems to aim at reducing the government to weakness. Its system of checks and balances seems to imply that the action of the

The Senate.

The Comitia.

executive government was regarded as a danger, and that liberty was preferred to efficiency.

But we get a very different impression if we pass from the unwieldy *comitia*, and the transitory magistrates to the Senate. Here was a permanent council of some three hundred men. All had held high office in the state, and most of them had done so more than once; all held their seats for life. Their experience, their knowledge of business, the permanence of their position, gained for them an influence in the state, which soon led to their control of its action. It was they who had guided the destinies of Rome during the great struggle with Carthage, and the Roman victory had vastly strengthened their position. So it came to pass that the nominally sovereign assemblies of the people sank into insignificance before them, and the executive magistrates did little more than carry out their instructions. They had deserved, and they had won their power by their devotion to the state, by their courage and tenacity, by their political wisdom, and by their success. Technically the power they wielded was a usurpation; but it was a usurpation "justified at the bar of history by supreme ability to govern." There is a tendency to idealize the condition of Rome at the time of the war with Carthage as a contrast to what came after; but there is no doubt that there was in all classes a high sense of duty, a strong feeling of unity and of mutual trust. Without these the Senate could not have won nor have held its power.

The efficiency of the government.

A more difficult task even than the defeat of Hannibal now lay before Rome. She would be pushed forward by ambition and by necessity to the conquest of all Mediterranean lands; she would acquire dominion over distant countries alien to herself in race, language and religion. The conquest would offer few difficulties; but would she be able to govern them? How would her government of them affect her character and the nature of her institutions? Here was the great political question for the future. And the future was to show that the Roman republic was not equal to the new task. She won an Empire, but then she fell beneath the burden of it. And thus the republic had to give way to institutions

which the Romans of Scipio's days would have regarded with horror.

Hitherto the eyes of Roman statesmen had always been turned westward—towards Gaul and Spain and Western Africa, and the great islands. But with the overthrow of Hannibal their attention was called to the more civilized and degenerate East. The lands round the eastern basin of the Mediterranean were occupied by the *débris* of the Empire of Alexander. We have seen that his empire had broken up almost immediately after his death, and the process had gone on almost continuously. There were three great states. First, there was the kingdom of Macedon, much shrunk since the days of Alexander, but still a great state, inhabited by a vigorous race, and possessed of much mineral wealth. Next came the Kingdom of Syria, ruled over by the descendants of Seleucus, vast in extent, and containing many rich and flourishing cities. Thirdly, there was the Kingdom of Egypt still ruled over by the descendants of Alexander's marshal Ptolemy. It was a compact state defended by the deserts and the sea, and possessed of an exceptionally fertile soil. But the ruling class was Greek, while the people were of the old Egyptian stock; there was little national feeling. Besides these three great monarchies there were a large number of smaller states. Thrace was in a condition of constant unrest and need not be noticed more carefully. But Asia Minor was more important. The unity which Alexander's conquests had given to it had soon departed, and in 200 B.C. it presented a strange mixture of races and governments. There were monarchies such as Pergamum, Bithynia, and Cappadocia; there were a great number of independent Greek cities; in the centre there was the strange state of Galatia held by a race of Gauls, who had invaded the East in the third century, and after doing great damage in Greece and elsewhere had finally settled in Asia Minor. Finally, if we turn to Greece, we find a condition of things widely different from what it had been in the days of Demosthenes. The great states of that age still exist; but Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, no longer exercise the

Condition of the East.

Macedon, Syria, Egypt.

Asia Minor.

Greece.

predominant influence that they had once held. In the place of the individual city-state leagues have arisen. To the north of the Corinthian gulf there was, in the wild and rough country of the west, the Ætolian League, a federation of cantons rather than of cities, held together largely by the common hope of plundering the richer districts to the east. In the Peloponnese there was the Achæan League. Greek politics show us no more interesting, no more promising experiment than this, which proves clearly that the political genius of Greece was far from exhausted yet. It was in effect the first example of the federal state, which in modern times has played so important a part, and in all probability is destined to still greater importance. The towns of Achæa retained their local self-government, but voluntarily subordinated their foreign policy to the control of the federal council. It was doomed to extinction at the hands of Rome, but it deserves as careful study as the democracy of Athens in the days of Pericles.

The secret of Rome's victory.

Wherein lies the secret of Rome's victory over these Eastern states? Intellectually the Greeks of the East were her superiors, and the Romans soon came to look for intellectual guidance to Athens and Alexandria and other cities of the East. War had been carefully studied, and the best books on strategy and the art of war were the work of Macedonian Greeks. Yet Rome conquered, and, having conquered, held the country without much difficulty. The superiority of Rome seems to lie above all in her greater national cohesion. The unity of the Roman state was not indeed so great as in the time of the Hannibalic wars, but it was still far greater than elsewhere in the ancient world. The government was not alien to the people; to a great extent it was the people, whereas the subjects of the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and to a smaller extent of the Macedonian kings as well, felt themselves in no way identified with the government which ruled them and called upon them to fight for it. The standard of commercial morality, of honesty, and of truthfulness was higher among the Romans than among the Greeks by the confession of the Greeks themselves. The word of a Roman could be trusted; the word

of a Greek could not. That is in brief the explanation which Polybius gives of the victory of Rome.

It was with Macedon that Rome's difficulties first arose. Philip of Macedon had made an alliance with Hannibal after Cannæ, and Macedonian soldiers had fought at Zama. There was much hesitation about entering on a new war so soon after the great strain of the Carthaginian struggle; but the Senate deemed an expedition necessary to maintain the *prestige* of Rome, and had no intention of permanently occupying the land. In 198 Flamininus was despatched to coerce Philip of Macedon into obedience. We shall not follow this campaign or the others which gave to Rome her dominion in the East. Rome was supported by the more civilized elements of Greek life, and in 197 defeated the Macedonians in the battle of Cynoscephalæ. But certain points in the campaign are interesting. It was a trial of strength between the Roman legion and the Macedonian phalanx; and again, as in the war with Pyrrhus, the Roman system proved the superior. The Roman legion could not indeed resist the direct attack of the Macedonian phalanx. The Roman soldiers were carefully arranged so as to leave a considerable space between them, and their principal weapon was the short sword. On ground that suited them the soldiers of the phalanx, charging in a dense mass and holding in front of them their huge spears, inevitably swept the Romans away. So it had been when Pyrrhus was in Italy; so it seems to have been whenever the Romans received the direct charge of the phalanx on ground which suited it. But the Romans soon learned their lesson; they were too wise tacticians to accept battle wherever the enemy chose to offer it; they lured the phalanx on to rough ground where its formation was broken; they plied it with missile weapons; and when its line was broken the initiative, which was allowed to the individual Roman soldier, soon proved his superiority over the mechanical formation and methods of the Macedonians.

Second Macedonian war.

It is interesting, too, during this Macedonian war to see the attitude of the Romans to the Greeks. It was by no means their first contact with the Greeks, for there were as we have

seen Greeks in Italy and Sicily; but the Romans were now for the first time awake to the importance of the civilization and culture of Greece. They came to Greece in a mood to admire everything they saw. Flamininus their commander went about like a tourist, gazing on the temples and the treasures of art, and inspecting the scenes so famous in history. To love and admire the Greeks was the sign of an educated man. This mood soon passed. The Romans found that all was not worthy of their admiration which they found in Greece; they found the Greeks cunning, selfish, and deceitful, as people at once clever and weak are apt to be; and in the end they dealt with them sternly and without any trace of their early sentimentalism. But none the less their contact with Greece is one of the most momentous events in their history. The superiority of Greece, in all that concerned art and thought, was so unquestionable that even when their enthusiasm had passed they absorbed eagerly all that Greece had to give. There is, perhaps, no instance in history of one people so influencing another. What was national in their literature, religion, and thought was thrown aside, and they took over Greek forms and Greek ideas in every department of their religious, artistic, and intellectual life.

Greece and Rome.

The Romans had at present no idea of making any permanent occupation in the East. So, after Philip had accepted his defeat, the Romans left him still an independent kingdom. The Greeks feared that they would find that Roman fetters were substituted for Macedonian, but their suspicions proved unjust. In 196 at Corinth, amidst a scene of great excitement, Flamininus declared that Greece was free, and men dreamed that the days of Pericles and Demosthenes might return.

Four years later the Romans had to send another expedition to Greece. The first settlement proved unstable. The Greeks used their newly won freedom in a way which gave offence at Rome, and appealed to Antiochus King of Syria to defend them. It doubtless also alarmed the Romans to hear that Hannibal who had been driven from Carthage by their diplomacy had put his talents and his hate

The war with Syria.

of Rome at the disposal of Antiochus. But Antiochus would not really submit to the guidance of the great Carthaginian, and when a Roman expedition arrived in Greece the power of the great King soon collapsed. His forces were driven out of Greece, and the Romans followed his retreat into Asia Minor, and at Magnesia (190), fighting against odds of more than three to one, they overwhelmed his clumsily organized and badly led forces. Interesting personalities appear in the campaign. Hannibal was the adviser of Antiochus, and after the battle he committed suicide in order to avoid the demands of the Romans for his surrender. On the Roman side the commanders were the great Scipio, who had won the name Africanus by his victory at Zama, and his brother Lucius. Nothing could be done in Rome at this time without the assistance of the Scipios and their friends. Still Rome annexed no territory. She was content to reward her friends and to punish her enemies. The Ætolian league had been her chief opponent in Greece, and it was forced to surrender land and to pay a heavy fine. The chief allies of Rome had been the Kings of Pergamus and Rhodes, and both these gained territory and influence.

Thus Rome had established what we should perhaps call her suzerainty in the East; but again the settlement proved unstable. The next King of Macedon, Perseus, was not content to accept the subordinate post which alone the Romans allowed him, and he could count on the support of many discontented elements in Greece. The Romans were informed of his designs, and sent an army against him in 171. The early stages of the campaign were a bitter disappointment for Rome. Her armies were checked and sometimes defeated. The Romans in the end had to appeal to one of the Scipionic circle to extricate them out of their difficulty, and appointed Æmilius Paulus, the brother-in-law of the great Scipio, to the command. Even so the power of Macedon proved itself far from contemptible, but in 168 the Roman army forced its way into Macedon itself, and at Pydna the phalanx was again, and for the last time, overthrown.

Third Macedonian war.

Even now the Romans at first avoided nominal annexation.

They abolished the Macedonian monarchy and divided the country into four republics nominally independent, but of course really closely bound to Rome. We are not surprised to find that this system soon broke down, and in 146 Macedonia became a regular Roman province.

Macedonia a Roman Province.

Rome's general attitude to the East and to Greece especially had undergone a great and disastrous change. The early sentimentalism had quite disappeared, and with it a good deal of the old Roman uprightness and humanity in dealing with the conquered. Macedonia was cruelly plundered after the conquest, and as this did not satisfy the soldiers, they were let loose on Epirus, against which Rome had no very serious grievance. The unhappy land was treated with horrible barbarity; it is said that 150,000 of the inhabitants were sold as slaves to provide the requisite prize-money for the Roman soldiers. It was a sad result of the Imperial position which Rome was so rapidly winning, but it was a very characteristic one. The old lofty, if rigid, standards of conduct, the old simplicity of life disappeared as Rome became ruler over so many alien lands, and the republic at last disappeared largely for the same reason. She gained the whole world (or what the ancients called by that name), and in the process it may fairly be said she lost her own soul.

The change that was passing over Rome.

Greece suffered cruelly from the new settlement of the East. Rome owed much to Pergamus and Rhodes, but it was never safe to give Rome too much assistance; she did not like the burden of a heavy debt of gratitude; and both Pergamus and Rhodes were severely crippled when Rome triumphed. A heavier and a sadder fate fell upon the Achæan League. Rome supported the tyrant of Sparta against it, and in the war which followed the league was of course defeated. The capture of Corinth was the last scene. When Corinth fell it was dismantled and burnt. Greece was not made into a province, but the Roman dominion was extended over it in fact if not in name.

The suffering of Greece.

The year 146 is an important one in Roman history, for it marks not only the formation of Macedon into a province

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and the capture of Corinth, but also the extinction of Carthage. The destruction of Carthage is a pathetic and an ugly story.

Destruction of Carthage.

Jealousy of what Carthage had once been, fear of what she might perhaps become again, and commercial jealousy of her still thriving trade seem to have been the chief motives of the Romans. Carthage was no longer dangerous, nor was her commerce any harm to Rome; but generous sentiments found no acceptance there. Impossible terms were offered to Carthage, and in the war that followed she showed unexpected powers of resistance, and something of the heroism which we associate with the armies of Hannibal. But the end was bound to come. Another Scipio —the adopted grandson of the victor of Zama—delivered the final blow. Carthage, like Corinth, was destroyed and burnt, and Scipio, as he watched the flames rising from the greatest of the rivals of Rome, quoted Homer, and reflected that some conqueror would one day look on while Rome burnt as Carthage was burning then. Africa became a Roman province.

Rome's influence in all Mediterranean lands.

The whole coast-line of the Mediterranean was far from being in the hands of Rome yet; but all was within her sphere of influence; she interfered in every quarrel, and dictated terms even where she was not directly interested. In 168 B.C., Antiochus meditated an attack on Egypt, but he was met by a simple Roman officer, Popilius Lænas, and ordered to return. In vain he protested and tried to save at least his credit. Lænas drew round him a circle with a stick which he carried in his hand, and ordered him to accede to the orders of Rome before he stepped outside of that circle; and reluctantly the great king obeyed. The eighth chapter of the First Book of the Maccabees contains an interesting picture of the impression which the Romans had made on the Jews. Judas Maccabæus told his hearers "how the Romans destroyed and brought under their dominion all kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them; how with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity; also that, whom they would help to a kingdom, those reign; and whom again they would they displace; finally, that they were greatly exalted; yet for all this none of them wore a crown or was clothed in purple to

be magnified thereby; and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them." A splendid but much idealized picture! And even while Judas spoke it was ceasing to be as true as it once had been. Envy and emulation were soon to show themselves in terrible fashion among them.

The character of the Roman state at this time, and of the new tendencies, can be excellently seen in two great figures of the period. First in Marcus Cato. Plutarch's life of him is his masterpiece of portraiture. We see there his patient endurance of toil and suffering as a soldier; his honesty as a public servant; his strict self-discipline and his insistence on discipline for others; the parsimony of his life which was not relaxed when he had become rich. His domestic life was a model of the old Roman virtues and the old Roman hardness. He regarded his wife and his children with reverence rather than affection; they were, he said, "the holiest of things." To his slaves he was a rigid and even a cruel master; all sentimental or even humane feelings about them he regarded with contempt. He saw that the age was changing; and thought it was changing altogether for the worse. He was unsparing in his attacks on public men who were guilty of luxury or fraud. The root of all the trouble he believed was to be found in Greek thought and art. He demanded the expulsion of all Greek philosophers; Socrates he called "a wordy and dangerous man." He hated new methods in education, and especially Greek teachers, "who talked only from the lips, while the Romans spoke from the heart." But the age was too strong for him. He was born, he said, in one age and lived on into another, and he found it necessary at last himself to learn something of the hated wisdom of the Greeks.

Two representative Romans. 1. Cato.

The second representative of this age is the younger Scipio, whose victories at Carthage we have already noted. The learning of Greece, which Cato denounced, was to him a source of happiness and of moral improvement. He loved the company of Greeks, and discussed with them questions of politics, ethics, and religion. He was a perfectly loyal and highly efficient servant of the state; but his eyes were lifted to horizons that Cato never guessed. The

2. Scipio Minor.

age was largely influenced by him and his circle. He was not a great man, either as soldier or as statesman, but he makes the Roman character not only admirable to us (which it always is), but attractive and lovable as well.

Polybius is here again our great source of information. Plutarch's lives of Flamininus, Cato and Æmilius. Duruy's *History of the Romans* may be specially recommended for this period.

CHAPTER XII

The Overthrow of the Senate's Power

THE Senate had ruled with great success, but now the time came when its authority was to be challenged, and the people were to claim the exercise of that share in the constitution which was conceded to them in theory. There are many convergent causes for the great change which came over the constitution of Rome, but all are closely connected with the winning of her empire. Her genius was conservative, and not aggressive; but she had been pushed on, for reasons which we have seen, to make herself first the mistress of Italy, and then of all Mediterranean lands. The very magnitude of the victory brought with it the ruin of the republic. Her old life, with its narrow conventions, its rigid morality, its unreasoning appeal to duty, its lack of intellectual freedom and of imagination, was bound to be profoundly modified by contact with new lands and modes of thought. Greece in particular exercised a fascinating and disturbing influence; her literature, her art, her philosophy, her religion, were all on a higher plane than those of the Romans, but none the less they tended to weaken their fibre and distract their aims. The influence of the provinces was almost equally dangerous. Rome was now responsible for the government of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, Africa (*i.e.* the district around

Signs of change.

Influence of the provinces.

Carthage), Macedonia, and Asia Minor. Year by year she sent out officials to these provinces—*consuls*, or *prætors*, or the substitutes for these, who were called *proprætors* and *proconsuls* —who took upon themselves the military supervision, and the collection of taxes, and who acted as the supreme heads of the judicial administration. The Roman state did not intend to be unjust, and many of her provincial rulers were honest as well as energetic men. But a great temptation was placed in their way. There was great wealth to be made in the provinces by politicians, traders, and money-lenders. The simplicity of Roman life was broken by the emergence of a rich capitalist class, and men used to the despotic power which they wielded over the provincials, did not easily adapt themselves to the restrictions of the republic on their return. The direct influence of her conquests on the political and social life of Rome was in many ways evil. The *comitia*, once the real assembly of the citizens of Rome, inevitably became now, when the Romans were scattered over all Italy and the provinces, a mere assembly of the unemployed residents in the city and could not rightly speak for the whole population of the empire. The magistrates had too much to do. There was not as yet any proper differentiation between the duties of civil and military officials; the government of the city must have suffered through the constant calls on the magistrates for military service in distant lands. The Senate in consequence became more than ever the most efficient part of the government of Rome, but the Senate was more influenced than any other part of the state by the moral corruption which the winning of the empire had brought with it. Grave social evils also accompanied this dislocation of the governmental machinery of Rome. The worst point of all was that the yeomanry of Italy, the peasant farmers who had formed the backbone of the armies of Rome, were now being driven off the land, and were crowding into the capital. This, too, was partly the result of the victories which Rome had won. Cheap corn was poured into Italy from the rich fields of Sicily, Corsica, Africa, and Egypt with which Rome was now in easy communication, and the new

The social changes. The influence of slavery.

cheap corn made the production of corn in Italy a profitless task. There had also been introduced into Italy a new type of slavery. The wars had brought tens of thousands of captives who were sold as slaves, and now worked in mines or tilled the fields for some Roman capitalist. The effect of slave labour is always to make free labour contemptible and, moreover, the freeman could not compete profitably with the slave gangs. The result was that the country side was emptied of its free population; cattle and sheep rearing were substituted for the tillage of the fields; and great numbers trooped to Rome, there to live on the verge of starvation and lose in the idleness of the city all trace of their old rural virtues.

The situation was undoubtedly a grave one. Perhaps the best chance for Rome would have been for some enlightened and patriotic reformer to have appeared in the ranks of the Senate itself; but the Senate was now grievously fettered by a spirit of class and almost of caste. The proposals which led the way to nearly a century of rapid and revolutionary change came from a tribune of the people. The tribunate had ceased of late to be employed as an agency for popular reform, but its powers had suffered no diminution in theory.

The Senate demoralized.

Tiberius Gracchus was elected one of the ten tribunes of the people in 134. He was sprung from one of the oldest and most honourable of the families of Rome, and was connected with the Scipionic circle. He was no revolutionary, but a moderate social reformer. His one aim was to bring the people back on to the land, and with that aim he introduced a single measure. Rome, as she conquered one district after another in Italy, had usually confiscated a portion of the land of the conquered race. This land was treated in various ways. Some was sold outright; but most was let out to tenants and remained the property of the state (*ager publicus*). In process of time the rents were often unpaid, for the Senate administrated the lands, and they were for the most part let only to Senators. The tenants came to regard them as their personal property, though there was never any doubt that the Republic was the rightful owner. Tiberius

Tiberius Gracchus.

Gracchus proposed that this land should be resumed by the state and distributed in small holdings among the indigent poor of Rome. A commission was to be appointed to superintend the distribution. It offended so many private interests that it aroused a storm of opposition. Gracchus stood for the tribunate again, contrary to the tradition of the Roman constitution, and in a riot at the election time he was murdered. The long struggle between the patricians and the plebeians had been conspicuously free from acts of violence. It was an evil augury that the first move in the new social struggle was met by this brutal murder.

The murder of Tiberius Gracchus was a blunder as well as a crime. The popular party was exasperated by it, and they soon found another champion in his brother Caius. He had been away for some time from Rome in the service of the state, and had always shown himself a man of conspicuous honesty and efficiency. He returned to Rome in 124, stood for the tribunate, and was elected. He was not like his brother, a patriotic reformer with a single idea; he was actuated by patriotic motives, it is true, but he was also anxious to revenge his brother, and to beat down the hated Senate which had been the instrument of his brother's death. He brought in a series of proposals which amounted to a complete revolution in the state. He restored to activity his brother's land law, and added to it provisions by which colonies were to be planted in the south of Italy, and in such foreign lands as Corinth and Carthage, which had been left desolate by Roman conquest. He brought forward a corn law by which corn was to be supplied at about half-price to the citizens of Rome. It was probably necessary to do something for the half-starving populace of Rome; but it is clear that this measure had mischievous consequences. For it increased the flow of poor country folk into Rome, where alone this cheap corn was to be found, and it set the dangerous example of recommending every political proposal to the Roman people by a bribe of cheap corn, until at last the food was given gratuitously. Gracchus also tried, and with success, to divide the ranks of the richer classes of Rome, and to bring over one section to his side by giving to the

Caius Gracchus.

non-senatorial capitalists (the so-called knights) certain privileges which the Senate had hitherto monopolized, and especially the control of judicial trials. But the method by which he passed his measures was almost as important as the measures themselves. He neglected the privileges and powers which were by tradition accorded to the Senate, and he appealed directly to the people in the Forum. The authority of the Senate had never been so openly challenged. At first he carried all before him, for he was one of the finest orators that Rome ever possessed, and his proposals met the needs and excited the passions of the people. He was elected to the tribunate for the second time; but then he found on how unstable a foundation he was building in raising the *comitia* to a position of pre-eminence in the state. A rival politician drew away the popular favour from him. He was not elected to the tribunate for a third period. Then a direct attack was made upon one of his chief schemes, and it was proposed to withdraw the colony from Carthage. The murder of his brother was remembered, and each side prepared to appeal to violence. The direction of his movement passed from Caius to more violent spirits, and in the struggle which followed the Senate triumphed, and Caius, despite the devotion of his friends, was forced to flee, and committed suicide to avoid falling into the hands of pursuers.

Death of Caius Gracchus.

The triumph of the reaction was complete. The Senate proceeded to rule as it had ruled before. But the action of the Gracchi had changed the situation. The poor of Rome had found leaders and a programme, and they cherished the memory of the champions who had fought and died for them. They knew, moreover, their own powers, and before long they had occasion to exercise them again. And the next time they struck at the very centre of the powers of the Senate by challenging their control of foreign affairs.

The government of Rome was involved in a very difficult affair in Numidia, the district which lay to the west of the province of Africa. Rome had guaranteed the throne to one candidate, and it had been seized by another, the energetic and unscrupulous Jugurtha. The Senate unwillingly realized that it was necessary to send

The Numidian war.

out armies to beat down the usurper. The first stages of the campaign saw a series of Roman defeats and disgraces, for which the corruption of the Roman generals was largely responsible; but the vast extent of Numidia and the unsettled and barbarous nature of the country made the war an extremely difficult one. There seemed a better prospect of success when a Roman noble, Metellus, took charge of the campaign. Jugurtha was defeated and constantly pursued, though it proved impossible to capture him. Then there came a great change. There was in the army of Metellus, as his lieutenant, a young Roman called Marius. He was of humble origin, and came from a rural district of Italy, and nothing had hitherto shown that he possessed ambition for a political career. He now, however, went to Rome, put himself forward as a candidate for the consulship, and asked to be sent as consul to bring the Numidian war to an end. This procedure was eminently revolutionary, for there was nothing that the Senate was more jealous of than the control of military operations; but the people welcomed a new champion, and Marius was triumphantly elected. He went out to Numidia, and, though he gained successes, the war seemed likely to be indefinitely prolonged, when by good fortune, and through the great daring of Sulla, the lieutenant of Marius, Jugurtha was captured and the war was finished.

The rise of Marius.

Marius thus returned to Rome as the successful general of the people, but hardly was this war ended when a new and much more terrible danger threatened the Roman world. The Romans had recently annexed as a province, the southern district of Gaul, and in this region they now came in contact with peoples whom they called the Cimbrians and the Teutons. They were described as men of great stature, light hair, and blue eyes. They were not merely an army, but rather an emigrant nation. They were accompanied by a long train of waggons, and carried with them their wives and their children. It is, indeed, the first appearance on the Roman frontier of those German tribes who were destined, five centuries later, to overwhelm the Roman power in the west of Europe. Their early encounters with the Romans resulted in defeats for the

The danger from the north.

armies of the Republic, to which the annals of Rome supply few parallels. The worst of all was when, in 105 B.C., three Roman armies were defeated near the Rhone, with a loss which is said to have reached 120,000 men. It seemed certain that the enemy would now move on into Italy, and Rome had to face a danger as great as when, a hundred years before, Hannibal had threatened her from the same quarter. Fortunately, however, for reasons which we can only dimly guess, the barbarians, instead of marching into Italy, thronged westward towards Spain and then northward towards the mouth of the Rhine, and did not threaten Roman territories again until the year 103. In the interval much had been done. Marius fresh from his Numidian victories had been made consul again and again. From the year 104 B.C. to the year 100 he was constantly re-elected, and this continual consulship formed an entirely new feature in Roman history, to which we must recur in a moment. He had devoted himself to the preparation of his army for the great task which was in front of them. When, in 103, the barbarians returned again, they divided their forces, and whilst one part of them penetrated Italy by the eastern passes of the Alps, the other half struck, as formerly, across the Rhone. But their undisciplined valour was unequal to the conflict with the legions of Rome, well-trained, and well-led, and in 102, Marius first defeated the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ with enormous loss, and then passing into Italy he destroyed in the next year the Cimbrian army with equal completeness. The last struggle was where the barbarians resisted behind their waggons, which had been drawn up in a ring. The women fought as well as the men, and in the end committed suicide to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans. The chief glory of right belonged to Marius; but it was claimed afterwards that Sulla, the shadow that always followed Marius and in the end darkened all his glory, had delivered the decisive blow in the last battle. The Roman world breathed again, and not for 400 years had the Romans to face a danger which threatened the very basis of their civilization.

Marius commands against the northern invaders.

Destruction of the barbarians.

These events have a great political as well as military importance. Marius' continuous command was a new feature in Roman constitutional history. In face of this great danger one man had been master of the Roman world for five years, and he was no aristocrat like Scipio, but a man of the people, raised to power by the will of the people, and in spite of the opposition of the Senate. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that it is with Marius that the Roman Empire begins: in this sense, at any rate, that from this time forward we see constantly supreme power held by some great army chief, and it is only in the intervals of such commands that the old machinery of the constitution worked in the old way. Marius was followed by Sulla, Sulla by Pompey, Pompey by Julius Cæsar, and upon the death of Julius Cæsar the Roman Empire was at last definitely organized by Augustus.

Political significance of the career of Marius.

After the defeat of the barbarians, Marius was the one great personality in the Roman world, and he doubtless was reluctant to play an inferior part. With the conclusion of peace he turned to the contests of politics, and joined himself to the popular party. Two popular champions, Glaucia and Saturninus, still kept alive the hopes which the Gracchi had planted in the minds of the people of Rome, and with them, in the year 100 B.C., Marius put forward a programme of democratic change and reform. The people were to have cheaper corn; colonies were to be planted, especially in the lands that had been laid waste by the barbarian invaders. Marius himself was to have the task of superintending and carrying out these new schemes. But these schemes were not carried out. Marius, like many another great soldier, had no genius for popular politics; he quarrelled with his colleagues, and listened to the overtures of the Senate, and at the end of the year, in the civil strife that broke out, turned against his old confederates, and restored the power of the Senate in Rome. These obscure events bring to an end the period of the greatness of Marius. We see him henceforth rather as a baffled conspirator than a successful general or statesman. But his career marks a great and permanent

Marius as leader and betrayer of the popular party.

change in the Roman political world. The soldier's sword had become a force in Roman politics such as it had never been before, and the soldier's sword was destined more and more to dominate the politics of Rome. One point of army organization did much to make this possible. From the earlier armies of Rome the poorest classes had been excluded; service in the ranks was a mark of honour as well as a burden. But when Marius was recruiting his army for Numidia, and still more when he was preparing his forces for his campaign against the Germans, he took his soldiers wherever he could find them, and drafted into the ranks large numbers from the neediest elements of Roman society. From this time forward, therefore, the Roman armies rapidly lose their character of citizen armies. They are bound to the service of the State, not by patriotism, but by pay, and their devotion is really to their general in the field, and not to the Government at home. It is easy to see how this change assisted the growth of a military dictatorship, and led to the overthrow of the Republic.

In addition to the ordinary histories, Plutarch's lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus and of Marius and Sulla are important. The two former are among the best of Plutarch's whole series. The two latter are disfigured by the fact that Plutarch draws from the memoirs of Sulla, and thus gives to much of his narrative a decided bias against Marius.

CHAPTER XIII

Sulla: Civil War, and the Restoration of the Senate's Power

After the year 100, Rome enjoyed for ten years immunity from foreign danger, but during this time her domestic problems were very pressing. Chief among these was the question of the allies (*socii*). We have seen how generously Rome had treated the inhabitants of Italy whom she had conquered in her march towards empire; we have seen, too, that that generosity had been amply repaid by their devotion during the

The "allies" of Rome and their claims.

Punic wars; but for some time past the relation between the Romans and their allies had been strained. It was not exactly that the Romans treated the allies with oppression or cruelty, though the Roman temper was haughty, and there were doubtless instances of harshness; it was rather that the allies were becoming conscious of their own services to Rome, and were beginning to claim not merely generous treatment, but justice and equality. The allies were by no means all on the same footing. They were divided into two main classes. The Latins formed the most favoured class, they could trade freely with Rome, and could, under certain circumstances, obtain the full rights of Roman citizenship. The rest of the allies were on a less favoured footing: especially there was no avenue open to them by which they could reach equality with the citizens of Rome. The Latins and the rest of the allies for the most part lived in cities which managed their own affairs and were only occasionally interfered with by the Government of Rome. It is probable that in the world known to the Romans there were no conquered subjects so well treated as these. What, then, were their grievances? They complained that they bore in the wars of Rome twice as heavy a burden as the Romans bore themselves; they complained that in the administration of martial law they did not possess the right of appeal which had been granted to the Roman citizens; they complained of the occasional insolence of the Roman officials who were sent down into the country districts of Italy. But the real cause of their discontent is not to be found in oppression or wrong, but in their desire and demand for equal privileges with the Romans. To grant them that equality would not, as the sequel showed, have weakened Rome in any way at all; but the Romans were tenacious of their distinct privileges, and all attempts to win for the allies equality with the Roman citizens had been defeated.

Tentative proposals had been made by the Gracchi, by Marius in the year 100, and now in 91 B.C., the claims of the Italians found an eager and disinterested advocate in Marcus Livius Drusus, a young noble who was elected tribune of the people in 91 B.C. He desired a change, not in the interests of the democratic party,

Career and death of Drusus.

but rather in the interest of the Senate itself. He brought forward and passed various minor proposals, but the idea of placing all the free peoples of Italy on an equal footing produced fierce excitement: and in the year 91, Drusus was murdered.

The Social War.

His death was the signal for the outbreak of the Civil War which is usually known as the Social War. It was indeed a grave crisis. Rome was faced, not by the Carthaginians, or by barbarians, but by her own soldiers, trained and led by men as expert in war as the Roman officers themselves. It was a confused and also a cruel and devastating war. No great or decisive battles were fought, but at the end of the first year's fighting, Rome had to recognise that victory by force of arms was impossible to her, and she had to adopt those measures of conciliation which, a little earlier, would have avoided the war altogether. In the year 89, the Roman franchise was given to such of the allies as, having revolted from her, were now ready to surrender within sixty days, which was in effect to enfranchise all the Italians who desired the boon. The result was immediately apparent. It was only a few desperate bands that still held out against Rome in the wild mountainous region of the centre.

A party struggle succeeds to the Civil War.

But hardly was the danger from the revolted allies passed when Rome found herself in another trouble. We cannot try to disentangle the movements of this obscure time: it is enough to say that never had the party struggle been more bitter than during this time, when the destiny of Rome seemed at stake, and when, in addition to the war that had been raging in Italy, another serious military danger had appeared in the north-east of Asia Minor, in the district which the Romans called Pontus. Its king, Mithridates, was a capable barbarian ruler who had acquired a veneer of Greek. He had taken advantage of the engagement of the Roman army in Italy, and of the bitter discontent of the recently acquired province of Asia Minor with the tax gatherers, to invade and overrun that province. The Roman dominion in the East seemed shaken to its foundations. The armies of Mithridates were welcomed in Greece, and even

Mithridates.

in Athens itself. It was clear that a resolute hand and strong army would be necessary to restore the dominion of Rome.

To whom should this new command be given? It is characteristic of the time that that question became a matter of party politics. Despite the Roman reverses, it was recognised that it would not be difficult to win victories in the East. Victory would bring to the commander glory and wealth, and to his men unlimited plunder. There were two competitors for the post; it would naturally fall to Sulla who had been Consul in the preceding year, but the popular party claimed it for Marius, who, in spite of his treason to them in 100, was again accepted as their leader, and they hoped to draw to their side the newly enfranchised allies by a more generous treatment than was offered to them by the senatorials. The question was solved by an appeal to the sword. Fortune no longer smiled upon Marius, for Sulla advanced on Rome and took it. It was the first time that Rome had been taken by one of her own citizens. Marius fled for his life, and Sulla was master of Rome, Italy, and indeed of the Roman world.

The question of the command against Mithridates.

It was obvious that, if his army were withdrawn, Italy would be plunged again into serious disorder, but the war in the East seemed more pressing, or its attractions were greater, and so Sulla, having made a few arrangements for the Government of Rome, led his army over into Greece. It was quickly clear how accidental were the conquests of Mithridates; his soldiers could never hope to win the victory against the real armies of Rome, when properly equipped and efficiently led. Twice the Pontic army was overwhelmed in Bœotia, and Athens, after a long siege, was forced to surrender. Sulla then advanced into Asia Minor, and Mithridates was compelled to accept peace and evacuate all Roman lands. These campaigns in the East occupied Sulla from 87 to 83 B.C. Rome and Italy meanwhile had fallen into the hands of his opponents. Marius had returned from his exile, his heart full of a passion for vengeance, and he had joined himself to Cinna, the true

Sulla and the Eastern War.

Triumph of the popular party in Rome.

leader of the popular party. They had occupied Rome, slaughtered their enemies, and crushed for the time the power of the Senate. Then in 86 Marius died, and for some years Cinna was supreme: but it was clear that sooner or later Sulla would return victorious from the East, and it was certain that on his return, he, too, would claim a revenge, and a deeper one than that of Marius. How to resist him was the thought uppermost in the mind of Cinna during these years, but no way was found; and when Cinna attempted to take an army himself into Greece with a view to wresting the command from Sulla, he was murdered at Brundisium by his own soldiers, who had no heart for the perilous adventure.

Return of Sulla. Thus Italy and the popular party were entirely unprepared when in 83 Sulla returned. He had battles to fight, but none that he had any difficulty in winning; he made himself master of Rome, and crushed the last rally of the Samnites; he treated his enemies with a ferocity much greater than that which Marius and Cinna had shown, and the memory of the reign of terror that he imposed on Rome lay for the next half-century like a nightmare over the political life of Italy.

But cruel as Sulla was, he was also a statesman with definite political views. He desired to restore the authority

Political schemes of Sulla. of the Senate, to prevent for ever usurpations of the people, and to prevent the overthrow of the constitution of Rome by the establishment of such a military power as he and Marius had wielded. He proposed, therefore, to give the Senate control over legislation, over the administration of justice, and also complete control over the general policy of the State. To secure this end he determined to ruin the authority and the powers of the tribunes, for in the tribunes the people had found the chief instrument of their ambition in the past. Henceforth no one who had been tribune could aspire to any higher political office, and every tribune was to be responsible at the end of his year of office for the way in which he had conducted himself. The tribuneship had hitherto been the natural gate by which an ambitious man made his way into a political career; but, while Sulla's reforms stood, any man with high ambition would avoid the

tribuneship, because it would give him little power, and bar him from all future advance. The weapon was thus, it was hoped, taken from the hands of the people, by means of which they had achieved their great victories, social and political, in the past. Sulla determined also to make the career of an ambitious soldier more difficult, and his rise to absolute personal power impossible. All aspirants to office must begin with the lower offices in the State, and must proceed by a definite order to the higher ones; there must be a stated interval between the tenure of the different offices, and a long period must elapse before the same office was held a second time. These elaborate precautions amount to this. The career of Marius must for the future be impossible; there must be no appointments of an unknown man to the consulship with supreme military command; there must be no establishment of a personal power, amounting almost to monarchy, by the continuous holding of the consulship over a series of years; both of which procedures had been at the basis of Marius' personal power. With the *comitia* thus weakened by the degradation of the tribunate, and insuperable obstacles, as it was hoped, put in the way of ambitious individuals, the Senate would be again supreme in the state; its control over public business, and over legislation, was strengthened, and the jury courts were again placed in its hands; the work of Caius Gracchus seemed undone. By these and other measures Sulla hoped to stem the tide of democratic advance, and to give to Rome permanently the sort of Government which she had possessed when she beat down Hannibal. The scheme proved transitory, yet the project is of great interest. If the Government of the Senate had been capable of restoration, the changes of Sulla, clever and carefully adjusted to their end, would probably have restored it, but in truth Sulla was only fighting against symptoms, and the causes which had undermined the powers of the Senate still operated. It was not possible by a stroke of the dictator's pen to restore to the Senate its old dignity and honesty, and one chief cause of the failure of the Senate had been a decline in its character; nor was it possible by any change in the machinery of administration to prevent the rise of another Marius or another

Sulla. Great military commands were a necessity of Rome's imperial position, and when another great soldier arose, it would be easy for him to cut through the red tape with which Sulla tried to hold the Roman constitution in its old shape.

Sulla's work was artificial; his constitution was no natural development of Roman life; by the sword it had been made, by the sword it would soon be undone. Hardly was the great dictator dead (79) when his constitution began to totter. The Roman world was far from peace and stable order. In Spain the party of Marius found a leader of genius in Sertorius, and the first efforts of the armies of the Senate to dislodge him were entire failures. In the East, too, Mithridates saw his chance when Sulla was removed, and soon the Pontic armies were again overrunning the fair valleys and flourishing cities of Asia Minor. There were also other dangers which pointed even more clearly to the social disintegration of the Roman world. In the Mediterranean, and especially in the Eastern waters, piracy showed itself on an alarming scale. The piratical fleets found little opposition anywhere. They destroyed commerce upon the seas; they landed and devastated the shores of Italy, and insulted with especial delight those who placed themselves under the protection of the Roman Republic. Further, Italy herself was face to face with a terrible slave war. We have seen how slavery had increased in volume and changed in character since the second Punic war. Where slavery exists society must always rest on an unstable foundation. In 74 B.C. some slaves who were being trained to fight as gladiators for the amusement of the Roman people, broke from their confinement, and soon gathered an army formidable at least in numbers. They had as their leader Spartacus, a Thracian chieftain, of great ability, who managed to keep some sort of order among the wild slave bands. The country was dotted over with *ergastula*, the prisons in which the slaves were kept who were employed for agricultural purposes. The bands of Spartacus everywhere threw open their doors, and the liberated slaves joined his ranks. There was revenge for them

The failure of Sulla's constitution.

Pirates.

The slave rebellions.

and unlimited plunder, and for a time it seemed as though they would be able to hold their own. The Roman troops, which were sent against them were at first defeated. Southern Italy was in the hands of the slave army, and it was only fortified towns that could hold out against them. The suffering of the farming classes was terrible.

In face of such dangers as these it was impossible to maintain the checks and balances of Sulla's constitution. A young soldier destined to play a great part in Roman history, Pompey, was despatched to Spain, and after a long and harassing war he returned victorious in 71 B.C. The slave revolt had meanwhile been suppressed with great difficulty by Crassus, the leader of the capitalists of Rome, and himself far the richest man of his age. Crassus and Pompey demanded a triumph and the consulship for the year 70. The demand was in itself a violation of Sulla's plans, but it could not be resisted, and no sooner were they consuls than these victorious soldiers overthrew what remained of Sulla's constitution. That constitution indeed had few energetic supporters even in the ranks of the Senate itself. It had already given way on many points, and now the restoration of the tribunate to its old privileges completed the overthrow. The people were again able if they so desired, to control legislation and to prevent the Senate from controlling the administration of the State. Sulla's political work except in some minor details had hardly checked the course of the democratic revolution.

The career of Pompey.

Overthrow of Sulla's work.

The whole trend of Roman politics was towards the concentration of power in the hands of one man, that is, towards monarchy. No other course seemed, under the circumstances, possible. Democracy, when the system of representation was unknown, was impossible in so great an empire as that of Rome. The Senate had come to represent a class and had lost entirely the confidence of the people. The people felt themselves most truly represented and their cause most efficiently served by some great champion whom they raised to power.

The coming of monarchy.

The overthrow of Sertorius and the annihilation of the

slave bands left grave dangers still to be coped with. The pirates were now insulting the further shores of Italy, and the insecurity of the sea raised corn to famine prices, and in the East, though a Roman army under the great general Lucullus had beaten Mithridates and penetrated even into the mountain fastnesses of Armenia, the success was shortlived, and in 66 it was clear that the work would have to be done over again. The eyes of all men turned to Pompey. He had been successful in all his undertakings. He was a favourite with the people on account of his restoration of the tribunate, and he was not unpopular with the Senate, and the rich men of Rome. In 67, a tribune of the people, Gabinius, used the powers which had been restored to his office to propose that Pompey should be given the command against the pirates, supported by a great army and navy, and by practically the whole resources of the Roman world. The measure was passed almost without opposition and Pompey quickly justified the hopes that had been placed in him. Good organization was what was chiefly needed, and he was a good organizer. The pirates were driven into their lairs in Crete and Cilicia, and were there crushed. Pompey secured the victory that he had won by wise and merciful measures. Rome was delighted to know that the seas were safe and that corn was cheap again. The danger from Mithridates still remained, though not in so acute a form as when Sulla went to Greece, or when Lucullus took up the command in Asia Minor: but the king still seemed to control Asia Minor and to reduce the Roman power there to a mockery. Now another tribune, Manilius by name, came forward and proposed that Pompey should be given powers, unlimited in time and hardly limited in extent, to finish this Eastern trouble. This law did not pass so easily as the former one. Many saw that the republican constitution was really overthrown by it, and in the Senate there were some who denounced it as the setting up of a tyranny, but nothing could be done, and Pompey sailed in 66 on this new mission. The military task before him proved an easy one. Again what was wanted was organization

Dangers from the pirates and Mithridates.

Pompey crushes the pirates.

The Manilian law gives Pompey the command against Mithridates.

not military genius. Mithridates was defeated and fled to the Crimea, and died there. Then Pompey marched out of Asia Minor into Syria. Syria had long been in a condition of political anarchy. Kings claiming descent from the generals of Alexander the Great still nominally ruled over its fertile plains and luxurious cities. But of late it had fallen into the hands of the King of Armenia and its great cities, such as Antioch and Damascus, and the Jews further South lived in practical independence. For some time it had been waiting like ripe fruit for the hand of Rome. Pompey declared it a Roman province, and before his return he proceeded to set the whole East in order. In addition to the new province of Syria the old provinces of Bithynia and Cilicia were reorganized, and numerous cities and dependent kingdoms were recognized or established for the ordering of Asia Minor and the defence of the frontier of the Euphrates. It was an important work well done, and the East never lost the traces of Pompey's rule, so long as it remained in Rome's hands. In 63 he prepared to return to Rome, hoping to enjoy his well-deserved triumph; but he found Rome in wild political confusion, and we must proceed now to examine the causes of this.

In addition to the references of the last chapter, Plutarch's lives of Sertorius, Lucullus and Pompey are of great value. Mommsen's chapter on the constitutional work of Sulla may be specially recommended for his brilliant picture of the terrible dictator and his analysis of his constitutional plans.

CHAPTER XIV

Julius Cæsar and his Work

THE Roman Republic was now approaching its end. The free institutions of the state were continuously overshadowed by the sword. There were from time to time attempts, well meant and sometimes promising well, to bring back power to the Senate and the *comitia*, to the consuls

and tribunes. But quickly all these hopes were swept away by the strong current which was sweeping Rome on to military rule. For four centuries the history of Roman civilization shows the progressive weakening of self-government, and the growth of an autocracy resting on the support of the army.

Before Pompey arrived in Italy fresh from his triumphs in the East, Rome had passed through the throes of the conspiracy of Catiline. This obscure affair still perplexes historians as to its cause, its object, and the relation of the statesmen of the day to it. But from the point of view taken in this book—which looks not at interesting details, but tries to see the main currents of the time—the affair is not of much importance, for it did not modify in any important way the course of Roman history. There were in Rome seeds of disorder of almost every kind. The poorer classes were discontented with their lot, hostile to the Senate, eager for political and social changes. The aristocracy of Rome had suffered much in the recent confusion, and a great number of them were ruined by luxury, profligacy, and speculation; it was to this class that Catiline belonged. Further, there was the ever-present fear of what would happen when Pompey returned with his victorious army. Would he not play again the part of Sulla? Would he not want absolute power for himself, and lands and money for his soldiers? And could such a programme be carried out without murders, proscriptions, and another Reign of Terror? The difficulty of understanding the Catilinarian movement springs from the different and not altogether harmonious forces which were at work within it. Some desired a political change, and the establishment in power of the popular party; others sought for some excuse for raising an army which should balance Pompey's army on his return; some desired nothing but an opportunity for plunder and the overthrow of a system of society from which they suffered. Catiline's earlier designs were apparently legal and political; he was three times a candidate for the consulship, and was three times rejected. Then as he could not make his way to power, by the ordinary road of office, he turned to measures of violence and anarchy. An army of discontented

The conspiracy of Catiline.

Defeat and death of Catiline.

veterans was collected in Etruria, and Catiline placed himself at the head of it; his fellow conspirators remained in Rome with instructions to set fire to the city, and seize power in the confusion. But spies brought all to the ears of the consul Cicero, and by vigorous measures he defeated the movement. The conspirators were arrested and executed. The army that Catiline commanded was defeated at Fæsulæ, and Catiline himself was slain.

Rome at this time contained many notable men, and it will help to an understanding of the age if we note some of them. Of Cicero we have already spoken. He was a man of humble birth, born in a country district of Italy. He had adopted the profession of a pleader and lawyer, for that career opened the best road to distinction for one who had neither the talents nor the inclination for a soldier's career. He holds his place in history because he was the greatest of all Roman orators, and so great was his influence in his own and succeeding ages that the Latin language never lost the traces of it. As a thinker he shows little originality, but he was keenly interested in many sides of life, and well versed in Greek literature, which he interpreted and translated to his countrymen. As a politician he was essentially conservative. His constant effort was to unite both sections of the higher and propertied classes of Rome—the landed aristocracy of the Senate, and the moneyed aristocracy of the knights—against the forces of revolution and disorder. He had succeeded for a time, and by this means had overthrown the followers of Catiline; but the future had bitter disappointments in store for the well-meaning, energetic, hopeful man of letters, in an age when the traditions of the republic, eloquence, and humane ideas had little power in comparison with the army and its leaders.

Cicero.

Cato, the younger, was usually on the same side in politics as Cicero, but he was a man of a very different stamp. He was the grandson and the imitator of Cato the censor, whose character we described in a previous chapter. Like him he saw with despair the tendencies of the times; the disappearance of reverence, the luxury, the corruption, the weakness of the Senate, the rebelliousness of the people.

Cato the younger.

He never lacked courage, and he protested in season and out of season against what he thought wrong, and himself gave an example of absolute pecuniary honesty, of devotion to duty, and of simplicity. But he lacked practical wisdom and common sense, and became the Don Quixote of Roman politics, admired by many, but laughed at by nearly all, and followed by none. Later ages saw in him the last of the republicans, and his memory was a real obstacle to the early emperors.

Crassus.

Of Crassus it is only necessary to say that he was the great capitalist of the age. He had acquired immense wealth by the various methods that the Roman knights employed, and chiefly by money-lending. His talents as politician and as soldier were not contemptible; but it was his vast wealth which gave him a place in every political combination. His name was often associated with that of Julius Cæsar, whom he assisted in the early stages of his political career. Cæsar was born in 102 B.C., and by his family connections belonged to the popular side of politics. He had not yet revealed his genius or his ambition, but he was already a well-known figure in Rome; a leader of the fashionable world in extravagance of dress and life; a bold champion of the traditions of Marius when championship was dangerous; a skilful speaker, with nothing of Cicero's elaborate ornament, but with a great gift of lucid exposition and persuasion. Cæsar and Crassus had been to some extent associated with Catiline, but they had not shared in his anarchical designs, and had not been injured by his overthrow.

Julius Cæsar.

The return of Pompey.

Pompey returned in 62, and showed at once that the fears of Rome with regard to him were groundless. He was ambitious; but he hoped to realize his ambition within the limits of the constitution; there was nothing in him of the stuff of which revolutionary leaders are made. So when he landed at Brindisi with his army he at once disbanded it as the law required, and trusted to his *prestige* to win from the Senate what he wanted—the acceptance of the arrangements he had made in the East, and rewards in land for his soldiers. He was quickly undeceived. The Senate was flushed with its victory over Catiline, and power seemed to have returned to its hands. It refused some of his

requests and postponed others. Pompey, just returned from a position in the East more powerful than that of royalty, found himself a private person, whom the authorities delighted to irritate. He desired to return to power and looked about for allies in an attack on the Senate.

He found them in the popular party, in Cæsar and in Crassus. Cæsar had left Italy shortly after the conspiracy of Catiline, and had taken up a command in Spain; he was now back again, and on no better terms with the Senate than he was before. If these three men united their forces; if Pompey gave his name and fame, Crassus his wealth and credit, and Cæsar his influence with the people and his army, the Senate would be incapable of resistance. The alliance (known in history as the First Triumvirate) took place. It was a secret arrangement; but its consequences were soon apparent. Cæsar was elected to the consulship for the year 59. Pompey received the recognition of his doings in the East and rewards for his soldiers. The Senate could not resist the pressure that was brought to bear upon them; Cæsar's military force would have been employed against them if they had ventured to do so. At the end of the year 59 new arrangements were made by the all-powerful "Three." The Roman world was still to be ruled by them. Cæsar was to have a command in Gaul for five years (subsequently prolonged to ten); Pompey was to remain in Rome, and keep the Senate in order; Crassus, no doubt, gained further opportunities for enriching himself, and had the promise of a military command later.

The first triumvirate.

So in 58 Cæsar marched north with a large army for his momentous campaigns in Gaul. No campaigns in history have been more admirably described than these; for Cæsar himself wrote the account of them in a narrative of admirable vigour and lucidity, the tone of which is strangely reserved and unemotional throughout. He first drove back the Swiss (the Helvetii) who were trying to invade the Roman province. He then turned against the Germans, who, under their great leader Ariovistus, were preparing to overrun the fertile lands of Gaul. These Germans were as formidable to the Romans as their kinsmen, the

Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul.

Cimbrians and Teutons, had been forty years before. But they were overwhelmed by Cæsar and driven back with much diminished numbers behind the Rhine. Hitherto he had fair warrant for what he was doing; he was defending the Roman province or coming to the relief of tribes with whom Rome was in alliance. But now, with no better excuse than ambition and the advantage of the Roman power could afford, he entered upon the conquest of all Gaul. He marched northwards to the Rhine, and twice passed beyond it into Germany. He struck down all the Gallic tribes that dared to resist him. He passed over to Britain, and in two campaigns demonstrated to the British the superiority of the Roman arms. Whilst he was away in Britain the rebellion of the newly won Gallic lands was preparing, and it broke out with great fury on his return. Crushed in the north it blazed up again in the south, and the cause of Gallic liberty found a worthy representative in the Arvernian chief, Vercingetorix. Cæsar, for the first time, received a check when he failed at the siege of Gergovia, but in 50 he blockaded Vercingetorix in the hill fortress of Alesia, and in spite of desperate efforts at relief, forced him to surrender.

Character and results of the war.

With the fall of Alesia the war was over. It had been in many respects a horrible struggle. With apparent callousness Cæsar, whose "mercifulness" was admitted later by friend and foe, tells us of the slaughter of thousands upon thousands, the devastation of the lands of the tribes that resisted him, the selling into slavery of whole communities, even the mutilation of soldiers, when he thought it well to spare their lives. Yet the campaigns were probably not more cruel than others of the time; what was new was the clear light which was thrown by the commander himself on the details of the campaign. Cæsar's Gallic wars are rightly regarded as among the most important in history. They kept back the German invasions, and perhaps saved the western lands from that danger for another three centuries. They laid the foundation of the French nation and state, for the language and culture of Rome penetrated rapidly the newly won lands, and, in spite of the bitter memories of the war, Gaul accepted the Roman dominion with little resistance, and later

came to regard it with pride. The effects of these campaigns on Cæsar's future and on the future of the government of Rome are equally momentous. His army was devoted to him personally, not to the Republic; the experiences and the victories of the campaigns had made it a force of unrivalled efficiency, moving with extraordinary rapidity, well-disciplined, audacious, and proud of its achievements. With its help Cæsar now grasped the Imperial Crown.

The situation in Rome. The Conference at Luca.

While Cæsar was marching from triumph to triumph, the situation in Rome was changing. Pompey's was perhaps a more difficult task than Cæsar's, and certainly he was not so successful in it. It was easier to defeat Germans and Gauls than to keep order amidst the turbulent factions of Rome. It seemed in the year 56 as though his opponents would triumph, as though the Senate would throw off the control which the three powerful colleagues were exercising over them. Cicero was the spokesman, and perhaps the author of this revolt. It seemed so dangerous that Cæsar left, for the moment, his military task in Gaul and returned to Luca in Italy, where he was met by Pompey and by Crassus. The hopes of Cicero and the Senate had been founded on the disagreement of Cæsar and of Pompey. But now it was clear that they were united again, and that if resistance to the all-powerful "Three" were persisted in, the sword of Cæsar would quickly be drawn against his enemies in Rome. So all opposition fell; those who had talked so loudly hastened to make their peace, and Cicero himself apologized for the action that he had taken. The triumvirs again arranged the affairs of Rome. Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls, Cæsar's command in Gaul was renewed for another five years, Crassus was to be rewarded for his support by the command of an expedition against the Parthians. Yet soon after this year the alliance began to break up. In 53 Crassus went out on his coveted campaign in the East, and was there defeated by the Parthians in the battle of Carrhæ, and subsequently slain. His death removed an important cement in the alliance of Cæsar and Pompey, and now these two men began rapidly to drift into opposition. We may see the true reason doubtless in a natural jealousy,

for while Pompey was adding nothing to his reputation or power, Cæsar was now recognized as the greatest soldier in the Roman world. It was natural under such circumstances that Pompey should draw near to the Senate with which he had for a time so seriously quarrelled, and it was as champion of the Senate that he broke off friendly relations with Cæsar, and entered upon the great Civil War.

We need not narrowly examine its causes. It is in itself a struggle rather of rival military ambitions than of political principles. But while Pompey nominally stood for the Senate and the Senate's power, Cæsar, with at least no greater hypocrisy, declared himself the champion of the people and their privileges. After some negotiations the sword was drawn in the year 48, when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, the stream which divided Roman Italy from the province of Cisalpine Gaul. It is an amazing war which follows. Some had depreciated Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul as being fought against half-armed barbarians, but he proved himself equally successful against armies of Roman soldiers; and though Pompey and the Senate had professed themselves confident of victory, hardly a gleam of success came to cheer them from beginning to end. First with a rapidity, which is only possible to a perfectly trained army, Cæsar marched upon Rome, and Pompey found himself incapable of resistance. The people of Italy showed no readiness to fight for the republic. The civil wars and the constant changes had destroyed all enthusiasm for political ideals. They wanted only security for their farming and their commerce; and Cæsar, instead of bringing fire and slaughter and confiscation with him, proved amazingly conciliatory, ready and even eager to pardon his enemies, and anxious to maintain order and protect property. So Pompey drew back with his armies to Brindisi and embarked for Epirus, hoping to find support and recruits near to the scenes of his former triumphs. Cæsar did not at first follow him, but, with a rapidity which became proverbial, he marched westward by the South of Gaul into Spain, and then having stamped out resistance there, he returned at once to Italy. The position was a difficult one, for not only was Pompey's

The outbreak of civil war.

army large, but Pompey held the control of the sea. Cæsar risked, nevertheless, the passage and landed safely on the shores of Epirus. His first assault on Pompey's position was driven off with heavy loss, but he then lured Pompey eastwards to Thessaly and there crushed him in the crowning victory of Pharsalia (48). Pompey fled from the battlefield, hoping that the memory of his victories in the East would suffice to gather fresh forces in Asia Minor; but the spell was broken by defeat, and he fell at last by an assassin's hand on the seashore of Egypt. There was much hard fighting to be done before Cæsar could feel himself unquestioned master of the Roman world. Egypt had to be subdued: the province of Africa had to be cleared of the enemy by the battle of Thapsus: and Cæsar's last battle was fought and won at Munda in Spain against the last rally of the partisans of Pompey and the Senate.

The battle of Pharsalia (48 B.C.).

Cæsar was master of the Roman world; what would he do with it? His career justifies the claim that he was as eminent a statesman as he was a soldier, but too short a time remained to him to allow him really to organize the government of Rome. We deal, therefore, not with a complete scheme, but with suggestions and a first sketch only; but what we know allows us to call Julius Cæsar the real founder of the Roman Empire. It is true that the latter system which was adopted by Augustus and followed by his successors in many respects differs from that of Julius Cæsar; yet it was he who first definitely concentrated the government of the Roman dominions in the hands of a single ruler, and it was his *prestige* and the memory of his great achievements which allowed the subsequent system to establish itself so easily. The outlines of the system which Julius Cæsar proposed to establish were somewhat as follows. Power would rest in the hands of one man, though whether that man was to be called emperor, or dictator, or king, was not decided at the time of his death. The Senate would retain a distinguished and an important place in the State; its numbers were to be increased to 900, and its ranks were to be filled by eminent men drawn from the provinces.

Cæsar's political ideas.

It would thus cease to be the Government, but it would become the great advisory council of the empire. Though Cæsar had climbed to power as a champion of the people, it was impossible, as we have seen, that the powers of the *comitia* should be expanded or even maintained. The right of the residents of Rome to govern the world could not be reasonably defended. Cæsar therefore would take from the people the power which Gracchus had tried to give them, but other parts of the programme of Gracchus would be realized, such as the relief of poverty and the plantation of citizen colonies beyond the seas. On some such lines as these the new monarchy was to be built up. Much remained indeterminate, the question of succession for instance, and the changes which were to be introduced into the government of the provinces, where, more than elsewhere, change was necessary.

The scope of Cæsar's genius may be gathered from other sources besides his political changes. He ranks high among the great writers of Rome; he passed an extremely important law organizing the free municipal government of the cities of the Roman Empire; under his guidance a change was made in the calendar, and by Cæsar's reformed calendar the world divided and reckoned time until the 16th century. It seems certain that the world has known no greater intellect than his, and that it would have worked for the progress and benefit of mankind if his life had been prolonged for a few more years. Yet we cannot wonder that his changes were regarded with suspicion and resisted by large classes at Rome. They seemed to strike at the most cherished traditions of the republic, and they were pushed forward without much attempt at conciliation. In the year 44 B.C., a plot against Cæsar's life was formed from various elements. Some regretted the noble past of the Republic; others were jealous of Cæsar's elevation; some were actuated by a personal quarrel. Upon the Ides of March in the year 44 Cæsar fell a victim to the daggers of these assassins, and his death let loose again the flood of revolution over the Roman world. It had to pass through thirteen years of civil war before it found rest in a system of Government which followed in its

Murder of Julius Cæsar.

main features that suggested by Julius Cæsar, and where it did not follow it was certainly no improvement.

Mommsen's history provides the highest eulogy of Julius Cæsar. Froude's *Cæsar: a sketch* takes the same line of unlimited hero worship. Ward-Fowler's *Cæsar* and Strachan-Davidson's *Cicero* (both in the "Heroes of the Nations") are the best modern English books for the study of the period. Boissier has an excellent book discussing the various views held as to the conspiracy of Catiline, and deciding in the main for the traditional view: see for the opposite view, Beesly's *Catiline, Clodius* and *Tiberius*. Plutarch's *Lives of Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus* and *Cicero*. For Cæsar in Gaul, Rice Holmes' *Conquest of Gaul* and his translation of *Cæsar's Commentaries*.

CHAPTER XV

Augustus

"THE tyrant is dead, but the tyranny still lives." These were words used by Cicero shortly after the death of Julius Cæsar. He had ardently hoped that the assassination would bring back the Republic in its old form and with its old efficiency, but he soon discovered that the very foundations of the Republic were undermined, that the institutions had outlived their period of usefulness, and that if the Roman Empire were to subsist some form of monarchy was inevitable.

Position at the death of Julius Cæsar.

The Constitution in Rome was full of confusion. Brutus and Cassius, the liberators as they called themselves, hoped that power would fall to them, but the reality of power soon came into the hands of Antony, an old colleague of Cæsar's and consul in the year of his death. Soon, too, there came upon the scene another actor who was destined to play the leading part. This was young Cæsar, grand-nephew of Julius, who much later was called Augustus, but whom for purposes of clearness we will designate by this title already. At the time of the death of his great-uncle he was in Epirus. Julius had made him his heir in his will, and now, though only nineteen

years of age, he came over to Rome to secure this dangerous inheritance. At first it seemed little likely that the prize would fall to him; all parties thought they could make of him their tool, but the young and handsome lad showed wonderful powers of intrigue and statesmanship. He joined himself to Antony and formed with him and Lepidus, another prominent Roman, what is known as "the Second Triumvirate." These men were agreed, at any rate on one point, that Cæsar's name and policy should be defended, and that those who had murdered him should be punished. They quickly achieved a remarkable success. Augustus represented the tradition of Cæsar, and had for that reason a strong hold on the affections of the army. Antony was the best known soldier in the Roman Empire, and between them they evoked a loyalty, and following greater than anything upon which Brutus and Cassius could rely. In the year 42 Brutus and Cassius were defeated in the battles of Philippi, and both perished. Thus, after two years, republican institutions were again overthrown, and again the Roman world was dominated by absolute power, though for the present this was wielded by three men.

The battles of Philippi.

The triumvirate soon began to dissolve. Lepidus, an unimportant politician, was thrust aside. It was agreed that Antony should go to the East and rule over the eastern half of the Roman Empire, whilst to Augustus was allotted Rome and the West. It seemed at first that, if the two colleagues were to quarrel, Antony had the best chance of success, for to him fell far the richest of the Roman provinces; but it was a great source of strength to Augustus that he ruled in Rome itself, for he appeared thus as the champion of Roman unity and of the Roman tradition. He was admirably served also. Though no soldier himself he was supported by Agrippa, who showed himself to possess high talents for war, and by Mæcenas, who was a most capable administrator and most skilful in conciliating the feelings of the Romans. Augustus came thus to represent all that was best in Roman life and habits, while at the same time Antony plunged down an opposite course. He lived for the most part in Alexandria, where he associated

The quarrel between Augustus and Antony.

with the Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, and rumours were soon current in Rome that he had adopted Oriental ways, that he designed to bring Rome under the yoke of Egypt, and that he had shown in his contests with the barbarians of the East far less than his old military skill.

There were attempts made to keep the peace between Augustus and Antony, but a natural rivalry, mutual suspicion and the different principles which they represented, drove them on to war. The rupture came in the year 31 B.C., and the decisive battle was fought at sea near Actium on the West coast of Greece, and in this battle, Antony, despite his military experience and reputation, was wholly defeated by Augustus and his lieutenants. Antony fled back with the Egyptian queen to Alexandria, but they were besieged by Augustus and soon perished; Antony of his wounds, Cleopatra of self-administered poison. A single ruler was again master of the whole Roman world.

Augustus had now to face the difficult problem of the organization of his vast dominions. Would he follow the designs of Julius Cæsar? Would he restore the Republic? Or would he discover some new methods and forms of government? He hesitated long, he tried many experiments, and it was only after several years that the Government received the form which he finally adopted, and which was destined with some changes to endure for centuries. We have said that Julius Cæsar may fairly be regarded as the founder of the Roman Empire, but the designs of Augustus were in many ways different from those of Julius. Julius had been a daring innovator who leaned in politics to the popular side, and ruthlessly swept away the traditions of Rome and the power of the Senate and established a new type of Government. But Augustus was before all things conservative and fearful of change; he feared the fate which had fallen upon his great-uncle, and apart from all motives of fear, he desired to link on the new Government to the old traditions of Rome, and to veil from the eyes of Rome, and perhaps from his own, the great gap which separated the Republic from the institutions which he was founding. No change was proclaimed; Augustus took no new title of command; he called himself neither king

nor dictator, nor emperor; he assumed that the power which he held was delegated to him by the Roman people itself; and it is unquestionable that Augustus was, for a large period of his reign, genuinely popular. Towards the end of his reign he drew up an account of his life in short official sentences and had it inscribed on stone in Greek and Latin, and placed in various parts of the empire. Nearly the whole of it has been preserved to us. Augustus claims in it that "after universal power had come into his hands by the wish of the whole people" he had voluntarily laid it down and had "*restored the Republic.*" There was probably no hypocrisy in the phrase. He did his best to return to the republican traditions of Rome, and it was the condition of the Roman world, as much as his own ambition, which led to the maintenance of power in the hand of one man.

The basis of the power of Augustus.

Many of the functions which in the past had been held by different officials were now concentrated in his hands, and it is this concentration which is the characteristic mark of the new order of things. His power was so great, and the subserviency of the Senate and people so unlimited, that he could have what offices he wished. After experiment he decided to build his power mainly upon two foundations. He held for life *pro-consular power* and *tribunician power*, and he found that these powers, widely interpreted, gave him full control of the Roman world. By virtue of his pro-consular authority all the armies of Rome were submitted to his command, while his tribunician power surrounded him with special sanctity, and gave him the right to control both the legislation and jurisdiction of Rome. We have seen that he took no title to describe his new authority, but the name which was by usage given to him and to his successors was "Princeps," which is rather a title of courtesy than a badge of power. It merely implied that he was the chief man of the State, and it should rather be translated "President" than "Emperor."

If we look a little further into his organization of the State we may notice that the Senate was treated with great respect and was to possess far greater actual power than had been given to it by Julius. It was limited to men of Roman birth and

good income; it was reduced to its old numbers; half the provinces, those especially which had no need of military forces, were submitted to its administration; and it soon became the supreme tribunal of the Roman world. Augustus took every opportunity of showing it honour, and he seems to have been popular with its members. So great was its authority that the new Government is sometimes described as a "dyarchy," a system, that is, of dual control, whereby half the Roman world was in the power of Augustus, and half in the power of the Senate. This was only true in appearance; the whole reality of power lay with the Princeps, and what the Senate did it did by his permission. But it is nevertheless true that at first the Senate seemed rather to have gained in dignity and in power by the change that had passed over the State. Very different was the lot of the popular institutions of Rome; they had suffered under Julius, they were further depressed under Augustus. Popular legislation almost ceased; the *comitia* were never again used as Court of Appeal; and the chief function that was left to the people was that of electing the officers of the State. Yet even here the importance of the *comitia* was not so great as it had been, for officials directly appointed by the emperor tended to override consuls, prætors, and tribunes, and soon after the death of Augustus the whole system of popular election ceased entirely. Great changes, too, were introduced in the government of the provinces. They had suffered terribly in the past from mis-government and extortion, and they had been often regarded merely as a source of income by the officials, "birds of prey and passage," who were sent out from Rome to govern them. It is unquestionable that a better era dawned for them with the fall of the Republic. The emperor had no interest in the mis-government of the provinces, but rather in their continuous welfare. The doings of the governors were carefully superintended, a salary was paid to them, and they were forbidden to add to it. There were still instances of provincial oppression, but they were exceptional, and, if the establishment of the empire meant a loss of liberty to the Romans, it meant

The Senate under Augustus.

The people of Rome under Augustus.

The provinces.

a vast increase of prosperity and of peace to the inhabitants of the Provinces.

Augustus knew the value of popularity, and did his utmost to maintain it. He avoided in Rome all appearance of monarchy, lived and demeaned himself merely as a Roman noble, into whose unwilling hands the people had thrust immense powers. In his task of reconciling the Romans to the new order, he was vastly assisted by the writers of his day. He exercised his patronage, not directly, but through the influence of Mæcenas. The whole of the literature of the reign breathes a tone of devotion to Augustus, and a belief that he has inaugurated a better state of things. This is especially true of the two greatest poets, Horace and Virgil. Horace in his odes and other poems is never weary of praising Augustus and his ministers, of celebrating the services rendered by the emperor and his family, and he joined in the chorus of almost religious adoration to the new authority which was beginning to rise from all parts of the empire. "We will regard Augustus," he says, "as a God abiding with us." Still greater were the services of Virgil. His noble poems supported the policy of Augustus at every turn; he praised the old traditions of the Roman republic; he preached the beauty of a simple rural life; but above all, in his greatest poem, the Æneid, he linked the family of Augustus to the mythical founder of Rome, and clearly represented Augustus as the second founder of Rome and her greatness. But Augustus looked to religion as well as to literature for the support of his *régime*. The age was far from a religious one; scepticism was widespread, the temples were dilapidated, and the place of the old Roman forms of worship was being taken by new Oriental cults. It was the aim of Augustus to restore the temples, to make the worship of the gods popular once again, and to support his power by the religious veneration which he would thus win for it. Nor in all these things must we regard Augustus as an impostor, anxious only to strengthen his own power. The historic sense of Rome's great traditions, the love of her religious ceremonials, the

The literature of the period.

Horace and Virgil.

Augustus and religion.

desire to extend agriculture, and a simple form of life were, with him, genuine enthusiasms.

After the battle of Actium a great calm fell upon the Roman world, which was destined to last with slight interruptions for nearly two centuries. But in order to secure the stability of Roman civilization it was necessary to reorganize the defences of the frontiers, and though Augustus was no soldier and desired to avoid wars, the frontiers of Rome were, during his reign, advanced. This was especially the case with the northern frontier, where in a series of campaigns the Roman arms were carried up to and even beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and these two rivers were made the northern frontiers of the Roman world. At one time there was a hope that the frontiers would be extended much beyond this, for Roman armies marched as far as the Elbe and procured the submission of the land in a series of campaigns in which Drusus and his brother Tiberius (stepsons of the Emperor Augustus) commanded. The success achieved was very great. It seemed as though the Elbe were to become the rampart of the Roman Empire, and the Romans would thus have to defend a much shorter line. But it was not to be. The free spirit of the Germans blazed up in revolt against the restraint which the Romans imposed and the corruption of their officials, and in the year 9 A.D. the forces of the Roman commander Varus were ambushed and destroyed by Arminius amidst the forests and morasses of the north-west of Germany. It was the one great disaster of the reign of Augustus, and he did not attempt to revenge it. No serious attempt was made during the few remaining years of his reign to win back what had been lost.

The advance of the frontiers.

Germany won and lost.

Thus the good fortune of Augustus deserted him in foreign affairs at the end of his reign, and his private life was, towards the end, full of sorrow. The sorrows of the Emperor, moreover, had a close bearing upon the fate of the empire. He was married three times, but to the end the question of the succession was a very doubtful one; indeed, one of the weak points about the new Imperial system was that there was no regular system of succession, nor, while the republic was

still in name maintained, could there very well be any rule of the succession laid down; but the power and influence of Augustus was so great that without much question he could have handed on his authority and his titles to whomsoever he chose. He had one daughter, and through her he had several grandchildren, but death and disgrace baffled the hope that he would find a successor in one of these. In the end he had unwillingly to recognize the claims of his stepson Tiberius, a man of great ability and probably of high character, but with no gift of popularity and little able to carry on the special features of the rule of Augustus. It was to this man the rule of the Roman world came on the death of Augustus in the year 14 A.D.

But before we go on to the new reign it may be well to call attention to the vast importance for universal history of the establishment of the Roman Empire. It is the culminating fact of ancient history. All previous political forms led up to it, and most modern political forms have been influenced by it. Its first great service was the establishment of peace. The years from the battle of Actium onwards for two centuries are without question the most peaceful period in the history of the lands embraced within the circuit of the Roman Empire. An army of some 400,000 men sufficed to keep order in countries where there are now many millions of soldiers. Next, and largely in consequence of this peace, rapid extension of civilization took place over the whole surface of the empire. The Latin language in the West and the Greek language in the East were already widespread, but it was after the establishment of the Roman Empire that the Latin language became the national language in the western provinces, and thus the modern French, Spanish, and Italian languages began to develop. But it was not only the language of Rome that was accepted by the peoples of Western Europe, it was the ideas of her civilization, and especially the ideas of Roman law. The supreme product of Roman civilization is Roman law; this is her distinctive gift to posterity, as art and science are the gifts of Greece, and

The significance of the Roman Empire for the history of Europe.

1. Peace.

2. The spread of civilization.

3. Roman law.

although the foundations of Roman law are to be traced during the Republic, it was under the empire that it developed into a massive and logical system, which later generations looked back upon almost as a revelation, and which lies now at the basis of the legal systems of all European lands, though it has influenced the development of English law less than any other. Nor is it altogether true to say that the establishment of the Roman Empire was the overthrow of liberty. It meant the overthrow of free speech in Rome, and the historian sees with regret the loss of the dignity, and of the independence of the Senate and of the people of the city of Rome. But for the vast majority of the inhabitants of the empire there was gain not only in prosperity, but in liberty as well. It was the policy of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus, and afterwards, to encourage the growth of self-governing cities, and from the Euphrates to the Tyne, and from the Baltic to the Desert of the Sahara, the world was soon covered thick with cities where a vigorous and independent municipal life was for a long time to be found. One city, and that the greatest of all, Rome herself, had lost her power of self-government; but what she had lost, many hundreds, perhaps thousands of cities gained. Lastly, as we look on the result of the establishment of the empire to later civilization we cannot fail to see in what close relations it stands to the spread of Christianity. Augustus had tried to revive the old pagan religion, and to some extent he succeeded, but it was not the old faiths which gained so much from his system as the new ones. The Roman Empire was a vast international system embracing many races, states, languages, and an infinity of religious practices. The old religions were nearly all of them national, limited to the state or the people wherein they were professed. The new international state seemed to require an international religion. There were many signs that such would emerge before the final victory of Christianity, for not only did the character of the empire make for universalism in religion, but it also assisted the actual preaching of such a religion. East and West, North and South, were brought nearer to one another than

4. The rise and spread of city life.

5. The spread of Christianity.

ever before. Missionaries of a new Faith could proceed without difficulty from Antioch to York; they would find everywhere an admirable system of roads, a uniform system of coinage, an absence of all checks or hindrances in the way of state-frontiers, and wherever they came they would find at least a large proportion of the people to whom they could speak in one of the two languages of the Roman world, in Latin that is to say, or Greek. The time was soon to come when the Roman Empire and the Christian Church would each regard the other as a deadly enemy. But the services of the empire to Christianity are undoubted, and ultimately after a terrible period of combat, Christianity was destined to strengthen and reinforce the empire.

For the history of the early Roman Empire, Bury's *Roman Empire* is the best text-book. Merivale's *Romans under the Empire* is throughout useful and readable, though he makes mistakes as to the Augustan constitution. Mommsen did not write the history of the Empire; but his *Roman Provinces under the Empire* is full of important information. Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of the Romans* is brilliant and suggestive, but his love of paradox makes it a dangerous guide. Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, useful everywhere, is especially useful for the imperial period. For Augustus himself see the Lives by Schuckburgh and by Frith. Any history of Latin literature will be of great use. Those by Mackail and Wight-Duff deserve special recommendation.

CHAPTER XVI

The Early Empire

With the establishment of the empire the history of Europe enters on a period of great simplicity. The whole extent of the known civilized world was submitted to one Government, and seemed to depend upon the fortunes of one city. The story in consequence may be told clearly and rapidly.

The real importance of this period is to be found in the history of the provinces; their prosperity was increasing, and

their civilization was advancing, and in the East and in the West the population was rapidly brought up to the level of the culture of Italy and of Rome herself. But although much greater attention has of late years been given to the history of the provinces, it is still impossible to write anything like a continuous history of them. It is only when some incident connected them with the Roman Emperor or the Roman army that the ancient historians devoted much attention to the doings of Gaul or Spain or Syria or Egypt; but with the help of inscriptions and the study of archæology much can be made out now of the condition of the provinces, and all seems to show that to them the establishment of the empire brought a vast improvement on what had gone before.

The provinces under the empire.

In Rome itself, the early popularity of the empire soon faded away. The successors of Augustus did not show the same tact, and they did not secure the same support in the literature of the time. In place of the enthusiastic veneration which we find in the pages of Horace or of Virgil, the poets and historians of the next fifty years speak of the emperors generally with the greatest scorn and dislike. This is doubtless partly due to the fact that the successors of Augustus had not his skill and sanity and moderation, but there are also other reasons for the change. As the memory of the troubles that had preceded Augustus began to grow dim, the people, and still more the nobility of Rome, became painfully aware that they were no longer the masters and governors of the world. Their regret and their ambition found a voice in much of the literature of the time, but it must be always remembered that Rome had lost its old paramount importance for the empire, and that discontents in Rome do not necessarily imply any distress in the empire at large.

Rise of opposition to the empire.

For four reigns after the death of Augustus the Imperial power was kept in the hands of his relations. First his stepson Tiberius became emperor, and Tiberius is one of the most difficult personal problems in the history of the empire. The great historian Tacitus has poured upon him the vials of his wrath; he has painted him as the ideal of

Tiberius.

a cruel and suspicious tyrant, and has implied that Rome suffered a veritable reign of terror whilst he was emperor. But this view is in many ways difficult to accept, and is not fully supported by what Tacitus himself tells us. The bias of the historian is clearly marked, and there can be no doubt that Tiberius in his general government of the empire was a worthy successor of Augustus, vigorous, careful, peace-loving, and efficient. Augustus in his will had warned him against any attempt to advance the frontiers of the empire, but at first Tiberius seemed inclined to take up again the conquest of Germany which had come to such a tragical end under Varus. Roman armies again marched as far as the Elbe, and the military superiority of the Roman arms was again made apparent under the nephew of Tiberius, who received for his victories the title of Germanicus. Then Tiberius, though he had suffered no reverse, determined to abandon the attempt and the Roman frontier was withdrawn to the Rhine. The withdrawal was regarded in Rome as a slur upon the national honour, but to Tiberius it was probably plain that the effort would require too great an expenditure of men and of money, and that success was too doubtful to make it worth while to continue the struggle. When the pressure of foreign invasion was removed the Germans quickly lost the measure of unity which they had possessed for a time, under Arminius. The Romans were relieved from all anxiety on that side when German tribes turned against one another the weapons that the Romans had found so formidable. Arminius himself was slain in the civil wars that followed; and the Romans were not seriously threatened on the Rhine frontiers for two centuries. Elsewhere Tiberius constantly maintained the peaceful *régime* of Augustus. During his last years he withdrew from Rome to Capri near Naples, and strange stories were current of his cruelty and profligacy there, which, if true, must point to some failure of his once powerful intelligence. He died in the year 37, and was succeeded by Caligula. The Roman world was now governed by one of the strangest figures who have ever possessed supreme power, and there can be little question that his mind was unhinged either by nature, or by the

Caligula.

influence of the immense power to which he had unexpectedly arrived. His predecessors had been careful to avoid the appearance and ceremony of absolute power; but Caligula had no such scruples. He made men address him as a God, and took a crazy delight in enforcing the most abject reverence. After a short reign he was assassinated, and was succeeded by his uncle Claudius. The Roman world was once more submitted to a very strange character. Claudius was a man of much learning, and many of his utterances on public affairs show real wisdom, but in his private relations he was weak to the verge of imbecility, and his palace was the scene of the wildest domestic scandals. During his reign one important addition was made to the provinces of Rome. We have seen that Julius Cæsar had already invaded Britain, but had made no permanent settlement there. Now, in the year 44, Roman armies again crossed the Straits, and the islanders proved again unable to resist them. The Roman arms were carried across the Thames as far as Colchester. Claudius himself came to take some part in the last stages of the triumphant campaign, and henceforward Britain counts as a Roman province, and its frontiers are pushed further North and West. Claudius was murdered in 54, and he was succeeded by Nero. It is possible to defend and even to praise the actions of Tiberius; it is possible to defend the policy of Claudius; but there can be no question of the vileness of the character of Nero, and of the evil influence which he exercised upon the destinies of the world which was submitted to his rule. The first few years of his reign seemed indeed to promise better things, and men contrasted the prosperity of this period both with what had gone before, and with what was soon to follow, but during these famous "five years" he was to some extent controlled and directed by Seneca, the philosopher, and by Burrus, a soldier of high character and ability. When he arrived at mature years and shook off all control, he showed no sense of duty or responsibility, but plunged into a career of wild expenditure, vice and crime, and in addition, shocked all Roman traditions by his personal exhibitions as a dancer, singer, and charioteer. One palace scandal followed upon

Claudius.

Nero.

the heels of another; conspiracies were formed against him, but for some time without success, until at last there was a rumour of mutiny in the legions of the North, and of the complicity of the prætorian guards at Rome, and Nero, in craven despair, fled from Rome, and ultimately committed suicide (68 A.D.).

General features of the time.

It will be seen that the record of these reigns is a very depressing one, and in this book it would serve no good purpose to follow the scandals and the crimes that fill the histories of the time; instead, we will analyze some of the general features and causes of the unrest and trouble of this strange period. The first point that we must notice is the singular position of the emperors themselves. The Republic still subsisted in name; the functions and the powers of the emperors had never been defined; the traditions of the world in which they lived were wholly against the absolute power which lay in their hands. And yet the whole Roman world was directly submitted to their orders, and the Roman Empire covered nearly the whole of the world that was known to the Romans. No subsequent rulers in Europe have ever held a position so solitary or so exalted as that of the Roman Emperors. Kings and emperors at a later period of European history, even when most absolute in power, have had rivals and opponents in other countries. But the Roman Emperors, unsupported by any tradition of loyalty, stood alone in the world, without rivals and without equals. Everywhere they were met not with genuine loyalty, but with subservience and flattery, and very soon with religious adoration as well. It can hardly be wondered if under such conditions all sense of reality left them, and they were sometimes seized with what has been called the "dizziness of supreme power." It should be noted, too, that no attempt was made—perhaps under the circumstances no attempt could be made—to establish a law of succession. The great prize, therefore, was settled by intrigue among the different candidates and their supporters in the palace, by conspiracy, and often by crime.

Among the Imperial agents was a body of men who now emerge into evil notoriety, the freedmen of the emperor. These

were men of servile origin, whom the emperors employed as their subordinates in the administration of their dominions. They distrusted the old aristocracy of Rome, and in these men, usually of Greek origin, well educated and capable in ordinary affairs of business, they found pliant and efficient instruments. Freedmen of this kind were very generally employed by Roman landowners in their service, and now that the Roman Empire had become something like the estate of one man, it was a natural extension of the system that made these freedmen great political personages. But the Roman nobles saw with indignation the power that was possessed, and the wealth that was acquired by men who were drawn from the slave class, and the bitter jealousy of the empire displayed by the Roman nobles is partly to be attributed to this cause. Moreover, if they were capable in their management of business, their servile upbringing had given them little sense of honour or of duty, and their names are associated with the worst scandals and corruptions of the Imperial household.

The emperor's freedmen.

Another feature of the time that must be understood is the Prætorian guard. Under the Republic no body of soldiers was maintained in or near to Rome, but the emperors from the first planted a large body of troops at the gates of Rome, whose function it was to act as an Imperial bodyguard, and to overawe the turbulent elements of the city. These guards were recruited from Italy alone and received higher pay than the ordinary armies stationed in the provinces. At first they served the emperors faithfully, but they grew conscious of their power, and were soon themselves a serious element of danger.

The Prætorian guard.

Popular elections were brought to an end during the rule of Tiberius, and they seem to have died unregretted; but the Senate still existed, and membership of the Senate was coveted by the higher orders of Roman society. Between the Senate and the emperors relations were always strained, and often actually hostile during the reigns of the four emperors that we have considered in this chapter. The Senate could not forget, and

Trials for high treason.

perhaps tried to regain, the power which it had once possessed, and the emperors regarded the Senators as actual or possible conspirators. It was upon them that the heaviest blows of the worst emperors fell. A vague law of high treason protected the person of the emperor, and the informer who brought against any one a successful charge of high treason received rewards from the state. The Senators in consequence lived in fear of such a charge. The trials for high treason were often a mockery of all justice and fairness, and the informers, who in some cases became rich by the rewards which they received, were more bitterly hated in Roman society that even the freedmen themselves.

Such are some of the chief features of the Roman world as we see it between the death of Augustus in 14 A.D., and the death of Nero in 68. At Nero's death there came a period of violent revolution. There were insurrections among the legions of Gaul and Spain, and sympathetic movements in Rome itself. The actual cause of Nero's despair and suicide was the report of the revolution of the Prætorian guards. For a moment the fortunes of Rome seemed in their hands, and they were able to appoint what emperor they liked. They declared in favour of Galba, an aged and respected Senator, who had already been concerned in the military rising in Gaul; but when Galba arrived in Rome, he disappointed the hopes of his supporters by showing himself as strict in the management of the state as he was in the conduct of his private life; he refused to give to the soldiers the presents which they had expected, and demanded the restoration of the moneys which had been lavished by Nero. His economy was the cause of his downfall. A young Roman noble, Otho, saw his chance, and intrigued against him; he won over the Prætorian guards by lavish promises; Galba was murdered, and Otho became emperor.

The year of the three emperors.

Galba.

Otho.

But now a new feature emerged. It will have been noted that in all these events it is the soldiers that decide, and the people and the Senate of Rome count for little. Hitherto it has been the Prætorians who have given away the Imperial

title, but the ordinary legions of the Roman world were already jealous of the exceptional position and the higher pay of the Prætorians, and saw no reason why power and the profits which came from power should belong to them alone. We see in consequence the march first of one provincial army, and then of another upon Rome, and the empire becomes the prey of the rivalries of the Roman legions which existed nominally to protect it. First the army of Germany, the army, that is, which was stationed on the Rhine, proclaimed its own commander, Vitellius, emperor, and marched to enforce his claims upon Italy. Otho met the newcomer in the north of Italy with all the forces he could raise in Rome, but in the battle of Betriacum the soldiers of the north triumphed completely over the army of Otho, and Vitellius became emperor. His position, however, was thoroughly unstable; he showed no gifts for statesmanship, and few for war; and it was soon evident that a further struggle would be necessary if he were to maintain his position over the Syrian army, which was at this time occupied in the siege of Jerusalem, and heard with jealous indignation of the good fortune of the legions of Gaul and of Germany, and decided themselves to compete for the prize. They saluted their commander Vespasian as emperor, and abandoning the siege of Jerusalem, marched upon Rome. They met the army of Vitellius near to Cremona, and there followed a fierce battle, but the newcomers showed their superiority over the legions which had enjoyed for some time the dangerous pleasures of Rome. Vitellius had to fall back upon the city itself; even there he could make no effective resistance; the city was stormed: Vitellius was slain, and Vespasian ruled in his place.

The provincial legions jealous of the Prætorians.

Vitellius.

Vespasian.

In this year of revolutions it must be noted that the movements are almost entirely military, and that neither the ambitions of the Senate nor the power of the Roman people, nor even the aspirations of the provinces after liberty, count for anything in the settlement of the great struggle. It is noted by historians of the time that the legions—whether

The causes of these revolutions completely military.

Spanish, Gallic, German, or Syrian—were foreigners in Italy; they had nearly ceased to feel themselves citizens of the Roman Empire, and were actuated by a love of plunder and a sense of military honour; political motives are throughout entirely absent. There was, indeed, towards the end of the year, a rising in the north of Gaul, headed by Civilis, which had for its aim the liberation of that district from Rome, and the establishment of a national government, but after the establishment of order by Vespasian, the armies of Rome were sent against Civilis, and he was without difficulty suppressed.

Restoration of order by Vespasian.

It might have been that Vespasian would have to face the same dangers which Otho and Vitellius had had to face, and that the Syrian legions when in possession of their prize, would be challenged by yet another army. But the chief armies of Rome had already been occupied in the scramble, and Vespasian was a man not only of high military powers, but also of strong character. He had won power as the result of a military revolution, but he exercised it according to the best traditions of Roman rule, and with him a better period for the Roman world begins. He found that world indeed in the wildest confusion; the treasury was bankrupt, the Senate was more than decimated, the security of the Roman world seemed fatally interrupted. But by economy and by firmness he managed to reduce the armies to obedience, to restore the financial equilibrium, and even to conciliate the Senate. One serious war was brought to a conclusion during his reign.

The siege of Jerusalem.

We have seen that the Syrian legions were assaulting Jerusalem when they were called off from their task by the news from Rome. As soon as Vespasian's power was established the Jewish war was taken up again. The relations of Rome with the Jews had always been difficult, and the cause of this difficulty was to be found rather in the turbulence and ambition of the Jews than in any special oppressiveness of the Roman yoke. A rebellion of the Jews broke out in the year 66, and from the first was quite hopeless; for the resources of the Jews were utterly unequal to a struggle with the organized might of the Roman Empire. The civil

wars of the year 69 had given relief to Jerusalem for a while, but in the year 70 Vespasian entrusted the war in Judea and the siege of Jerusalem to his son Titus. The Jews fought with a savage and heroic courage, though their action was weakened by fierce factions among themselves. In the end the Holy City was taken by assault after an immense slaughter; it was decided that Jerusalem should be destroyed and should never be rebuilt; a Roman garrison was stationed in the neighbourhood, and Titus himself returned to Rome to enjoy a great triumph, and shortly afterwards succeeded his father as emperor. The Jews were even before this widely dispersed throughout the Roman world, but the fall of Jerusalem robbed them of their religious centre and rallying point. Their sufferings and their power, their wanderings, their oppression and their wealth form henceforward one of the strangest threads in European history.

The reign of Titus was a short one, from 79 to 81 A.D., and he was succeeded by his brother Domitian (81–96). The reign of Domitian marks a return to some of the worst features of the earlier empire. Rome was again plunged into terror and suspicion; we hear again of the informers and the trials for high treason, and the palace was once more the scene of vice and of conspiracy. The reign left little permanent mark upon the development of Rome, and we may, therefore, merely say that in the end a conspiracy against the emperor, in which his wife joined with the freedmen and the Prætorian guards, proved successful, and Domitian fell by the dagger of an assassin.

Domitian.

In addition to the historians mentioned in the last chapter, the first chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* may be read with interest. Tacitus' *Annals* are the chief authority for the early reign of Tiberius, and his *Histories* for the reign of Nero and the revolution that followed. His *Germania* is a short and brilliant account of the condition of Germany at the end of the first century. The vexed questions of Tiberius' reign are discussed by Beesly (*Catiline, Clodius,* and *Tiberius*), and by Tarver in *Tiberius the Tyrant* in a sense favourable to Tiberius. Boissier's *Tacitus* tends to support the traditional view. Henderson's *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* and *Civil War and Rebellion* in the Roman world give a narrative founded on modern research.

CHAPTER XVII

The Age of the Antonines

With the death of Domitian we come to what is in many respects the most characteristic period of the Roman Empire, most characteristic at any rate of what is best in it. For nearly a century, from 96 to 180 A.D., the Roman world enjoyed a Government singularly stable, beneficent and efficient. This period is usually known as the "Age of the Antonines," though it must be noted that the only emperors who really bore the name of Antoninus were the last two of those with whom we shall deal in this chapter.

During this period of eighty years the troubles of the early empire seemed all to have been overcome; there was no civil war during this period, no assassination, and few of the scandals that disgraced the palaces of earlier emperors. The Roman world enjoyed a period of wonderful calm and prosperity, a veritable Indian summer before the storms of the third century.

During the reigns of the five emperors who fill up this period, the difficulty of the succession seemed over. It was the rule for the reigning emperor to choose some prominent public servant, to adopt him as his son, and if his conduct proved satisfactory, to proclaim him his successor. The emperor had thus time himself to superintend the actions of the man who was to carry on his work, and he was able to see whether his choice would win the support of the Roman world. So admirably did this plan of succession by adoption work that it is strange that it has never been used by any modern state. It may be noted that even in the period of which we speak it was not reduced to form or legally prescribed; it was a matter of tradition, and was left to the feeling of the emperors themselves. We may note also that not one of the emperors who applied it had a son of his own to succeed him.

The question of the succession settled.

Again, during these years the old bitter antagonism of the emperors and the Senate was nearly at an end; there was no more talk of informers and trials for high treason, and suicides, and executions. The good relations of the emperor and the Senate were not due to any constitutional change; probably the members of the Senate, after recent events, were no longer as ambitious as they once had been, and the emperors on their side treated the Senators with a tact, which respected their feelings while it made use of their services. Signs of friction are not entirely absent in the annals of these reigns, but for the most part the Senate comes before us as a loyal supporter of the Imperial *régime*.

The Senate conciliated.

If we look into the provinces, we see there also evidence that the Imperial system was working smoothly and beneficially. The provinces clearly began to lose all sense of subordination to Rome, and felt themselves upon an equality with Italy and even with Rome herself. This was much assisted by the fact that all these emperors, except the first one, were men of provincial extraction. Spain was the original home of the emperors who gave to Rome this period of remarkable prosperity, and from this time onwards the emperors and the governors of the Roman world are, as a rule, drawn from the provinces rather than from the capital or the Italian peninsula. Municipal government, too, was making rapid strides during this period. Wherever we are able to get statistics we find that city life, based on a large measure of self-government, is extending and taking the place of all looser and more primitive forms of organization. The Roman Empire rapidly tended to become a vast collection of free municipalities held together and kept in harmony by the central Imperial Government.

The provinces lose all sense of subjection.

Spread of municipal freedom.

We have insisted from the first that internal peace was a great mark of the Imperial system of the first two centuries, but at no period was that peace so profound as during these years. In Trajan's reign there were, indeed, important wars beyond the frontiers of the Danube, and the Euphrates, and the last years of Marcus Aurelius were disturbed by ominous and dangerous

The peace of the Roman world.

incursions of the races of Germany. But these wars were nearly all fought beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and the reigns of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius were almost entirely without military incident of any sort. At no other period in the history of Europe is there anything like so complete a cessation from military activity over anything like so wide an area.

Nor was the calm accompanied by torpor, nor marked by intellectual decadence. On the contrary, Latin literature had a second period of greatness illustrated by the names of Juvenal, Tacitus, and Pliny, and in the arts of sculpture and architecture this period saw the finest work that was ever done in Rome. Among the relics of Roman antiquity which are preserved in the museums of Rome and elsewhere, it is constantly found that what is most admired belongs to the period, and often comes from the palace, of the emperor Hadrian. And if we look from literature and art to thought and to religion, we find here, too, great activity and vehement controversy. The great movement which was at last to culminate in the codification of the Roman law began in the reign of Hadrian. Greek philosophy, and especially the philosophy of the Stoics, began to acquire over the better minds of pagan Rome a great and beneficent ascendancy. The Christian Church, meanwhile, was advancing, through severe struggles with rival religions and contending factions, to that strength which, as we shall see, proved ultimately fatal to the type of Government and society which was established by the Antonines, and which had in itself the seeds of decay. The Antonine era could not last for ever. There were political, economic, and religious forces working within it, which were bound before long to alter it profoundly. But while it lasted it was a singularly attractive epoch; and the spectacle of peace and order which it presents goes far to justify Gibbon's famous pronouncement, that if a philosopher were called upon to choose the period during which the human race has enjoyed the greatest felicity he would unhesitatingly choose the age of the Antonines.

The intellectual life of the time.

The Christian Church.

We will now sketch in order the chief incidents of these reigns. The first emperor, Nerva, was a Senator of peaceful

disposition, who, during a short and prosperous reign, chose Trajan for his successor. Trajan came to the throne in the year 98, and he has often been counted the noblest and one of the greatest of the Roman emperors. So eminent were his virtues that a well-known legend of the Middle Ages declared that, almost alone of the pagans, he had been allowed to enter Paradise. If we look at his domestic government, we see him by careful administration reducing the burden of taxation, and yet supplying abundantly the needs of the Roman state; we see him living on easy terms with the Senate so that his eulogist could declare that he was not the master of the Roman world, but the most honourable of all the Senators; we see him anxious to remedy the serious depopulation of Italy, and to provide for the maintenance of orphan children. We can see by his correspondence with Pliny, when the latter was governor of a province, with what care he followed every detail of provincial administration, and how anxious he was to provide for the prosperity of the provincials, and to maintain the authority of the central Government. At the same time, he added greatly to the architectural decoration of the city of Rome herself by temples, columns, and arcades, and yet these building schemes do not seem to have led him, as they had led his predecessors, to burden the Romans with heavy taxation.

The reign of Trajan.

Trajan's reign saw also the Roman armies engaged in foreign wars in which they showed that they had lost nothing of their former discipline and skill, and that in the emperor they had a leader of first-rate capacity. First he led the legions against the barbarians in the lands beyond the Danube which the Romans called Dacia, and which is now called Roumania. These barbarians had already on several occasions endangered the quiet of the Roman province in their neighbourhood, and their lands were eagerly coveted by Roman settlers for the gold which was to be found there. We have no full account of the campaigns left to us, but on Trajan's column which still stands amid the ruins of the Forum which he built, we may see sculptured representations of the movements of his armies. The war was a tough one; he had to build a stone bridge across the

The conquests of Trajan.

Dacia.

Danube—the first that had ever been erected—and it was only after two campaigns that the King of the Dacians was defeated, and Dacia became a Roman province. Somewhat later the military strength of Rome was called upon for war against the Parthians. This powerful race, descended from the Persians, whose defeat by the Greeks we saw in an early chapter, had proved itself for generations the most dangerous enemy of Rome, and had on more than one occasion defeated Roman legions and captured their eagles. But when Rome put forth all her might the Parthians were too weak to stand against her, and in 115 Trajan marched triumphantly across Mesopotamia and down the Tigris. He occupied Babylon, overcame all opposition, and declared Armenia and Mesopotamia Roman provinces. It was whilst he was away in these Eastern campaigns that the emperor died (117 A.D.).

The Parthians.

He was succeeded by his adopted son Hadrian, the most characteristic of the emperors of the age of the Antonines. He was of Spanish origin, thoroughly cosmopolitan in feeling, and more at home in Athens than in Rome. A great part of his reign was occupied in journeys throughout the extent of his empire, and there was hardly a province whose finances, organization, or defences were not benefited by his inspection. The famous Roman wall in Britain, from the Tyne to the Solway, owed its first form to him, though it was much added to by later emperors. He travelled with no parade and at slight expense ; he declared that he regarded the empire, not as his own property, but as the estate of the Roman people, and no president of a republic ever showed more devotion to duty. But in character he was singularly unlike the Romans of the republic, for he was passionately interested in art, a curious inquirer into the riddles of philosophy and of religion, while his private life was far removed from the rigid morality which the old Roman standards of life enjoined. The only military trouble that we see during his reign is with the Jews. They were very numerous in the south-east of the empire, and in spite of the fall of Jerusalem, they still cherished hopes of the coming triumph of their race. There were massacres of Jews in Egypt

Hadrian.

Roman Empire at the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.

and in Cyprus, and a Jewish insurrection had to be beaten down in Palestine. The army was as efficient as it had been in Trajan's time, but Hadrian took the remarkable step of abandoning the provinces of Armenia and of Mesopotamia, which he probably regarded as likely to involve the Romans in continual trouble on their Eastern frontier; he retained the province of Dacia either because of the large number of Roman immigrants, or because of the value of the gold mines which were being worked there.

He introduced also a change of great importance into the administration of the empire. We have seen how the earlier emperors had used freedmen in posts of high importance, and how serious were the drawbacks and discontents produced by this plan. Hadrian instituted for the first time a regular administrative system and a civil service which attracted the upper classes of the Roman world, and was henceforth regarded as an honourable career for the free citizens of the Roman Empire. We shall see that in the course of rather more than a century this administrative machinery developed enormously, and became a burden and a cause of decline, but in the days of Hadrian and for some time after, it worked well and entailed no additional burden on the inhabitants. The philanthropic policy of Trajan was carried further; we hear now of legislation limiting the authority of masters over slaves, and like Trajan, Hadrian indulged in huge schemes of building, both in the city of Rome, in the great provincial cities, and also at his vast palace some few miles outside of the walls of Rome, and again we have to say that in his reign this expensive taste does not seem to have entailed ruinous burdens upon the people. On his death in 138 he was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, whom he had chosen and adopted. He reigned for twenty-three years, and his personal character and attention to duty has received the highest possible tributes from his better known successor, and his reign was so peaceful that it is practically without annals. It is claimed that the twenty-three years of his reign did not cost in battle a drop of blood from the veins of either Roman or foreigner. We can only notice that, like his predecessor, he was concerned

Hadrian's administration.

Antoninus Pius.

to alleviate the lot of the slaves, that he granted Roman citizenship to the provincials with lavish hands, that he stimulated the all-important development of the Roman legal system of his day, and that he died in the year 161.

His adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, succeeded him and reigned until the year 180. The prosperity of the Roman world began to break up in his reign, and at the end he had to fight fiercely, though successfully, against the barbarian races of the north. The victories that he won are, after the fashion of the time, chronicled for us upon the great bronze column which still stands in one of the squares of Rome. But it is not the memory of these wars that has endeared his name to posterity, but rather a tiny book of philosophic or religious meditations made up of jottings from his pen collected after his death. These meditations provide us with a manual of Stoic philosophy, not in its most intellectual, but rather in its most practical and most religious aspects. Stoicism, like all other philosophies of the Roman world, was Greek in its origin. To begin with, it was an attempt to explain the physical universe, but from the first it declared the existence of an over-ruling Providence. It had been associated at one time with a very harsh and rigid morality; it was often exaggerated and sometimes hypocritical; and in the earlier days of the Roman Empire, it had fiercely opposed the Imperial policy, had idolized the memory of Cato, praised the murderers of Cæsar, and spoken with approval of regicide and suicide. It had in consequence been persecuted by Nero and by Vespasian, but since then it had enjoyed security and had lost much of its early hardness and extravagance. Its chief exponents hitherto had been Seneca, the minister and the victim of Nero, and Epictetus, a Greek slave who lived in the reign of Vespasian; and now in Marcus Aurelius this philosophy or faith, once so despised and persecuted, was seen seated on the Imperial throne. It is an important sign of that fermentation in the minds and in the hearts of men which is really the all-important fact of this period, to which we shall soon return.

Stoicism.

Stoicism, to Marcus Aurelius, meant chiefly the following doctrines; that the world was the product of a Divine Will

to which man should subordinate himself in joyful obedience; that the will and reasoning faculty of man was independent of all circumstances, and that in consequence a man's happiness was always in his own power; lastly, that true happiness lay in equanimity and in keeping the mind unsullied by the chances of life. But along with these doctrines we see in Marcus Aurelius a wonderful sweetness of disposition, a deep sense of the brotherhood of man, and a universal spirit of benevolence to all races, nations, and classes. There are signs, too, that Stoicism itself did not satisfy him completely, and, though he rejected Christianity and perhaps persecuted it, he hoped for immortality, and in many respects came near to the Christian ideal.

The doctrines of Stoicism.

Of the external facts of his reign we need say very little. The danger from the Northern barbarians, the chief tribe of which was known as the Marcomanni, was really very great, and was rendered greater by a terrible plague which fell upon the Roman Empire, and devastated it throughout its length and breadth. The emperor may not have been a great soldier, but he faced the danger resolutely and in the end successfully; the enemy was defeated in a series of campaigns among the Alpine valleys, but while Marcus was superintending operations there he was seized by the plague and died in the year 180. We shall see that his death was not indeed the cause, but it was the signal for the complete overthrow of the system of government which had been established during the Age of the Antonines.

W. W. Capes, *The Age of the Antonines*, Gregorovius, *Life of the Emperor Hadrian*. *The Letters of Pliny* are the best mirror of the life of the time; they have been translated by Frith. The best translation of the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* is by G. H. Rendall. See also the essay of Matthew Arnold in *Essays in Criticism*. Merivale and Duruy give good narratives of the events of the period, but Merivale's analysis of the causes which were undermining the empire's strength is unconvincing.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Decline of the Empire

With the death of Marcus Aurelius the empire underwent a gradual but disastrous change. In place of the splendid peace and prosperity of the Antonine era we see the violent changes, the civil wars and the barbarian invasions of the third century. It becomes necessary, therefore, here to consider the causes of this change, and to deal with what is known as the fall of the Roman Empire.

The fall of the Roman Empire was no sudden catastrophe: there is no single incident, no lost battle, no revolution which marks the end of this great institution. It is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly when the Roman Empire did come to an end. In the year 410, Alaric the Goth captured Rome, but the Roman Empire still subsisted in spite of this terrible and epoch-making disaster. In the year 476 the shadowy power of the empire disappeared from Italy, and this date has sometimes been taken as marking the end of the empire, but we shall see that after 476 the empire still existed, though its capital was at Constantinople, and indeed one of the greatest tasks of the empire, the completion of the fabric of the Roman law, was yet to be accomplished. In the year 800, while there still reigned at Constantinople rulers calling themselves emperors, a new empire in the West which was soon to be called Roman was founded by Charles the Great, and there were henceforth in the Roman world two Roman Empires. The Eastern Roman Empire fell to the Turks in the year 1453, and this date has been taken by Gibbon as the end of his long story. But when the crescent displaced the cross on the walls of Constantinople there was still in Germany the power calling itself the Holy Roman Empire, and in truth descended, if by a somewhat shadowy line, from the old Roman Empire of the Cæsars, and this Holy Roman Empire, though its form grows

The fall of the Roman Empire.

more and more ghost-like, did not disappear from Europe until the year 1807. Since 1807 there has been no institution in Europe calling itself the Roman Empire, but the modern German Empire has in a real sense succeeded to it and claims for itself many of the traditions of the mediæval empire and is thus linked to that of the Cæsars. It will be seen, then, that instead of the Roman Empire coming, as is sometimes thought, to a sudden catastrophe, it underwent a long series of transformations, and showed itself singularly tenacious of life.

The meaning of the fall of the Roman Empire.

When we speak of the fall of the Roman Empire we usually mean the great transformation which passed over the empire in the third and fourth centuries whereby the empire became Christian, while at the same time a large portion of its territories in the West passed under the rule of the barbarians, and its whole social structure was transformed. It is not difficult to see that the splendid calm of the Age of the Antonines could not be indefinitely prolonged and that that settlement was liable to overthrow. This overthrow did not come from the revolt of the provinces, for the statesmanship of Rome had completely reconciled them to their connection with Rome: it did not come from the immorality of the inhabitants, though that is a view that has often been held, for there is every reason to think that the morality of the empire since the rapid growth of Christianity had improved and not deteriorated. Opinions will differ as to the comparative importance of the forces which produced this great and disastrous change, but there can be no doubt that the following are among the most important.

Not due to provincial revolt or immorality.

The nemesis of despotism.

We may note in the first place that the empire, though beneficent in intention and in result, was, nevertheless, despotic. There was no liberty in the sense of self-government at Rome itself. There was plenty of liberty in the cities of the empire, but even this had been seriously encroached upon, though with the best intentions, by the Antonine emperors. They had appointed Imperial magistrates to check financial mismanagement

and to represent the Imperial authority in the cities, and this was the beginning of a long process whereby, in the course of a century and a half, the cities were changed from centres of liberty to mere parts in the crushing machinery of despotism; and, even before this disastrous process had advanced far, there was no freedom of speech or initiative of action in the empire, and what was done was done by the emperors, while the wishes of the people and their consciousness of their own wants counted for little or nothing. The theory of Roman law as it moved towards its final shape was that law is the expression of the emperor's will. The empire thus shows us a logical and complete despotism, and history proves that however beneficent such Governments may at times be, they are peculiarly liable to sudden and complete overthrow.

If we turn from political to military considerations we see here, too, many serious features. For some time past the legions had ceased to be drawn from the inhabitants of Italy and Rome; it was the provinces which provided the greater part of the soldiery that defended the frontiers, and though they gave to Rome loyal service, they were far from identifying themselves with Italy. But from the first also the Romans drew soldiers from beyond the frontiers of the empire, from those races whom they contemptuously called barbarians. These barbarians, as a rule, served not in the legions, but as cavalry and auxiliary troops. At the end of their long term of service they returned to their native country, knowing the weapons, the tactics, and something of the strategy of the Roman armies and were able to teach what they had learnt to their fellow-countrymen. The Romans found as time went on that the barbarians became constantly a more dangerous foe, and it was largely by their own weapons and by their own methods of warfare that the Romans were finally overthrown. Nearly all the invaders of the Roman Empire had been at one time either the soldiers or the allies of Rome. We have thus a phenomenon that often recurs in history; the Romans taught their enemies to defeat them, as in a far distant epoch Napoleon

Character of the armies.

The barbarians learn the military methods of Rome.

was overthrown by the very means which had secured for him his early victories.

We must remember, too, that a very large though incalculable proportion of the people of the empire were slaves. Their position was improving: imperial legislation was beginning to take them into account: there are signs that the very character of slavery was altering and was destined to disappear. But no slave population can feel itself supremely interested in the maintenance of the State, and the instability of the Roman system is in many ways closely connected with the institution of slavery.

Slavery and its influence.

Yet it may be maintained that the chief forces which undermined the Roman Empire were religious rather than political or military. We have already said that underneath the calm surface of the Antonine era there was vehement religious fermentation. Different philosophies competed for the adherence of the cultured classes of the pagan world. The principal of these were Stoicism and Pythagoreanism, the latter a much more mystic faith than Stoicism with its reasonable outlook on life and its high but practical morality. But far more important than these philosophies, which can only have affected the upper classes of Rome, was the movement of religion. Paganism itself was assuming a new character; the scepticism and indifference of the age of Cicero had given place to much greater zeal, much higher hopes, and a more mystic conception of the universe even among the pagans themselves. New religions from the East were eclipsing the native cults: the Egyptian deities, Isis and Osiris, claimed numerous devotees even in Italy and the West: the worship of Cybele had its passionate votaries; but in the third century among the pagans the strongest movement was that of Mithraism. This was Persian in its origin and was at first a form of sun worship, but connected with it were ideas of reconciliation to the Divine Power and a mystic revelation. It seems in the third century to have become the centre round which the revived paganism organized itself.

Religious causes for the overthrow of the empire.

But of infinitely greater importance for the future was the

growth of Christianity as a faith, and the organization of the Christian Church. The Roman Empire was, as a rule, tolerant of religious movements and it cannot reasonably be charged with great cruelty in its dealing with Christianity as a whole; but like all despotic Governments at all times it was extremely jealous of any sort of organization which it did not itself control, and it was the organization rather than the faith of the new Church which brought it into collision with the Imperial authorities. There were no special edicts passed against Christianity until a period later than that which we have reached, but it was always liable to attack as being an unauthorized religion and a danger to the State: and, because its votaries regarded paganism with scorn and refused to pay worship to the emperors, they could at any time be accused of sacrilege or of high treason. There were persecutions of the Christians before the death of Marcus Aurelius. The best known is that in the reign of Nero, but the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and of Marcus supply instances of the cruel punishment of Christians. We cannot wonder that as time went on the conflict between the Imperial power and the Christian Church became more definite and more bitter. Both were absolute and exclusive systems. The empire claimed the whole obedience of a man, and the Church spoke for an authority to which it claimed that all others must bow. When we remember that the Reformation plunged Europe into a century of warfare, and that the growth of nonconformity in the sixteenth century brought about our own puritan rebellion, and the execution of the king, we cannot wonder that this greatest of all religious revolutions was not accomplished without violent conflicts and upheavals in the empire. Ultimately indeed the empire and the Church were reconciled and became allies, but that was not until the incapacity of the empire to crush Christianity had been proved in more than one furious conflict. Certainly the working of the leaven of this new religion made the maintenance of the system, which we have seen and admired in the days of Hadrian, altogether impossible.

Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Marcus was succeeded by his son, Commodus, and this

substitution of hereditary succession for succession by adoption proved itself disastrous, for Commodus rivalled in vice and crime the worst of his predecessors. He was vain, pleasure-loving, and despotic, but the special mark of his evil reign was his devotion to the games of the gladiatorial arena. It was his pride himself to enter the arena as a combatant: his statues show him in the guise of Hercules: and his biographer tells us that he fought 785 times. He claimed also titles which the wiser Antonines would have refused. It was not enough for him that he was Princeps, he insisted also on being called "Lord and God" (*Dominus et Deus*). His private life was violent and scandalous; in his need for money he came into collision with the Senate; but it was a private conspiracy that led to his assassination in the year 192. It was at once plain how much the empire suffered from having no recognized principle of succession, and the situation repeated all the main features that we observed upon the death of Nero. First, the Senate nominated an emperor, then the Prætorian Guards thrust another man on to the throne in return for lavish promises of pay and booty, and again the provincial armies refused to allow the soldiers of the Metropolis to monopolize power, and the gains which would come from power. There were risings in Britain, in Syria, and in Pannonia, as the district south of the Danube was called. The Pannonian legions were nearer Rome and they were better disciplined than any others. After some fighting they gained for their general, Septimius Severus, the imperial throne and power (197). With him a new and a harder epoch of the empire begins. He derived his origin from the Province of Africa. No province was more imbued with Latin civilization than Africa, and it gave to the Church many of its noblest leaders in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. But Severus knew nothing of Christianity and cared little for Roman civilization. He was a soldier above all things, and he announced it as his motto "to secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment," and with him the empire assumed a nakedly military character which it was destined never to lose. He disbanded the

The Emperor Commodus.

Septimius Severus.

Prætorian Guards, took from Italy her special privileges, and entrusted Rome to an ordinary detachment of the regular army. He gave the soldiers higher pay and dangerous privileges; they were allowed to marry and to live in towns instead of in their barracks and we see from this time onwards a double military danger. The soldiers become increasingly conscious of their power, and they become more and more attached to that portion of the empire where they have been usually quartered, so that it is with difficulty that later emperors can transfer them to whatever frontier of the empire is in most need of assistance.

New regulations for the army.

After a reign of eight years Severus was succeeded by his son, who is known to history as Caracalla, though this was at first merely a nickname. He carried on the *régime* of his father, but with greater brutality and less ability. The army was his one sole interest, and yet the most important event of his reign is not a military one, for he gave the full rights of Roman citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the Roman Empire. This was the completion of a process which had been going on ever since the establishment of the empire, and indeed from an earlier date than that. It was a great part of the strength of the Roman polity that it had been ready to extend its privileges so widely. Julius Cæsar had made great grants of citizenship to the Gauls and others, and although the process had not been carried on so rapidly by his successors, large numbers of provincials had been admitted to the privileges of citizenship in all parts of the empire. The distinction between the provinces and Italy had already nearly disappeared and, though the action of Caracalla may have sprung partly from a contempt for Rome and Italy, it was thoroughly in harmony with what was best in the empire. It is further characteristic of the time that military and financial reasons play an important part in the change. The army could henceforth be organized without giving different treatment to citizens and non-citizens, and on the pretext of the new grant of citizenship heavier financial burdens were placed upon the shoulders of all the inhabitants of the empire.

Caracalla.

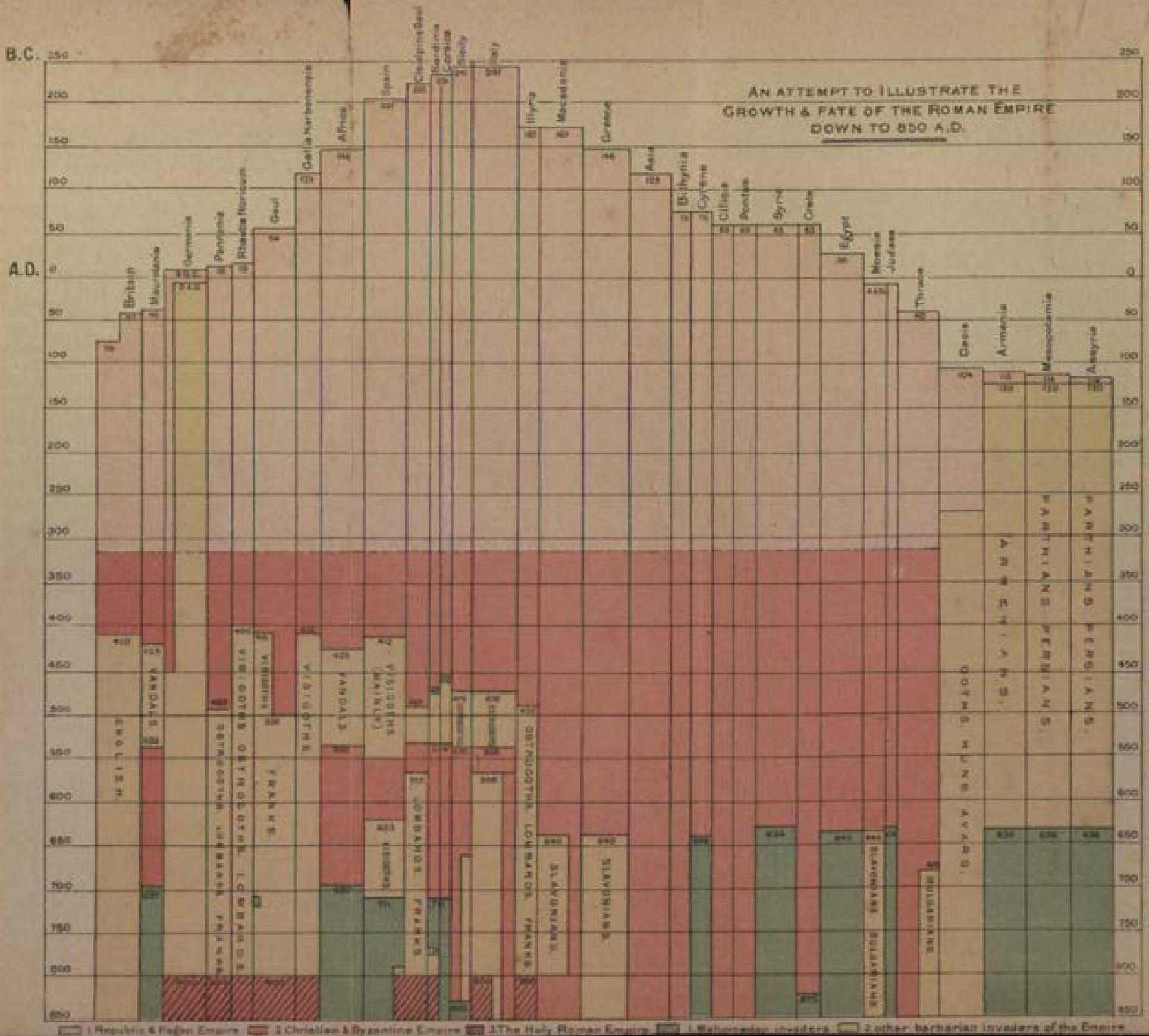
The Roman citizenship given to all free inhabitants of the empire.

When Caracalla came to that violent end which awaited nearly all the emperors of the third century, another period of confusion set in. But in 280 there came to the throne, raised upon the support of the legions of Syria, a strange young man who is known as Elagabalus. The meaning of his accession is that the Syrian soldiers exercised the power which the legions of Pannonia had used in the case of Severus. But the chief interest in this and the following reign is to be found in the religious policy associated with the names of the emperors. Elagabalus, before his accession, had been associated with the worship of the sun-god at Emesa, which was there represented by a black stone which was believed to have fallen from Heaven; and when his soldiers had made him emperor one of his first interests was to transport this stone to Rome and to introduce into the Capitol the worship which it represented. The Romans were now ruled by a man of that very type which in an earlier century they had most disliked and despised. He was a monarch of true Oriental fashion. He wore a lofty tiara, and was adorned with collars, bracelets and gems: his face was painted in a manner common in the East, but expressive to the Romans of the lowest effeminacy. He reigned from 218 to 222, and during these years the palace was the scene of strange religious rites and orgies of immorality, surpassing even what is recorded of earlier reigns. Rome seems to have accepted his rule, but the soldiers quartered in Rome rose against him and murdered him. He was succeeded by his cousin Alexander Severus, who reigned to 235. His personal character and his reign are alike a welcome contrast to those of his predecessor. He was much under the influence of his mother who was possibly a Christian, and he lived simply and honestly, and took much interest in literature and philosophy. During his reign a new force emerged. The Eastern frontier had, from the beginning of the empire, been the most vulnerable spot in the defences of Rome, and now it became more dangerous than ever. A revolution took place in the Parthian monarchy and brought to the throne a new dynasty and a new race. The new

Elagabalus.

Alexander Severus.

Revolution in Parthia.


AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE THE
GROWTH & FATE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE
DOWN TO 850 A.D.
B.C.
A.D.
Britain
Mauritania
Germania
Pannonia
Rhaetia Noricum
Gaul
Gallia Narbonensis
Africa
Spain
Cisalpina Gaul
Sardinia Corsica
Sicily
Italy
Illyria
Macedonia
Greece
Asia
Bithynia
Cyrene
Cilicia
Pontus
Syria
Crete
Egypt
Moesia Judaea
Thrace
Dacia
Armenia
Mesopotamia
Assyria
ENGLISH
FANDALS
OSTROGOTHS LOMBARDS FRANKS
VISIGOTHS OSTROGOTHS LOMBARDS FRANKS
VISIGOTHS
FANDALS
VISIGOTHS (MAINLY)
VISIGOTHS
LOMBARDS FRANKS
OSTROGOTHS LOMBARDS FRANKS
SLAVONIANS
SLAVONIANS
SLAVONIANS BULGARIANS
BULGARIANS
GOTHS HUNS AVARS
ARMENIANS
PARTHIANS PERSIANS
PARTHIANS PERSIANS
1 Republic & Pagan Empire
2 Christian & Byzantine Empire
3 The Holy Roman Empire
1 Mahomedan invaders
2 other barbarian invaders of the Empire

kings are known as the "Sassanids," and the State is henceforth known again as Persia. It was inspired by a stronger national feeling, and it reverted to the old national Persian religion. Hardly had the new *régime* been established when it came into collision with the Romans. Alexander fought against the Persians with uncertain results, but the greatness of the new danger was apparent.

A single incident, and one not in itself important, has, however, attracted more attention than his campaigns. His biographer tells us that in his private chapel upon the Palatine hill he honoured a strange collection of names. We are told of an outer chapel which contained the busts of Virgil, Cicero, and Achilles, whilst in an inner shrine he worshipped Apollonius, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ. These four names represent the main tendencies of the religion of that day; the Pythagorean philosophy, pagan mysticism, Judaism, Christianity. The emperor seems to have believed that it was possible to honour them all by common worship; but their claims were, in that age at least, mutually exclusive, and the chief interest of the next century is the movement which finally gained the victory for the last named.

Religion in the palace of Alexander Severus.

In the last year of his reign he was called by a sudden danger to the armies of the Rhine. A mutiny broke out, which the young and unwarlike emperor was unable to quell, and in resisting it he lost his life (235 A.D.).

The history of the third century is not well given in any English book. Gibbon's chapters are interesting, but far from final. The first chapter in Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* is clear and suggestive. The histories of Christianity, Milman or Robertson, will supply much help.

CHAPTER XIX

Social Life in the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines

It will be well, before we pass from the splendid peace of the Antonine era, to consider some of the outstanding features in the social life of the time. It was in some ways a civilization like that of Europe in the twentieth century. We could more easily sympathize with the ideas, the manners, the pleasures, and the tastes of an educated Roman of the second century, than we could with those of western Europe during the next ten centuries. But no two periods are really alike. History does not repeat itself, and there was much even in the age of the Antonines that the twentieth century would have found strange, and much that it would have found repulsive.

The second and the twentieth centuries.

The establishment of the empire had made a great change in the lives of the nobles of Rome. They were still wealthy, they still played a large part in the administration of the Roman world, but their old independence was gone. If they commanded armies or ruled in the provinces, it was as servants of the all-powerful emperor. Many of them were too vain or proud to serve on such terms, and lived a life of idle luxury in the city of Rome, or in one of the great country houses with which Italy was covered over. The pictures of the satirists are chiefly drawn from the houses of the idle rich: we may see in Juvenal and in Tacitus, their ostentation and luxury, their crowds of servile retainers, their cruelty, vice, and gluttony. The capitalists of Rome had been a very important class for a century and a half before the fall of the empire. They were known as Knights (equites), and were organized, in our modern fashion, into companies for the collection of the taxes of the State, the lending of money, and the carrying out of industrial projects. Some of the worst

The empire and the aristocracy of Rome.

The Knights.

features of the last days of the republic were the result of the influence of this class, for the republic supported them in their operations, and the provincials had no protection against their high-handed proceedings, and their demand for high interest on the money they lent. The establishment of the empire had meant for them, as well as for the nobles, restraint and rigorous enforcement of justice. The old abuses do not come before us so often or in so flagrant a form as formerly. But the class still existed, and through its operations wealth flowed in from the Provinces to the capital.

All-importance of the city of Rome.

Rome was by far the most important city in the whole of the empire. There were important cities elsewhere—Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, Lyons, Carthage, and many others. But "all roads led to Rome," and it was only in Rome that any influence could be exercised on the policy of the empire; it was only in Rome that an ambitious man could find the road to power. Rome was the one great centre for art and literature, for religion and pleasure.

Roman art.

There was much fine work produced in architecture and sculpture during the second century. In portrait-sculpture, of a realistic kind, the Romans excelled the Greeks. The Emperor Hadrian was a great connoisseur and collector, and the remains of his huge palace give indications of good taste. But Rome was never a home of beauty and refinement, such as Athens had been in the age of Pericles. There was usually in the Roman something vulgar and philistine in his attitude to art. He confused magnificence and display with beauty, and thought of art merely as a distraction and a pastime. Rome had no distinctive art and no great drama. Her theatre was given over to variety shows, acrobatic exhibitions and dancing, and had no bearing on the intellectual life of the people. The most popular form of amusement were the chariot races and the gladiatorial arena. The chariot races took place within a small racing track, and in spite of the skill of the drivers were attended with great danger. The onlookers were eager partisans of the different charioteers, and this sport grew in popularity and importance until the sixth century. Pliny

Chariot races.

describes, with the contempt of a literary man, his amazement, "that so many thousands of men should be eager, like a pack of children, to see horses running time after time, and the charioteers bending over their cars." There was no slackening in the interest for centuries after this, and the races reached their height of popularity in Constantinople in the sixth century.

The gladiatorial shows.

But it is the gladiatorial games which have rightly attracted most attention, for they were the most characteristic amusement of the Roman people. The huge Colosseum had been specially built in Rome to accommodate the enormous crowds that flocked to them, and it is estimated that it would contain 50,000 spectators. Amphitheatres of the same kind, but on a smaller scale, were to be found in all parts of the empire. These buildings were used for various purposes. When the Colosseum was opened by the Emperor Titus, 5000 wild beasts are said to have been killed in the arena. But the crowning joy of the amphitheatre was the struggles of man with man, singly or in troops, and the shedding of human blood. The number of those who were "butchered to make a Roman holiday" passes belief, and all classes and both sexes seem to have taken an equal delight in the brutal show. Nor was there any strong opposition on grounds of morality or humanity to these spectacles. The more refined elements in Roman society did not enjoy them. Cicero expresses a sense of pity for the elephants that were butchered: Tiberius suppressed them in Rome, but it is not known what the motive for his actions were: Marcus Aurelius made himself unpopular by ordering that the gladiators should fight with blunt weapons. But no direct attack was made on them except by Christianity. Christian converts were expected to abstain from these shows. There is in Saint Augustine's Confessions (Bk. vi. chs. 7 and 8), an account of the fascination exercised by the game upon a young Christian at the end of the fourth century. He was dragged unwillingly into the games, and for long kept his eyes fixed on the ground until the shout of the crowd at the fall of a combatant startled him into looking. "And as soon as he

Christianity and the gladiatorial shows.

saw that blood he therewith drank down savageness; nor turned away, but fixed his gaze and drank in fury unawares, and delighted in the wickedness of the conflict, and was intoxicated with the bloody pastime." Shortly afterwards a blow was given to the games by the death of a monk in his effort to stop the contests, and they are not heard of after the first quarter of the fifth century. In the second century, of which we are speaking, Christianity was too weak to make any effective protest; and the Romans enjoyed the games with untroubled consciences. In speaking of Greece we said that the Olympian and other games give us an attractive idea of the high level of refinement and humanity among the people. Upon Roman civilization, if we judge it from the associations of the Colosseum, it would be hard to pass too hostile a verdict. But such a verdict would rest on too narrow evidence, and we shall shortly look at considerations which lead to a more favourable opinion.

Higher Education in the Roman world.

The higher education of the Romans at this epoch deserves some attention. It was almost wholly given up to the empty study of rhetoric. This study had at one time been useful and necessary. In the republic of Rome, as in the democracy of Athens, persuasive speech in the law courts, or in political assemblies was the chief avenue to success. The study of rhetoric was transplanted from Greece to Rome, where it had at first aroused the keen opposition of Cato. But, in spite of all suspicion, it made way, and the young Roman of the age of Cicero was trained as a matter of course in the art of public speech, and in everything that directly or indirectly would conduce to success in it. Julius Cæsar himself had attended the courses of professional rhetoricians, and Roman eloquence found its finest exponent in Cicero, whose speeches, delivered in the forum, the law courts, and the Senate were a real force in Roman politics.

With the establishment of the empire the opportunities for public speech much diminished. The *comitia* lost their importance and the authorities jealously watched all addresses to the people. The Senate lost its old sense of independence, and its old freedom of speech. The law

courts were conducted in a more business-like way, and were no longer a channel for vehement orations on public affairs, as they had been in the days of Cicero. The emperor's favour, and a knowledge of the real business of administration were what most led to a man's advancement. The power of the spoken word declined and almost disappeared.

Decline of rhetoric under the empire.

But rhetoric, almost useless for politics and law, was pursued with perhaps increased energy as an elegant accomplishment. The teachers of rhetoric in Rome were prominent persons, who gained the respect and affection of their pupils. Quintilian (40–118 A.D.) is the greatest name. He was a man of varied powers and of wide reading, a penetrating critic of literature, and a force in the history of education. He defined the ideal orator as a good man as well as a clever speaker (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*). But even he sees in rhetorical exercises the chief instrument of education. For five centuries (from 100 B.C. to 400 A.D.) the educated youth of the Roman world passed a great part of their time in preparing and delivering orations on fanciful subjects from history or still more fanciful subjects drawn from the imagination of the teacher. The following are subjects taken from a manual of the age of Augustus. "Three Hundred Spartans deliberate whether they should run away with the rest of the Greeks at Thermopylæ." "Xerxes threatens that he will reinvade Greece unless the Athenians remove the trophies won from him in the late war." The pupils were trained to deliver speeches on either side of the subject. More ridiculous, but perhaps not intentionally so, are subjects such as the following. "A man, who had been shipwrecked, who had lost his three children and his wife, and whose house had been burnt down, hanged himself. A passer by cut the rope. The unhappy man thereupon brought against him an action for damages." "A man who had lost his three children, sat upon their tomb to weep. A fast young man dragged him from the tomb, and forced him to dress his hair, change his dress, and take his place at a banquet. When he got away he brought an action for assault."

Rhetoric as an accomplishment.

Rhetorical exercises.

The educational system and methods of a period are one of the important features in relation to national health or decadence. It is well, therefore, to note that the youth of the Roman world in Italy and the provinces was trained in these studies, which were not elevating to the character, did not provide a useful training to the mind, and did not throw any light upon the actual problems which faced the Roman world. The unreality of these studies secured them under the empire, which would have been jealous of speculation on actual political or social questions. But there was some vigorous thought on real problems too. The Alexandrine school of medicine culminated about this time in the great physician Galen, and Roman law was continually advancing on scientific and humane lines.

What has been said may seem to point to a hostile verdict on the civilization of the age. There were certainly many disquieting features; but there is also much that attracts us. The best side of the time is seen in the writings of Plutarch, a Greek, who was teaching in Rome about the year 100 A.D. and in the Letters of Pliny. Plutarch's "Parallel Lives of the Greeks and Romans," is one of the great books of the world, and has often proved a true moral inspiration to later generations. For it is not only interesting as biography and great as literature: it also instils in the most attractive way high lessons of humanity, piety, and heroism. Pliny was the friend of Tacitus and Juvenal, but his letters give a very different impression from their writings, and go far to show that their gloom and pessimism was a result of their own temperament, or a tradition of their art. Pliny's letters are full of genial warmth, and human kindness. The men and the women whom he introduces to us are nearly all kind and good. He delights in the beauties of nature, in art, and literature: he is humane and refined. The Rome which is reflected in his letters, which gave a warm welcome to Plutarch, which received with eagerness the sublime teaching of Stoicism, and saw the steady growth of Christianity, cannot be regarded as hopelessly decadent, and morally corrupt.

Plutarch and Pliny.

The age not decadent.

In what we have hitherto said of the social life of the

second century we have been thinking chiefly of Rome. It is much more difficult to speak of Italy, and still more difficult to speak of the Provinces; for government and literature are both concentrated in Rome. Italy reproduced the features of Rome in a modified way. Its towns were self-governing municipalities, and the excavations of Pompeii show us in every detail what the life of such cities was. Pompeii was overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius, which had given no trouble before in human memory, in the year 79 A.D. It lay concealed by ashes and lava until the eighteenth century, and even now is by no means completely uncovered. But enough has been uncovered to reveal the characteristic features of an Italian city, which was a place of pleasure rather than of business. The gladiatorial arena with all its arrangements has been brought to light; there are temples old and new; the new one dedicated to Isis, gives evidence of the popularity of that cult. The paintings on the walls show the character of the pictorial art of the period, and some reach a fair height of taste and excellence. Lastly, it is noticeable that, at the time of the downfall of the city, a municipal election was approaching, and inscriptions still legible on the walls ask for votes for the rival candidates.

Italy.

Pompeii.

It was the deliberate policy of Rome to spread municipal government throughout the empire. It was already to be found everywhere in the East before the Romans came; but it was due to Roman influence that towns sprang up in great numbers in the West, with governments organized according to the model laid down by the municipal law of Julius Cæsar. We can trace the rapid growth of these towns in Africa, Gaul, and Spain; there were fewer in Britain than in other provinces. Their government fell far short of democracy. The chief authority rested with the *curia* or town council, and the families which gave members to this council formed the local aristocracy. There was an upward movement of the servile class generally throughout the empire. We cannot penetrate the darkness which surrounded the life of the Roman slave; but it is certain that his lot was improving.

The cities of the empire.

The curia.

Laws were passed for the protection of slaves. The tone of philosophy and religion was becoming decidedly sympathetic to them. Slaves and freedmen were everywhere specially organized for the worship of the emperors, and in many towns (perhaps in all), there was a kind of middle class called the Augustales, consisting partly of men of servile origin, who were organized for the carrying on of Cæsar-worship. An era of decadence and oppression lay ahead of the cities of the empire, and their financial difficulties were the cause or the excuse for the interference of the emperors, which finally led to the suppression of their liberties. But there is no reason to think that their finances were in hopeless disorder; and certainly the substitution of imperial control for liberty was a remedy more dangerous than the disease. If municipal liberties were suppressed wherever there was suspicion of financial mismanagement, there would be few free cities in modern England or in modern Europe.

The Augustales.

There are no sufficient data to allow us to generalize with confidence as to the condition of the provinces. There was distress in some places. In Greece especially we hear of a dwindling population and much poverty. But for the most part it seems highly probable that the peace of two hundred years, which came with the establishment of the empire, brought prosperity in its train. In Africa especially the remains of cities far within what is now the limit of the desert show that under Roman rule the country was far more fertile than it has been in the last thousand years.

The provinces.

The emperors were interested, even on selfish grounds, to maintain the prosperity of the provinces. Great military remains, such as the great wall from the Tyne to Solway in Britain, and the other great wall, which connected the Rhine with the Danube through the Black Forest, bear witness to the care for the protection of the Roman dominions. Except for the terrible year of revolution that followed on Nero's death the armies were kept in good discipline, and were not allowed to oppress the provincials. Pliny (to whose letters we have already alluded) was a governor of the unimportant province of Bithynia, and his correspondence with the Emperor Trajan

Character of provincial government.

Pliny as governor.

has been preserved. The honesty of the governor, and the careful supervision of the emperor are apparent on every page. It is amazing what small details are referred to the emperor or his secretaries, and how closely Trajan supervises and directs the action of the governor. The building of a bath, the repair of an aqueduct, the formation of a local fire brigade, are questions of sufficient importance to be referred to the Imperial decision. But the most interesting of all the letters is one in which Pliny asks for direction as to how he should deal with the Christians. The emperor's answer is firm, just, and humane. The Christians, he says, are not to be hunted out; no anonymous accusations are to be accepted; recantation is always to be accepted. The disquieting part of the correspondence is the overcarefulness of the government, and its constant interference in trifles. This was due to conscientiousness and a sense of duty, but it led on to the establishment of a rigid and stifling form of rule. The emperors had no suspicion that liberty is a necessary condition of good government.

Agriculture.

It is easy to ask questions about the social condition of Rome which cannot be answered, or can only be answered by conjecture. Especially we should like more information as to land tenure and the condition of the agricultural classes. There was doubtless wide variation between different parts of the empire. We read of depopulation and agricultural depression in Italy, and the Antonines attempted to introduce legislative remedies. There was a general tendency towards large landed properties, and while, on the one hand, the slaves were moving up towards liberty, the free farmers of Italy and the empire were, under the pressure of economic forces, sinking towards serfdom. This tendency was not fully observable in the Age of the Antonines. But already the free proprietor was becoming a tenant, paying rent either in money or kind to some large land-owner, and bound to him by various ties. Tenants of this class were known as *coloni*. The condition of land tenure were already developing towards the condition that would be later known as feudalism.

W. T. Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration* sketches the whole subject. Friedländer's *Social Life from the Age of Augustus*

to the Age of the Antonines is the great authority on the subject. Sir E. Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* is a delightful sketch of certain aspects of the time. Pliny's *Letters* are translated by J. B. Firth. For Roman education see any treatment of Quintilian. The extracts in this chapter are taken from *Seneca Rhetor.*

CHAPTER XX

Revolution and Recovery

WITH the death of Alexander Severus a period of still greater confusion opens for the Roman Empire, and it will be well to mark at once its chief features, though some of them are only developed half a century later.

We see in the first place that the central Government suffers complete collapse. The authorities in Rome are no longer able to control the armies, to defend the frontiers, or to perform the ordinary duties of government, and in consequence various parts of the empire established themselves in practical independence. Testimony is borne to this feature by the rather absurd name which is sometimes given to the whole period, for it is often labelled "the age of the thirty tyrants." There were at no time thirty separate governments, but the phrase is worth recalling because it indicates the dissolution of the empire into many separate units.

The collapse of the central Government.

Along with the weakness of the central Government, and largely because of it, we see at last the barbarian races beyond the frontier breaking into the empire and ravaging provinces which had known no enemy for centuries. We shall have shortly to examine the character and to note the chief divisions of these barbarians.

The invasions of the barbarians.

The armies of Rome, meanwhile, had grown fully conscious of their strength. They made and they unmade emperors with bewildering rapidity; their military efficiency still remained, and in actual conflicts with the barbarians they gave a good account of themselves; but they paid no heed to orders received from Rome,

The self-governing armies.

or to the interests of the empire. As a rule, they governed themselves; their officers depended upon their popularity with the common soldiers, and the civilian population suffered grievously at their hands.

Along with all this went, as we should expect, great financial distress; the movement of commerce was interrupted by the sense of insecurity; the increasing military needs of the empire brought heavy financial burdens, and the taxes were imposed with so much unwisdom that they tended to strangle trade, and to ruin the wealth of the empire. The Government endeavoured to meet the new situation by constantly increasing the number of its officials and of its tax gatherers, and the administrative system which had been begun by Hadrian developed to such an extent that it became an appalling burden upon the shoulders of the ordinary man. One feature of the change deserves special notice. Much of the strength of the earlier empire depended upon the free and vigorous life of its cities. Some check had been placed upon their freedom in the age of the Antonines, but during the third century a process began which turned their municipal organization into a crushing machinery of despotism. First we find the Imperial officials overriding the elective magistrates; soon the magistrates became no longer the elected servants of the city, but the agents of the central Government, nominated by the Government; soon afterwards the local Curia or Senate came to consist not of those who had been elected to office by their fellow-citizens, but of the larger landowners of the neighbourhood. But the worst step of all was taken when the magistrates and Senate of the innumerable cities of the empire were made in their own persons responsible for the payment of the Imperial taxes. At once what had once been the greatest honour became a burden to be feared and if possible avoided, and men had to be driven by Imperial orders and by the threat of heavy penalties, to hold office or to sit on the Senates of the various towns. The legislation of the later empire was much occupied with the position and the duties of these municipal magistrates, and the utter ruin of the municipalities in liberty,

Financial distress.

The ruin of municipal life.

government, and commerce is among the most serious causes of the decline in the prosperity of the empire.

We may notice, too, another feature, not important in itself, but significant of the general tendency of the age. Many of the external features of old Roman civilization tend to disappear; literature falls to a very low ebb; the writing on inscriptions becomes miserably poor compared with the bold characters of an earlier century; the coinage is mean; the sculpture, such as appears for instance on the triumphal arch of Constantine, shows lamentable degeneracy when compared with the art of Hadrian's period. The Romans seem even to have lost something of their old skill in architecture. The age was not only plunged into poverty, but it was also in danger of becoming barbarized before the victories of the barbarians.

Intellectual and artistic degeneracy.

Yet one other feature must be emphasized. More and more religion and controversies connected with it become of absorbing interest. The old paganism had nearly disappeared, though its temples remained and its worship had not ceased. The new paganism was something very different; it had assumed a mystic tone, and endeavoured to establish a unity in its beliefs and organization. Stoicism had lost its hold; no trace of rationalism is to be found in the literature of the time. The whole age seems irresistibly to make for some form of ascetic and supernatural religion.

Paramount importance of religion.

The era of the barbarian invasions began. Races which had hitherto been kept at bay by the Roman Empire were now able to break into it in occasional plundering raids, though as yet there was no sign of any set intention to make a permanent occupation of Roman lands. The names of most of the barbarians were new to the Romans. There had been movements in Germany that we cannot trace, and many of the small German tribes had organized themselves into larger confederations. Thus we hear on the upper Rhine of the race called the Alamanni, and these invaded Gaul, and afterwards ravaged Italy. Further down the Rhine was the powerful tribe or league of the Franks. They were thought by the Romans to be the

Barbarian invasions.

Alamanni.

Franks.

hardest, cruelest, and most deceitful of the barbarians; the time of their great power was not yet, but in 253 a band of them passed plundering through Gaul into Spain and crossed over into Africa. But for the third and fourth centuries, by far the most important of the barbarian races was the Goths. The centre of their power was upon the lower Danube, and in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Though their name is usually regarded as typical of barbarism we shall see them afterwards more ready to accept the Roman civilization and the Christian Faith than any races outside the empire. But during the third century they were still thorough barbarians. They resembled to some extent the English when first they appeared in our island, but they were a less fierce and cruel race. They were worshippers of Thor and of Odin; they had a writing which is known as Runic; they were loosely organized under an elective monarchy; but the real strength of their polity is to be found in their free public meetings. In the year 250 the Goths crossed the Danube, and when the emperor Decius came against them he was defeated and slain. A few years later, they engaged in maritime expeditions in the Black Sea and beyond the Hellespont; they captured many of the great towns on the Ægean Sea; they burnt the great temple of Diana at Ephesus; they occupied Athens herself, and their raids penetrated even into the Peloponnese. At this time the Persians also took advantage of the disorganization of the empire and invaded the Province of Syria. Here in the year 260 a Roman emperor Valerian met defeat at their hands; he was taken prisoner and lived for some time a life of bitter humiliation at the Persian Court.

The Goths.

The Persians.

It seemed, meanwhile, as if the empire was about to dissolve. Different parts began to consider their own safety since Rome could no longer defend them. The empire was broken up into three main governments; there was in the first place Italy, with which Africa was usually connected; in the second place Gaul and Britain were united, and for a time seemed to promise the growth of a strong, independent State; thirdly, in the far East, Syria and Egypt were brought under the rule

Disruption of the empire.

of the city of Palmyra, an important trading station on the caravan routes which now came into importance. The height of its power and its fame was reached a little later under the rule of the great queen Zenobia.

Yet the empire had still in it great powers of recovery, and there was no strong desire anywhere to break the unity of the Roman name. In 268 the Emperor Claudius was raised to the throne by the soldiers, and he proved himself, in a military sense, well-fitted for the post. He had to face the invasion of the Goths, who were now designing a permanent settlement. He met them in a great battle in the Balkan Peninsula and defeated them with overwhelming loss. It seemed as though a better period for the Roman Empire might begin with him, but in the year 270 he was carried off by the plague, whose devastations during this period added to the troubles of the time. He was soon, however, succeeded by perhaps a greater soldier, Aurelian, who carried on his work and gained for himself the title, first of "Restorer of the Army," and then of "Restorer of the World." He managed to unite once more the fragments of the Roman Empire; he defeated the Goths again and again, and made a working arrangement with them, by which they were to occupy the province of Dacia, and to contribute a number of troops to serve in the Roman armies. Aurelian also fought with success against the Alamanni, and without fighting managed to secure the submission of Gaul and Britain. His most famous victory was, however, over Zenobia, the Queen of Palmyra. She had established an efficient power with its centre in the city of the desert. It would, perhaps, have been well for the future of civilization if this and others of the governments, which had been set up in this time of disorder, had been able to maintain themselves. For the empire was too large for efficient administration from a single centre, and the new states would probably have admitted some forms of liberty. But the restoration of the unity of the empire seemed the first duty to every capable ruler; and Aurelian, as soon as he could, turned his army against Zenobia. She was defeated and brought to

Claudius Gothicus.

Aurelian.

Reunion of the empire.

Rome in triumph loaded with golden chains, though afterwards she was kindly treated and allowed to live in a palace near Rome. The city of Palmyra was utterly ruined; its fine temples and public buildings were destroyed and its wells choked up. Its ruins lie now far within the desert. The military task had been admirably accomplished by Aurelian. He might, perhaps, have been successful also with the equally urgent political problem, but the mutinous armies of Rome chafed under his strong rule, and he was murdered in 274, and chaos broke loose again.

There was a confused period of ten years which we need not examine; then in 284 the armies of the Danube in their usual turbulent fashion raised their general, Diocletian, to the throne. It did not at first appear that this change would be of great importance. He might well have proved one of the many transitory emperors similarly exalted, who pass before us during the third century. But, as a matter of fact, with Diocletian begins a new and enduring epoch for the Roman world. He was a successful soldier, and heavy blows in the East and in the West welded again the unity of the Roman Empire. But it is not his military action that makes his name important. We will concentrate our attention upon his political changes and his religious policy.

Diocletian Emperor.

His father was a slave, and he himself, until the time of his elevation to the throne, had pursued the ordinary career of an ambitious soldier. Yet he showed political insight of a rare order, and he introduced into the Government of the empire changes as great as those of Augustus, though vastly different in aim and in character. During the three centuries that had elapsed since Augustus became master of the Roman world, the general tendency had been for the republican pretence to wear away, while the true monarchical and despotic character of the empire became constantly more apparent. This tendency is carried to its ultimate consequence by Diocletian. If it is technically wrong before his time to speak of the Roman "empire," and the right phrase is "Principate," there can be no question that from his reign onwards the Government is an empire indeed.

The empire a naked despotism.

The problem before the emperor was primarily a military one. The army was insufficient; it was constantly insubordinate; and the direction of the forces, which might be engaged on any frontier in the Roman world, was too heavy a task for one man. Diocletian essayed, and with a large measure of success, to remedy these evils. He showed no care for liberty or for the prosperity of the Roman citizens; it was of the efficiency of the army that he was always thinking. We may note first that he introduced the ceremony and the etiquette of an Oriental monarch; that which for centuries had been the scorn of the Romans becomes now an established practice among them. Thus he surrounded his brow with a diadem; he took for himself the title of Lord and God; he was ministered to by eunuchs, and by the keepers of the Imperial Silence; he exacted from all those who came into his presence, even from his most important ministers, a slavish form of prostration. It is strange, not that this should come, but that it should come from a man whose father had been a slave. It was due probably not to vanity, but to policy. Diocletian's object was to hedge the throne with that divinity which might induce soldiers to regard the emperor as a being of a superior order, and therefore to yield him a more ungrudging obedience. The ceremony thus introduced lasted without essential changes for a thousand years.

The new court ceremonial.

Diocletian also carried much further the elaboration of the machinery of the Government. There were to be henceforth in the Roman Empire two emperors, one resident at Milan, the other at Nicomedia in Asia Minor; and these two emperors, each with the title of Augustus, was to be supported by a coadjutor who was to bear the title of Cæsar, and who was destined to succeed the Augustus upon his death. The Roman world would thus in practice have four emperors and four Imperial Courts. The same principle of subdivision was carried everywhere. The empire was divided into twelve dioceses, and these dioceses were subdivided into a hundred provinces; the number of officials high and low was vastly increased. Moreover, a division was now made between civil and

Elaboration of the machinery of Government.

military authorities, while a long hierarchy of rank stretched up from the lowest to the highest. In all this there was no doubt an increase in efficiency, but there was also inevitably a vast increase in the already crushing burdens which fell upon the citizens, and a little later it was said, though doubtless with exaggeration, that the number of those who paid taxes was less than the number of those who lived on them.

Reorganization of the army.

The army was carefully reorganized, and henceforth fell into three main divisions; first there were the *Palatini*, who were technically the Palace guard, but who grew in effect to be a large body of perhaps eighty thousand men whose function it was to defend the heart of the empire. Then there was a section of the army called the *Limitanei* or frontier force, whose business it was to defend the limits of the empire; while between these was a force of a new type called the *Comitatenses*, a movable force, whose special task it was to deal with any barbarian foe which succeeded in passing the frontier. Such were the reforms of Diocletian, and although his fourfold empire broke down soon after his death, his system in other respects proved efficient and permanent.

Diocletian and Christianity.

Diocletian's dealings with religion remain to be noted. He was himself a pagan, but he did not show himself at first intolerant of the new faith which had many supporters in the Imperial family, but towards the end of his reign he engaged in the last and fiercest struggle for the suppression and extinction of this new and strange power. We must ascribe his action, not to any hatred for the tenets of the Christians but rather to a sense, to a large extent justified, that the organization of the Christian Church, which had been rapidly extending and consolidating during the whole of the third century, was becoming a rival force to the empire itself, and that it was necessary to reduce it to subordination. Earlier attacks upon the Christians had been local and spasmodic. They had contributed martyrs to the Church, but they had in no way weakened it. It was Diocletian's determination to destroy it. In 303 he issued his first edict; he declared that all churches were to be destroyed;

Persecution of the Christians.

that the sacred books of the Christians were to be handed over to Government officials and burnt; and that all Christians who held office in the empire were to be degraded. A little later followed further decrees ordering that Bishops should be imprisoned, and allowing torture in order to force Christians to recant. It will be seen that Diocletian realized the importance of the Christian Scriptures and of the episcopal organization of the Christian Church. Persecution was driven home with energy and persistence, and the Church suffered severely. Many Christians perished, many were driven to recant, but before long Diocletian had to recognize that he was struggling with a power that was too strong for him, and that there was no sign of the real destruction of the Christian power. A little later, in the year 305, he decided to lay down his power and to retire into private life. The failure of his health, the collapse of his religious policy, and perhaps the desire to see his new regulations at work in the hands of his successors were among his motives. He lived in retirement from 305 to 313, and resisted all attempts to draw him again into the arena of politics and of war.

Failure of Diocletian's religious policy.

In addition to the histories already mentioned, Bradley's *Goths* traces the history of this people from their first appearance in history. The histories of Christianity are more valuable for this period than the ordinary secular histories.

CHAPTER XXI

The End of the Pagan World

DIOCLETIAN, from his retirement, saw the collapse of the external features of his new scheme. The machinery of administration and government lasted indeed for centuries to come, but the division of sovereignty between two Augusti and two Cæsars very quickly proved to be impracticable. It would have been difficult to work at any time, and it was impossible in an age of revolution which had destroyed mutual confidence.

The break up of Diocletian's system.

So the Roman world was again plunged into civil strife, and it was only after fierce contests among the various competitors that the empire was again united under a single head. We need not follow the conflict; we need only notice by what steps the great Constantine mounted to the Imperial title. His father, Constantius, had been an Augustus, and upon his death in 306 Constantine was stationed in York. It was apparently a spontaneous movement of the troops which acclaimed him emperor, and he, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous title (306). The remains of Roman York allow us to identify within a very short space the spot where this momentous event took place. The assumption of the title of emperor, though at first accepted by his rivals at Rome and in the East, had in the end to be maintained by war against several rivals. In 312 he crossed the Alps, and attacked Maxentius in Italy. We may notice that on his march towards Italy he carried as his ensign, along with the eagles, the famous Labarum which was formed of the first letters of the name of Christ. We may notice, too, that Constantine is said to have related afterwards how upon the eve of his decisive battle he saw in the clouds the figure of a cross, and underneath it written in Greek characters the words, "Conquer in this." The great battle was fought in the year 313 at the Milvian Bridge near to Rome. Maxentius was defeated and killed, and by this victory Constantine became master of the Western Empire, but ten years later friction with the Eastern emperor Licinius, led to open war, and a series of battles in Thrace made him, in 324, supreme ruler of the united empire.

Constantine's rise to absolute power.

No other emperor, with the doubtful exception of Julius Cæsar, has so influenced the course of succeeding centuries, and yet it is not easy to be sure as to the character of this remarkable man. That he was a capable soldier and administrator is certain, and if he had not introduced into the empire the important changes which we shall soon notice, he would still have been considered one of Rome's efficient soldiers and statesmen.

The character of Constantine.

But great and permanent as Constantine's work was, there

is not much of what we usually associate with greatness in his character and methods. He was cautious, prudent, hesitating, though capable at times of decided action. His actual religious opinions are hard to determine. His Christianity was genuine, no doubt, but he was to the end of his life on friendly terms with paganism, and his private life showed little sign of the Christian virtue of mercy, or the sentiment of honour. His motives throughout were predominantly those of a statesman. In many respects he resembles Augustus, but the times were even harder and the problems more difficult than those with which Augustus had to deal.

The first of the momentous changes that is associated with his name was the removal of the capital of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, which henceforth is known as Constantinople. So great were the memories which clustered round the city of Rome itself, so closely was the city identified with the empire, so confident had the Romans been in their assertion that the city was eternal, and that with the fall of the city the world itself would end, that the change must have implied an immense dislocation in the thoughts and hopes of men; and yet the change was in many respects a natural and obviously useful one. For some time past Rome had ceased, as a matter of fact, to be the capital of the empire; it was still the greatest and most splendid city in the empire, but since the attacks of the barbarians had become serious, the more energetic emperors rarely passed much time there. Thus Diocletian had fixed his capital at Nicomedia on the Propontis, and his colleague in the empire had ruled at Milan. Rome was felt to be too far from the vulnerable frontiers, and if the centre of the empire was to be moved at all, no better place than Constantinople could be chosen or imagined. Its site was admirable both for military and commercial reasons. It lay on a promontory surrounded on three sides by deep water, and upon the fourth, the western side, it could be easily defended by fortifications of moderate length. Upon its north side lay the great harbour, the famous Goldern Horn, which has never ceased from that time to this to be one of the important harbours of the world.

The foundation of Constantinople.

The excellence of the site of the new city.

It was within easy reach of the corn supply of Egypt, and it controlled by its situation the whole of the traffic of the Black Sea. Moreover, it was situated about equal distance from the two frontiers where the barbarians were a really pressing danger. The Goths were posted upon the Danube and in the Crimea, while the Persians were threatening from beyond the Euphrates; Constantinople situated between them had very great advantages in dealing with both. So Constantine determined to plant his capital on this beautiful site by the swift flowing waters of the Bosphorus. There was a great ceremony of inauguration, and the public buildings and the temples of the East were plundered in order to provide precious marbles and decorations for the new city. Fanciful parallels were drawn between the new capital and the old, and Constantinople also was believed to possess her seven hills.

The toleration and patronage of Christianity.

One consideration has been purposely omitted in speaking of the reasons for this change. Constantine designed to introduce into the empire a great change in religion, or at least in its religious policy, and at Rome the traditions and the interests of paganism were so strong that such a change would have encountered bitter hostility and criticism. It was easier to make the change in a city which was not hampered by long traditions. We have seen that Constantine's own religious beliefs were vague, for he continued to patronize certain pagan institutions, and when, towards the end of his life, he received baptism, it was not from an orthodox, but from an Arian priest. Yet already there was much to show that he was attracted to Christianity or persuaded of its strength. His mother is reported to have been herself a Christian. We have seen his use of a Christian symbol in his march towards Rome, and in the year 313, before the decisive battle of the Milvian Bridge, he had already issued his famous edict of toleration from Milan, in which he declares "that no man shall be refused any legal facility who has given up his mind either to the observance of Christianity or to the worship which he personally feels best suited to himself." From this time onwards Christianity constantly received his patronage, and his new city was from the first

devoted to the Christian worship. While Constantine lived, no attempt was ever made to suppress paganism, but the Christians were relieved from all acts which pressed heavily upon them. The Christian clergy were allowed special privileges, and Christians generally were exempted from all obligation to recognize pagan ceremonials in any way; but doubtless more important than any specific act of legislation was the fact that a Roman emperor, ruling now over the united and loyal empire, gave to Christianity his patronage and his favour. Paganism endured yet for a while side by side with Christianity, but the whole trend of events was towards the new faith, and before the century is over we see Christianity triumphant and exclusive, and paganism, which in the time of Diocletian had tried to destroy its rival, itself struggling in vain to maintain existence in obscure corners of the empire.

The emperor, in patronizing Christianity, determined also to maintain a large measure of control over it; and one of the prominent characteristics of Christianity, at Constantinople, from this time forward until 1100 years later Mahommedanism triumphed there, was the power and authority of the emperor in the councils, and even in faith of the Church. But it may be noted here—though to do so is to anticipate the future—that Constantine's action produced a directly opposite result at Rome. Rome was henceforth no longer the supreme city in matters political that she had once been; no emperor lived in her midst; the administration of the civilized world no longer emanated from her forum. The chief authority resident there was henceforth the bishop, and the Bishop of Rome took to himself a great many of the traditions of Roman greatness, and Rome won once more on the plane of religion, the supremacy which she had lost in secular matters. Moreover, the very fact that there was not at Rome any secular authority of importance, allowed the power of Rome's bishop to develop freely, and gave to the Church in the West that independence and complete self-government which marks it for many centuries to come, whilst the bishop, or as he was called, the patriarch, of Constantinople was reduced to a somewhat servile subordination to the emperor.

Effect of the change of capital on Rome.

We have reached thus an epoch of the clearest significance and of the utmost importance, and there can be little question that we ought to mark here the end of the classical world, and the beginning of the Middle Ages. At no other point can we draw a dividing line so clear and so important. Hardly any of the characteristics of the pagan world of Greece and Rome were any longer to be found. The city state, with its various popular assemblies had completely disappeared; everywhere a direct despotic rule had taken its place. The old citizen armies, too, which had freed Greece from the Persian yoke, and had made Rome mistress of the civilized world, had disappeared, and their place had been taken by huge mercenary armies, ignorant of the very meaning of citizenship, little influenced by patriotism, serving for their pay, and loyal, if loyal at all, to their commander. Socially, too, a change almost equally great had come. The dividing lines between city and city, between nation and nation, between race and race, had grown dim and had almost died out. The economical character of the empire had utterly changed in consequence. Slavery was still the basis on which the economic structure rested, but slavery itself was changing, regulations were made now for the protection of slaves, and already that movement was in progress which before long was to convert slavery into serfdom.

The end of the ancient world.

Even more momentous was the change that had passed over the convictions and the religion of mankind. Even before the victory of Christianity the essential features of the old pagan faiths had been modified past all recognition. But with the triumph of Christianity the most important of all religious revolutions that the world has known was completed. In place of the old local cults had come a universal worship; in place of religious ideas that varied with locality, language, and race, had come a faith which proclaimed itself applicable to all men of whatever station, race, or language. The greatest and the strangest revolution in history is that which substituted for the radiant figures of the pagan deities —for Apollo and Athena, and Venus and Mithras—the figure of the crucified Christ. There are, it is true, tendencies in the

Religious contrast between the ancient world and the Middle Ages.

pagan world which prepare for the change, and the debt of Christianity to pagan thought is greater than the Christian Church was often willing to admit, but nothing can much diminish the extraordinary contrast between the old faiths of the European world and that exclusive religion to which it was now moving with so rapid a pace.

And it is to be noted that along with this change in religion had come into the world a new force and a new organization, of a kind, hitherto unknown. The ancient world had many religions and many temples, but it had no church. The idea of a body of men bound together by common beliefs, a common worship, and a common code of morals was almost entirely unknown. Assuredly neither ancient Greece, nor early Rome, nor paganism in its later developments had a glimpse of the institution which was destined now for more than 1000 years to occupy a central position in European history. In the empire down to Diocletian the state was omnipotent, it claimed the obedience of all men, and it claimed the obedience of the whole man. Government, as well as religion, laws, as well as morality, emanated directly from this supreme power. The change was as sudden as it was amazing, whereby a new power rose side by side with the state, claimed, from the first, a share in the control of the lives of men, and as time went on, claimed a larger share than that which fell to the lot of the state. Something, no doubt, in this change is to be ascribed to the victory of the barbarians and the failure in the efficiency of the empire. But the more important cause is to be found in a real change in the ideas of men, and in new convictions which were held with passionate faith. Division of history into periods is fanciful and to some extent unreal, though it is necessary. Such divisions may be made on various principles, but it is a true proverb which says that the great revolutions take place in the minds of men, and it seems best, therefore, to divide the pagan world from the mediæval world just at the point where Christianity won its most striking triumph, and the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages became firmly planted. We shall see that it is the break in the organization of this Church, the disappearance of the religious unity which was now so surprisingly won, and the

reappearance of religious diversity at the time of the Reformation which most clearly marks the passing of the Middle Ages and the rise of the modern world.

In addition to Gibbon, Hodgkin, Milman, Robertson, and the ordinary ecclesiastical histories, there is a *Life of Constantine the Great* by J. B. Firth.

PART II
THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

The Final Triumph of the Christian Church within the Roman Empire

THE religious measures of Constantine encountered no great opposition during his lifetime; the Pagan leaders and priests seem to have seen the rise of Christianity to a position of pre-eminence, if not with equanimity, at any rate, without any attempt at resistance. Yet the change was so great, and Paganism in its various forms was so linked with the life of the people, that it was not likely to disappear without some sort of struggle. Nor could it be said that the life of the emperor himself, during its latter part especially, was such as to recommend the Faith that he had adopted. He was, we have seen, a vigorous soldier and an excellent ruler; but his domestic life was as unfortunate as that of the worst emperors in the Imperial series. His last years were troubled by plots and conspiracies, and both the son and the wife of the emperor were executed on suspicion of complicity. Upon his death, in 337, the palace was for some time agitated by plots and struggles of the most violent kind, until, in 350, Constantius, the son of Constantine, reigned alone. We need not, however, pause to notice any of the details of the following years: we reach a more important event, when, in the year 355, Julian, the cousin of the emperor, was associated with him in the task of government.

The accession of Julian.

The career of Julian is interesting in many ways. He must have been a soldier of rare ability; in command upon

the Rhine frontier he invaded Germany again and again, and clearly showed that the superiority of Roman arms and discipline under a good general was not yet over. Between Julian and Constantius, who had put to death a number of Julian's relations and friends, there was naturally suspicion and friction; and in 359 Julian's legions, being ordered to move from their homes on the Rhine frontier to defend the Euphrates against a threatened incursion of the Persians, mutinied, and refused to march. In the tumult that followed they saluted Julian as emperor, and he at last accepted the dangerous title, and thus declared war against Constantius, whom he had hitherto served in a subordinate position. Julian marched on Constantinople with great rapidity, but before he arrived there Constantius had died a natural death, and in December, 360, Julian was master of the Roman world.

The last effort of Paganism.

The one supreme interest of Julian's reign is that Paganism made a last effort to overthrow the supremacy of the Christian Church, and to maintain itself as the religion of the empire. Many things seem to have contributed to this Pagan reaction. The high hopes which had been entertained of the peace and prosperity and virtue which were to come with the victory of the Christian Church, had been bitterly disappointed; there had been war, civil and foreign; and, as we have seen, the lives of the first Christian emperors rivalled in crime those of Nero and Domitian. More important probably was the fact that the Christians were now bitterly quarrelling with one another. There had, indeed, even before the reign of Constantius, been well-marked divisions among Christians, and eager rivalry between different doctrines and different ideas on Church government, but those rivalries and divisions had been intensified very greatly since the victory had been won. Africa, especially, was torn asunder by a religious struggle which had its obscure origin in the action of certain Christian officials at the time of Diocletian, who had handed over their sacred books to be burnt at the order of the emperor; but the meaning of the original struggle had long been lost, and different Christian factions were fighting against one another with a savagery which laid a large part of the province waste. Much more

serious than this obscure conflict was the great controversy which turned upon the definition of the nature of Christ. From the first the difficulty had been present with the leaders of the Christian Church, and the third century had seen various heresies turning on this point; but it is in the fourth century that it came to a head, in the greatest of all early heresies which is known as Arianism. Arius, who gives his name to the movement, was an ecclesiastic of Alexandria, where, more than elsewhere in the empire, religious controversy was pursued with heat. Arius defined the person of Christ as being of *similar* substance with the Father; whilst, on the other hand, the orthodox formula which was passionately, and in the end triumphantly, championed by Athanasius, declared that Christ was of the *same* substance with the Father. The difference has been by some regarded as a small one, and it is certainly a mistake to think of Arius as anticipating the views of modern rationalism; but it would seem that in this apparently verbal controversy, the character and the future of the Catholic Church were at stake. There was not at first any wide difference in ceremonies and ritual between the Arian and the orthodox churches; but if Arianism had triumphed there could have been no doctrine of transubstantiation, and no ceremony of the Mass: the priesthood would thus have been deprived of one of its chief titles to supremacy over the laity, and the growth of the Papal monarchy would have been rendered more difficult.

The rise of Arianism.

The General Council of Nicæa (325) had declared that the Arian views were heretical; but they were maintained nevertheless by great numbers, especially in the east of the empire. The authority of Rome was thrown throughout on the side of Athanasius. The controversy was not confined to professional theologians, but became, in a manner which is now difficult to understand, the excitement and passion of all classes. In the fury of religious controversy the unity of the Christian name was altogether forgotten, and followers of Arius pursued those of Athanasius with a bitterness of hatred, apparently greater than that which they directed against the Pagans. It was not unnatural, therefore, that many should

think that it was worth while considering whether, after all, some return to Paganism were not advisable.

The new Paganism.

It must be noted, too, that the new Paganism was something very different from the old. Cicero or Julius Cæsar—to go no further back—would hardly have recognized in the views of Julian any resemblance to the faiths and the practices which had sat so lightly on their own consciences. We have already noticed that Paganism during the third century had been adopting a mystic tone that had at first been foreign to it, and was trying to gain an organization which should give it some chance of resisting the episcopal government of the Christian Church. All these tendencies culminated in the time of Julian; he spoke of many gods, but he was himself essentially a monotheist, and he was especially devoted to the Sun god or Mithras, in whom he saw "the living and beneficent image of the intelligent Father of the world." What was strongest in Paganism was all working in this direction. In the earlier centuries of Christianity the Pagans had been "light half-believers in their casual creeds," but now among at least a large group of them their faith had become a real passion.

Religious policy of Julian.

Julian himself had imbibed these ideas during his residence at Athens, which was now again a great centre of education, and a stronghold of the new Paganism. His promotion to the service of the empire had called him reluctantly away, but when he became emperor, his chief object was to put into practice the ideas which he had so ardently embraced from his Athenian teachers. His reign was a short one, and we can hardly tell what his schemes would have developed into; but he declared religious toleration for all, and allowed the Jews to rebuild again their temple at Jerusalem. All Christian symbols disappeared from the coins and the inscriptions of the empire; sacrifice in the Pagan temples was renewed again with an ardour which arose in many from a desire to please the emperor. Julian, too, saw how great an advantage Christianity drew from the strictness of its organization and the special training of its priesthood, and desired to give to Paganism something of the same kind. He insisted on rigid rules of morality for the

priests, and proposed to bind them together in a common organization. The existence of Christianity did not at first seem threatened by these measures; but if Julian had lived much longer he would inevitably have been brought into direct conflict with Christianity, for he excluded Christians from all teaching posts, preferred Pagans to Christians for all offices in the State, and deprived the Christian priesthood of the financial privileges which had been given to it by Constantine.

The attempt at religious reconstruction was, however, soon cut short by military dangers. The Persians at this time under their king, Sapor, were a dangerous and an aggressive people. It was necessary for Julian to lead the armies of Rome against them. His campaign was conducted brilliantly, and for a certain time with success. He crossed the Tigris and prepared to strike into the heart of Persia, but was forced to retreat by want of supplies, and on his way back was killed under obscure circumstances.

Death of Julian.

Legend says that his last words were "Galilean, thou hast conquered," and certainly with the death of Julian passed away the last chance for the victory, and even for the continued existence of Paganism. The truth seems to be that there was not in any large section of the people of the Roman Empire any vital belief in the old faith, or any strong desire to maintain it. It was one of Julian's most bitter disappointments to find that what was to him a passion and an enthusiasm was held by the majority of those who surrounded him in a very different and quite lukewarm fashion. It is clear from the ease with which the extinction of Paganism was carried out that there was neither faith nor zeal among its supporters.

"Galilean, thou hast conquered."

Other important things were happening at this time. The Barbarians were forcing their way over the frontiers of the empire, but we may turn away from them for the moment, and carry on the religious movement up to the final victory of Christianity. Julian was succeeded by emperors who reigned for a short time, and left no enduring mark upon the history of the empire; but then in 379, there came to the throne the Emperor Theodosius. His reign is in

Theodosius.

many respects a very important one. We shall see in the next chapter how it marks an important stage in the relations between the empire and the barbarians. It is a reign, too, which saw a great step taken towards the completion of the majestic fabric of Roman law, and it is perhaps as co-operator in the work of codifying the Roman law that the name of Theodosius most deserves to be remembered with gratitude by posterity. In this chapter we are thinking only of his religious policy.

He was a Christian, and a Christian not of the Arian type to which most of the emperors since Constantine had belonged, but a zealous adherent of Athanasian orthodoxy; and it was during his reign that Arianism was finally subdued and Paganism extinguished. There are no striking incidents in the last struggles of Paganism, and for the most part the victory of Christianity was won against a very feeble opposition. Paganism found its chief stronghold in the city of Rome itself, and even in the Senate of Rome the weakness of Paganism was shown, when, in the year 384, the statue of the Goddess of Victory was moved from the Senate house. Ten years later Theodosius himself came to Rome. A formal debate is reported to have been held in the Senate in the presence of the emperor as to whether Jupiter or Christ should be regarded as the patron of the city. The emperor's presence left no doubt as to the issue; the Senate declared for Christianity, and that declaration was at once put into effect by a series of laws. All Pagan sacrifices were henceforth forbidden upon pain of death, and worship of the old deities of Rome, even without sacrifice, was prohibited. The temples of the Pagan deities, many of them among the most wonderful structures that human hands have reared, were in all parts of the Roman Empire attacked, desecrated, and in many instances destroyed; the columns and marbles of some were transferred to Christian Churches, and a few, such for instance as the Pantheon in Rome, and the Parthenon at Athens, were converted entirely to Christian uses, and were thus preserved in their entirety. The victory of Christianity was unfortunately accompanied by acts of vandalism on a scale perhaps unexampled in

The end of Paganism.

Disappearance of classical civilization.

history, and it was not only stone and carved work that suffered. The poets, and philosophers, and even the historians of classical antiquity had been put forward by the Pagan champions as rivals of the sacred books of the Christians. It was therefore natural that Christianity, in its triumph, should condemn these; and with few exceptions, of which Virgil's poem is the most important, the great works of classical antiquity passed into oblivion from which they were only rescued by the dawning of the Renaissance some thousand years later. It is wrong to think of the Middle Ages as being altogether a period of darkness; yet in one sense it is true that they were so. The light which had streamed from Greece upon Rome, and from Rome upon the whole civilized world, could not be altogether extinguished; but to a very large measure it was obscured, and the human race suffered thereby a most disastrous loss.

One detail of the life of Theodosius deserves a passing notice, for it reveals to us the nature of the new force that had entered the world with the triumph of the Christian Church. We shall see in the next chapter that Theodosius had established good relations with the Goths. He was, therefore, the more exasperated to hear that the people of Thessalonica had risen against Gothic soldiers stationed there, and had murdered several officers. The Emperor determined to exact a terrible revenge and thousands of the citizens were slaughtered in cold blood. It was a terrible deed, but in itself would not deserve to be chronicled in an age that sees so many terrible deeds. What is of importance is the protest which it met with and the punishment which it incurred. The leading figure in Christianity at this time was St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; he expressed in strong terms his abhorrence for the emperor's deed, and when the emperor presented himself at the Church of Milan, he was excluded by the Bishop's orders from entrance, and from participation in the sacraments of the church. Nor was he readmitted into the Christian communion until he had expressed his sorrow for what he had done and submitted to public and humiliating penance. The successor of Julius Cæsar humiliated himself

The humiliation of Theodosius before Saint Ambrose.

before a priest! The master of all the legions of Rome prostrated himself before the representative of the crucified Jew! No revolution in History is so important as that which is represented by these facts. From this time onward, emperor and Church, sometimes in alliance and often in opposition, are the two great forces of the Middle Ages, and it is not until the claims of both of them had been overthrown or weakened that the Middle Ages can be said to come to an end.

The Church histories of Robertson and Milman; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Miss Alice Gardiner's *Life of Julian*. Gibbon's treatment of this period is one of the best parts of his history, and, in spite of his own strong opinions, surprisingly fair. For Arianism, see Professor Gwatkin's article in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER II

The Gothic Victories and the End of the Roman Empire in the West

In the last chapter we saw how the Christian Church achieved a complete victory over its Pagan opponents. But during the years covered by these important events the Roman world was also occupied with a great struggle against her barbarian foes from beyond the frontier. The victory of the Christian Church no doubt contributed to the victory of the barbarians, for the attention of the Roman government was distracted, and it was not able to devote the whole forces of the empire to the struggle against the intruders from the north.

From the year 250 onwards, various races which had hitherto stood beyond the frontiers of the empire—most of them of Germanic origin—forced their way gradually within the empire, and many made for themselves permanent homes there. These events are sometimes called the barbarian invasions, sometimes the migration of the peoples; it is these

events which are usually alluded to when the Fall of the Roman Empire is spoken of.

Before we trace the steps by means of which the barbarians in their different divisions made themselves masters of certain parts of the Roman Empire, it will be well to consider some of the general features of the movement. We may notice, in the first place, that the barbarian invasions did not by any means come as an irresistible flood; there was no single moment when the defences of the empire fell, and the barbarians rushed in.[1] The Romans, indeed, maintained for a long time their military superiority over these enemies. But in spite of the Roman victories the barbarians gradually pushed forward, and soaking into the Roman Empire rather than overwhelming it, they dispossessed the Roman authorities, and made themselves masters of some of the fairest provinces of the empire. We may note further that these barbarians had nearly all of them been in the service of the empire, before they became its enemies and conquered it. We have noted already the Roman practice of enrolling in their ranks soldiers from beyond the frontiers, and we have said that in this way dangerous lessons as to Roman discipline and tactics were carried back beyond the frontiers. The victories of the barbarians were due very largely to the fact that they had learned from and in the Roman armies the methods of warfare which they now used against them. It is also curious to note that these invaders who are represented, and for the most part rightly, as courageous warriors, were in nearly all cases themselves fleeing from a more dangerous foe. They flung themselves upon the empire partly, doubtless, because the defences of the empire were growing weaker, and they desired to possess themselves of its wealth, but largely also because

General characteristics of the barbarian invasions.

[1] It may be noted that Milton's fine lines (P.L., I. 356)—

> "A multitude like which the populous North
> Poured never from her frozen loins to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands,"

give a misleading impression of the movement.

they were attacked in the rear by an enemy more numerous, more warlike, and much more barbarous than themselves, and were driven by defeat to find a refuge within the empire.

The word barbarian is in itself often misleading. The invaders of the Roman Empire were far behind the Romans in culture and knowledge, but they were nearly all of them ready to receive what Rome could teach. They were impressed by the knowledge and the splendour and the order of the Roman world, and were not anxious to destroy Roman civilization but rather themselves to claim a part in it. This is especially true of the Goths, who were the first to gain decisive victories over Rome, and whose name is sometimes used to cover the whole of the barbarian invaders. Since they had attacked Rome in the third century they had settled in a loosely organized kingdom which stretched across the centre of Europe from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had its chief seat of authority near the Crimea. When first the Romans knew them they were heathens, but when, 100 years later, they invaded the empire again, they had accepted the teaching of Christianity. The great missionary of the Goths was Ulfilas (311–381), who lived in Constantinople at the time when the city was Arian, and had himself learnt Christianity in the Arian form. It was in that form that he carried it back to his fellow-countrymen, hardly aware probably of the gulf which separated Arianism from orthodoxy, and little dreaming of the consequences that would flow to the Gothic nations from their acceptance of the Arian heresy. He translated the Bible into Gothic, and the new faith seems to have spread, with great rapidity, and without encountering serious difficulties, to the whole Gothic race. The Goths, then, of the fourth century, were Christians whose lives often did credit to the religion which they professed. They were probably not much lower in the scale of culture than the English in the days before Alfred the Great, and they were ready beyond any other people to absorb the civilization of the Romans.

Character of the Goths.

Ulfilas.

They were attacked in their homes in central Europe about the year 374 by the Huns, a central Asiatic race of Tartar origin, which now, driven by some unknown impulse, flung

itself upon Europe. The Goths were overwhelmed on the banks of the river Dniester; and soon they came down to the Danube, imploring the Romans to admit them. There were many Goths already within the bounds of the empire; the northern parts of the Balkan Peninsula were devastated by war and largely uncultivated; and the demand of the Goths was granted. In 376 they began to pour into the lands south of the Danube, as many in numbers, says a contemporary, as the sands of the seashore. The emperor, Valens, who had granted them permission to come, was alarmed at their unexpected numbers, and soon destroyed by his suspicious and irritating policy the friendly feeling which he had created by admitting them. War soon broke out between the Goths and the Romans, and in 378 there came the decisive battle of Hadrianople. The Romans were the attacking party, and at first victory seemed likely to crown their efforts, but then they were overwhelmed by the unexpected attack of a large body of Gothic cavalry, and their army was utterly broken. It was a defeat as complete as that which the Romans had suffered at Cannæ from Hannibal, but from this defeat there was no recovery; the Romans had lost their old elasticity and endurance, and, though the Romans in the future sometimes gained victories against their barbarian foes, the tide of success ran, from this date, more and more decisively against them.

The Huns.

The Goths admitted into the empire.

Battle of Hadrianople, 378.

The death of their leader and the outbreak of plague prevented the Goths from reaping as great advantages from their victory as might have been expected, and in 383 the emperor, Theodosius, after having gained some successes against them, made with them an important treaty. By this treaty a large territory in Thrace and in Asia Minor was to be ceded to them, and they on their side promised to provide the Roman armies with forty thousand men, who were to be commanded by Gothic officers, but were to be subject to the general direction of the Roman emperor. It was a dangerous experiment, thus to turn the victorious enemies of the empire into its defenders; but while Theodosius

Theodosius and the Goths.

lived the arrangement worked well, and had he found efficient successors, might have proved a permanent gain. But on his death in 395 the empire was divided between his sons Arcadius, who reigned at Constantinople, and Honorius, who reigned in Italy. It is interesting to note that though Honorius reigned in Italy he did not reside in Rome. Rome was no longer thought impregnable, and the emperors therefore, from this time on, preferred to live in Ravenna, a city with no beauty of situation, situated among dreary marshes and fever-haunted swamps, but for this very reason safer against an invader than the proud city of the seven hills. The transference of the capital from Rome to Ravenna was not the only thing which marked the decadence of the Roman power, for more and more the Romans entrusted their defence against the barbarians into the hands of men of barbarian origin. We have seen how large a body of Goths had been admitted into the Roman armies, but apart from this, we find that there were vast numbers of barbarians serving in the Roman legions, and that not only the soldiers but even the officers and the highest generals are usually men not of Roman, but of barbarian birth.

Arcadius at Constantinople : Honorius at Ravenna.

Barbarians in the Roman Army.

The year 395 which saw the death of Theodosius and the succession of his feeble sons, saw also the elevation to the Gothic monarchy of the great Alaric, the most famous name in the whole of Gothic history. He belonged to the Visigoths or Western Goths. He was a man ambitious and ardent in war, but at the same time honourable in his dealings, and a sincere Christian. He was on bad terms with the Eastern Empire, and his first enterprise, directed against Constantinople, was foiled by the fortifications of the city. He marched southward into Greece, and after having done great damage there, he returned back and settled in the Northwest of the Balkan Peninsula. Then in 401 he turned his attention Westward to Italy, owing, perhaps, to the incitement of the Emperor Arcadius, who wished to relieve his own dominions from so dangerous a neighbour. Alaric was not by any means always, or at once,

Alaric, the Visigoth.

Alaric in Italy.

victorious in Italy. He was met in the neighbourhood of Verona by Stilicho, the Vandal chieftain of the Roman armies, and was defeated and driven out of Italy with considerable loss. Stilicho enjoyed a great triumph, and boasted that the race of the Goths had been for ever destroyed. But a few years later came an event which opened up a prospect of easy success to Alaric. The Roman emperor was naturally jealous of his great soldier, whose influence doubtless left little real power to the weakling who sat on the Imperial throne. In 408 Stilicho was put to death by the emperor's orders, and his soldiers thereupon indignantly refused to serve the emperor any longer and streamed in many thousands into the armies of Alaric. Thus, when Alaric re-invaded Italy in the year 408 there was neither a general nor an army to resist him. He passed down through Italy, making no attempt upon Ravenna, and arrived before Rome. Thrice he laid siege to Rome, and had he wished to do so, he might have mastered the city some time before he did. But it is a striking feature of Alaric's character that he admired the civilization of Rome, while he fought against her armies, and desired nothing better than to find some place of honour and of power within the limits of the Roman dominion. Thus the siege of Rome was broken up a first and a second time, when Alaric believed that he had gained the position which he sought. Disappointed in his hopes and deceived by the emperor and the Romans, he resumed the siege for the third time in 410. We know little of the details of these great events, for the Goths had no historians, and the Romans did not care to tell the story of their disaster, but we know that, when the forces of the city had been reduced by starvation, Alaric assaulted the gates, and at last the barbarian made himself master of the most famous of the world's cities. There was no doubt slaughter, and there was plunder, but Alaric kept his soldiers in some order, and soon passed out from Rome to complete the conquest of Southern Italy, and there, in the far South a fatal disease fell upon him, and he died and was buried in the river bed of the Busento, whose waters were turned aside by the labour of his army to allow of the preparation of his grave.

Murder of Stilicho.

Fall of Rome.

Death of Alaric.

Alaric's conquest of Rome is in no sense the end of the Roman Empire, and yet of the events that lead to the disappearance of the Roman Empire in the West, it is the most striking and perhaps the most important. So great was the fame of Rome, so general the belief which identified Rome with the world's government, that its fall was an event which seemed to show men that the very foundations of the society which they knew were being shaken under them. The Christians specially had to meet the charge that Rome, victorious while she held to her old gods, had fallen as soon as she accepted Christianity; and it was to meet this charge that St. Augustine, one of the greatest figures in the early history of Christianity, wrote his book, *The City of God*. The death of Alaric relieved the Roman world from the pressure of a great danger, for the Visigoths, deprived of their leader, were far less dangerous. Yet there was no sign of any recovery of the power of Rome, or of any probability that she would be able to drive the barbarians from their territories. Rather, other barbarians followed in the tracks of Alaric and the Visigoths, until before long all Roman territories west of the Adriatic passed into the hands of one or other of barbarian races, and at last the Imperial name, after having been reduced to the most empty form, entirely disappeared in the West. The successor of Alaric as king of the Goths was Ataulfus. He procured the hand of Galla Placidia, the daughter of the Emperor Theodosius, and by her Ataulfus was induced to leave Italy, and to establish a Visigothic kingdom in the south of Gaul and the north of Spain. There it endured for three centuries until finally it was overthrown, not by the Roman power, but by new and more strenuous barbarian swarms.

Effects of the fall of Rome.

The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.

Meanwhile, another barbarian race cut off from Rome one of her fairest provinces. Africa had become, under Roman rule, one of the most civilized parts of the empire, and it contributed much especially to the literature and the organization of the Christian Church. In 429 the province of Africa was over-run by the army of the Vandals. The Vandals were akin to the Goths, and had at first been

The Vandals in Africa.

considered more sluggish and unwarlike than the men who had followed Alaric on his great enterprise. They had, however, under their leader Genseric, marched through Gaul, and made themselves masters of large districts of Spain, and it was from Spain that they were invited into the province of Africa in consequence of disputes between the Governor of that province and Rome. They made themselves masters of the land with surprising ease, though the chief city, Carthage, did not fall into their hands until 439. The Vandals make none of the appeal to our sympathy that are made by the Visigoths; they were a cruel, plundering, piratical horde, and the civilization of Africa was almost effaced by their conquest, though that conquest would hardly have taken place if the province had not already been torn asunder by religious feuds. It was amidst these disasters that St. Augustine, himself an African by birth, and Bishop of the town of Hippo, wrote *The City of God* to comfort the Christians amid their disasters.

Shortly after the conquering raid of the Vandals, came the first assaults of an enemy more terrible, and it seemed at first more dangerous, than either the Vandals or Goths. **The Huns.** We have already spoken of the Huns. Victorious on the Dniester they had pressed westward, and now began to attack the Roman Empire itself. They had in Attila a great ruler: his is the one name among the Huns which is remembered by posterity. The Huns deserve the name of barbarians which is erroneously attributed to the Goths. They were a nomad race, not caring to settle long in a single place, knowing little of the arts of life, contemptuous of Roman civilization, and held together by a rudimentary government. It was only when controlled by some great soldier such as Attila undoubtedly was, that they became an overwhelming danger to their neighbours. In 446, Attila invaded **Attila in Gaul.** the Eastern Empire, swept along the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and made his way even to the walls of Constantinople. The land became a desert where he passed. Then in pursuit of fresh plunder he turned northward, and marching through Germany, flung himself in 451 upon the frontiers of Gaul. A portion of Gaul was still in the hands of Rome, while, as we have seen, a portion of it had also been

surrendered to the Visigoths, and as Attila's assault equally threatened Romans and Visigoths, they joined to resist him. In 451 the united forces of the Visigoths and the Romans, under the last great soldier that the Roman race produced, Aetius, met the invading Huns probably near Troyes, though the battle which followed has passed into history as the battle of Chalons. It resulted in the repulse of Attila; Gaul was saved, and Attila retired by the valley of the Danube. The Hunnish danger, however, had only vanished from one point of the Roman world to re-appear at another, for in 452 Attila penetrated through the eastern passes of the Alps and invaded Italy. He destroyed the city of Aquileia; he pushed on as far as Milan, and there he was said to have been turned back by the supplications of Pope Leo and the religious awe which was connected with his name and office. He retired beyond the Alps and died in 453.

Withdrawal and death of Attila.

But no victory and the death of no single opponent could save the Roman world from its barbarian foes. The Roman emperor at this moment was Valentinian, but it is characteristic of the time that we hardly need to know his name or to consider his character. He was jealous of Aetius as Honorius had been jealous of Stilicho, and in 454 Aetius was murdered. His death immediately preceded, though apparently it did not cause, the second barbarian occupation of Rome. Genseric, the Vandal leader, was settled in Carthage and looked round for more plunder. The Vandal power was strong upon the sea, and in 455 a Vandal fleet appeared at the mouth of the Tiber and a Vandal army marched on Rome. The city could make no resistance. Genseric was induced by the entreaties of Pope Leo to abstain from massacre; but he plundered the city as it had never been plundered before, and many of the treasures of Rome passed to Carthage and disappeared.

Sack of Rome by the Vandals, 455.

Yet for twenty-one years the phantom of the Imperial name still subsisted on Italian soil, and still within the protection of the marshes of Ravenna there was some one who called himself emperor, and surrounded himself with something of the pomp of a Court. But the reality of power during these

dreary years rests not with the emperor, but with the great soldiers of barbarian origin, who in succession commanded his armies and exercised power in his name. In 476 one of these soldiers, Orestes by name, raised his own son, Romulus Augustulus, to the Imperial title, and intended, no doubt, to govern in his name. But the real power lay with the soldiers, and these men, irritated by an attempt to curtail their pay, rose in mutiny under a chieftain called Odoacer. Orestes was killed; his son, the puppet emperor, was deposed; and Odoacer was master of the situation. Had he wished he could have made himself emperor, or have thrust that empty honour upon any candidate he chose, but he cared to take neither of these courses. He took the Imperial crown and the purple robe and the other insignia of office, and sent them to the emperor at Constantinople with the intimation that Italy had no further need of an emperor of its own, asking only for himself the title of "Patrician." The application to Constantinople was a recognition of the supremacy of the Eastern Emperor over Italy; but his authority was purely nominal, and it was Odoacer who held the reality of power.

The end of the Roman Empire in the West.

Odoacer, Patrician, 476.

Such were the events of 476; not important in themselves, nor attracting very keenly the attention of contemporaries, they nevertheless mark the end of the Roman Empire in the West where it had arisen, and wherein its greatest strength had been found. It is not indeed the end of the Roman Empire, for the rulers at Constantinople still called themselves Roman emperors, and the empire continued to exist there in changing forms, for close on a thousand years. But in the lands west of the Adriatic Sea the Roman Empire passed away. Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Italy itself were in the hands of the barbarians. The emperors in Constantinople did not acquiesce in the new state of things. They regarded Vandals and Visigoths and the government of Odoacer as intruders on territory that belonged of right to them; and soon, as we shall see, an attempt was made, attended with brilliant though transitory success, to reconquer the lost lands of the West. But the ruler of Constantinople had no hold

on the loyalty of the Western people, alien from himself in race, language, and character. The future of Western Europe lay with the barbarian peoples, who soon were to be reckoned as barbarians no longer.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* gives a brilliant narrative of these events which is a great contrast in style to Gibbon's history. Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius* consists of lectures summarizing the history of the time. Bradley's *Goths* in the *Stories of the Nations* is a useful résumé. Bury's *Later Roman Empire.*

CHAPTER III

Italy in the Sixth Century

THE victory of Odoacer left Italy completely in his hands, but he was almost immediately challenged by a new barbarian enemy, the Ostrogoths. These were closely related in race to the Visigoths, whose career we have traced. They had been forced to serve in the ranks of the Huns, and had shared in the triumph and the repulse of Attila. They had been for some time settled on the Eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, and Theodoric, their great ruler, had resided for ten years at Constantinople, at first as a hostage, and then as the ally or servant of the emperor. This long experience of the government and the land, the religion and society, the strength and the weakness of the Imperial capital, exercised a far-reaching influence on all Theodoric's career. In 489 he invaded Italy at its most vulnerable point, through the passes that is of the north-east. He had been urged on to the exploit by the Emperor Zeno, who desired to overthrow—by whatever means—the usurping power of Odoacer.

Theodoric and the Ostrogoths.

The Ostrogoths were victorious after a long and confused struggle. Odoacer was defeated in three battles; he retired to Ravenna and defended himself there for some time, but

the city was forced by famine to surrender, and Odoacer was treacherously slain by the conqueror. Theodoric was master of Italy.

Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, was king of Italy from 489 to 526, and his reign presents many features novel and interesting. The centuries from the second to the eighth show us for the most part nothing but the failure of the old Roman order and government in the Western world; but the career of Theodoric shows us an attempt, for some time successful, to build as well as to destroy, and to create a stable order out of the ruins of the Roman Empire by the energy of the Goths.

The Constructive effort of Theodoric.

He fixed his capital at Ravenna, and that strange city of the marshes, already decorated by various churches and public buildings, received notable additions to its architecture from him. In his buildings and in his political work he associated with himself eminent men of Roman origin. His chief minister was Cassiodorus, a Roman; his chief secretary was the Roman Boethius, the last important name in Latin literature. He assumed the ceremonies and he adopted the forms of government which had been developed by the Eastern Empire. He aimed at uniting Gothic strength with Roman culture, and he came near to founding a stable state on this promising basis.

Theodoric in alliance with Roman culture.

His dealings with religion are especially noteworthy. He was himself an Arian, and showed no inclination to abandon that form of Christianity, which had special attractions for the Goths: but he did his utmost to establish good relations with the orthodox church, and declared himself against all measures of persecution. He was on friendly terms with the bishops, and he treated the Pope with respect, and even with deference. There is no such instance of religious toleration in Europe for another thousand years, and yet his religious policy was not successful. The Catholic Church claimed exclusive dominion, and was quite unwilling to tolerate the separate existence of an Arian Church in Italy. It remained aloof and hostile; and thus the force of religion, usually the strongest uniting force in the Middle Ages,

Religious policy.

worked in Italy for disruption and estrangement. Among the causes of the failure of Theodoric's plans his Arianism was one of the chief.

The Ostrogoths occupied, for the most part, the country districts. One-third of Italy is said to have been appropriated to their use, while the main part of the old Italian stock lived in the towns. Until nearly the end of Theodoric's reign Italy enjoyed unwonted quiet. With peace and security, commerce, which had been long declining, began to revive. Even the Pope declared that Italy "breathed again after the tempest of continual wars." It almost seemed as though the era of war and of invasion was over, and there are few promises whose failure history regrets more than that which Theodoric's rule for a time held up. He ruled with justice and with success. In Italy and in Western Europe his was unquestionably the first power. He was related by marriage or alliance to most of the barbarian states which had recently been formed: with the Burgundian, the Frank, the Visigoth, the Vandal; and he exercised over them a sort of precedence.

Prosperity of Italy.

Yet the last years of his reign present us with a disastrous contrast. The old Roman population and the Church remained still hostile; and as Theodoric grew towards old age the question of the succession raised great difficulties. He had only one legitimate daughter, and that daughter's husband died. The next claimant to the throne was a child five years of age. Theodoric believed himself to be surrounded by plots, and he struck, perhaps blindly and cruelly. Boethius was executed. John, the Pope of Rome, was thrown into prison under accusation of intrigue with Constantinople and died there. Thus the future was full of grave problems when Theodoric died in the year 526.

The gloom of the last years of Theodoric's reign.

To understand the next chapter of Italian history we must go to Constantinople. There was no sign of decay there; rather the empire seemed to be recovering its strength, and the barbarian attacks ceased to alarm. The admirable situation of Constantinople was working its natural effects. The wealth of the

The Emperor Justinian.

Asiatic provinces flowed into the city: Syria and Egypt provided it with corn and various sources of wealth. The West was indeed lost, but the empire was probably stronger because it was smaller. In the year 527 there came to the throne Justinian, who reigned until 565. In the long imperial annals there is hardly a more conspicuous name than his, though it may be doubted whether his triumphs did not bring rather harm than good to the empire. He was married to Theodora, who was at first a dancer on the stage, and whose rise to the Imperial throne was an event unparalleled in the annals of the Roman world. It was her beauty which attracted the emperor at first, but she showed later a strength of character and a political insight which made her a worthy helpmate for him.

Belisarius.

The name of Belisarius also will always be closely associated with that of Justinian. He has been called the world's greatest soldier, and though this is an untenable exaggeration, he won amazing victories with apparently small resources, and raised the glory of the Roman arms to a height which might seem to rival all that had gone before. The Imperial armies were composed of many and strange elements; barbarians filled up nearly half the ranks—Huns, Gepids, and Heruli—but the empire had also discovered in the Isaurians of Asia Minor a population of splendid military qualities, and these hardy mountaineers formed the backbone of the Roman armies.

Nature of his armies and tactics.

The armies of the sixth century offer a strange contrast to those which had triumphed under Julius Cæsar and Trajan. The legionary with the famous short sword had disappeared, and his place was taken by the mounted archer, and it was with this novel weapon that Belisarius won his chief victories. Nor were his armies ever large. It is amazing with how few troops he achieved conquests which added vast tracts of territory to the dominions of his master. He trusted to skilful tactics, to the mobility of his troops and to the rapidity of his marches to overcome the larger and more clumsy masses of his barbarian opponents.

The emperor had serious difficulties with the city population in the early years of his reign, and Belisarius achieved his first victories against the unruly mobs of the city, who

were excited by religious fanaticism and social distress. But when these dangers were past, and he had become conscious of the strength of his army and his general, he turned towards the reconquest of those western provinces which he had not ceased to regard as his legitimate possessions. It was upon Africa that his first blow fell; and when Belisarius, in 533, landed on the African coast he found the Vandals utterly unable to resist him. These people of the North, once so terrible under Genseric, had become disorganized, luxurious, and incapable of military effort. Two battles were enough to decide the fate of the rich province, and before the year was over Africa seemed firmly joined again to the Imperial fabric. Then from Africa Belisarius turned to a greater booty. He passed with 7500 men to Sicily in 535, and occupied it without difficulty; then in 536 he landed in South Italy.

Imperial reconquest of Africa.

The Ostrogoths, like the Vandals, had quickly lost much of their early vigour, but they had not fallen so low, and they showed themselves much more capable of recovery. The cause of the decline is difficult to discover, but we have already dwelt on the hostility of the Church, and of the Roman population, and victory as usual had destroyed something of the unity and vigour which the Ostrogoths had possessed when they attacked Italy. Belisarius carried all before him. Theodahat and Witigis, the successive leaders of the Ostrogoths, showed no skill in the defence. Naples and Rome fell. In vain the Goths tried to recapture Rome, though their army numbered 150,000, while Belisarius had only 5000 soldiers. In 540, owing to mutiny in the Gothic ranks and the pressure of famine, Ravenna itself, the administrative capital of Italy, fell into the hands of Belisarius. He returned to Constantinople and enjoyed a vast triumph. The military glory of Justinian seemed the greatest in Europe. We may add here, though out of proper chronological order, that the recovery of the Imperial power extended beyond Africa and Italy; a portion of Spain was also conquered, and in 550 the south-east of that peninsula came into the hands of Justinian.

Conquest of Italy.

But from this time on the fortunes of Justinian and his

general began to be somewhat obscured, and the end of his reign by no means fulfilled the promise of the early years. There was serious financial difficulty. Justinian was a constant and ambitious builder, and the great cathedral of Santa Sophia in Constantinople and many churches in Ravenna and elsewhere still survive to testify to the skill of the Imperial architects; but the drain of these building operations exhausted the Imperial Exchequer. Then war came with the Persians, and though success in the end attended the Imperial armies here also, the Persians were not driven back without a struggle. But the true cause of the comparative failure of the later years of Justinian's rule in Italy is probably to be found in the condition of Italy itself. The Italians, in their dislike of their Ostrogothic rulers, had welcomed the invaders, who were at least in name Romans. But with the war had come desolation, famine, and plague. The revived prosperity of Italy, which we have noted under Theodoric, gave way to misery never surpassed in the unhappy land during the Middle Ages, and when the Imperial restoration was completed they found that the burden of the new government was much greater than that of the old. There were complaints of the exactions of the tax-gatherers, and the general discontent gave the Gothic power a chance of revival. Above all, the Ostrogoths found a great leader in Totila, who is, along with Theodoric and Alaric, the glory of the Gothic name. He was a soldier of real power, and a Christian of sincere piety, just and humane beyond the standard of the time. Under him the Gothic armies once more spread over Italy. Belisarius was sent out to Italy again, but he had not sufficient forces at his disposal to stem the tide of Gothic victory. He succeeded indeed in reoccupying Rome which had been seized and then abandoned by Totila, but the success was transitory. He was no longer on good terms with Justinian, and in 548 he was recalled, and Rome fell once more into Totila's hands.

The decline of Justinian's house in Italy.

Totila.

All Italy was subject to Gothic rule with the exception of Ravenna, which now as always seemed nearly impregnable behind its fortifications and its swamps. The empire, however, was not yet resigned to the loss of Italy, and in 552 a

larger army was sent over under the command of an old man, Narses, once a servant of the palace, but clearly possessed of real military genius. He marched by land into Italy, and having reached Ravenna, advanced upon Rome, and at Taginæ, near the summit of the pass across the Apennines, he met Totila. In the battle that followed the Goths were defeated, and Totila died of the wounds which he received. There was much fighting after this; but the Goths could not maintain themselves, and in the year 553 they applied for permission to leave Italy. It was granted, and they marched across the Alps, joined themselves perhaps to the Visigoths, and disappeared from history. Thus Justinian's reign ended with success. Theodora died in 548, and in 565 death carried off both Belisarius and Justinian.

Narses succeeds Belisarius.

We have said that it is questionable whether the victories of Justinian did not weaken the empire, and whether he should not be regarded rather as the cause of the ruin than of the restoration of the Imperial power. But there is one task to which he set his hand which proved of vastly greater and more enduring importance than all the victories of his armies. It was during his reign and largely through his guidance that the work of codifying the laws of Rome was brought to an end. The work had been begun centuries earlier; it had been carried forward by Theodosius, and great Roman lawyers had continuously laboured at the task. It was now at last concluded, and the whole fabric of Roman law was made accessible to the world in a form logically arranged and not too large for comprehension or reference. Among the forces that acted upon the mediæval world, and indeed upon all the world, from this time forward, Roman law was one of the most important. It was not until somewhat later that it began to be studied by the nations of the West, but when they awoke to its importance, its reasonableness, its justice, and its humanity, seemed to them like a second revelation for the guidance of the destinies of man.

The codification of Roman law.

To return to Italy: its reconquest by Narses brought no settled order, no prosperity to the country: but it brought a heavy burden of taxation; and when the Imperial armies were withdrawn the country was without any strong defence. Soon

Barbarian Invasions.

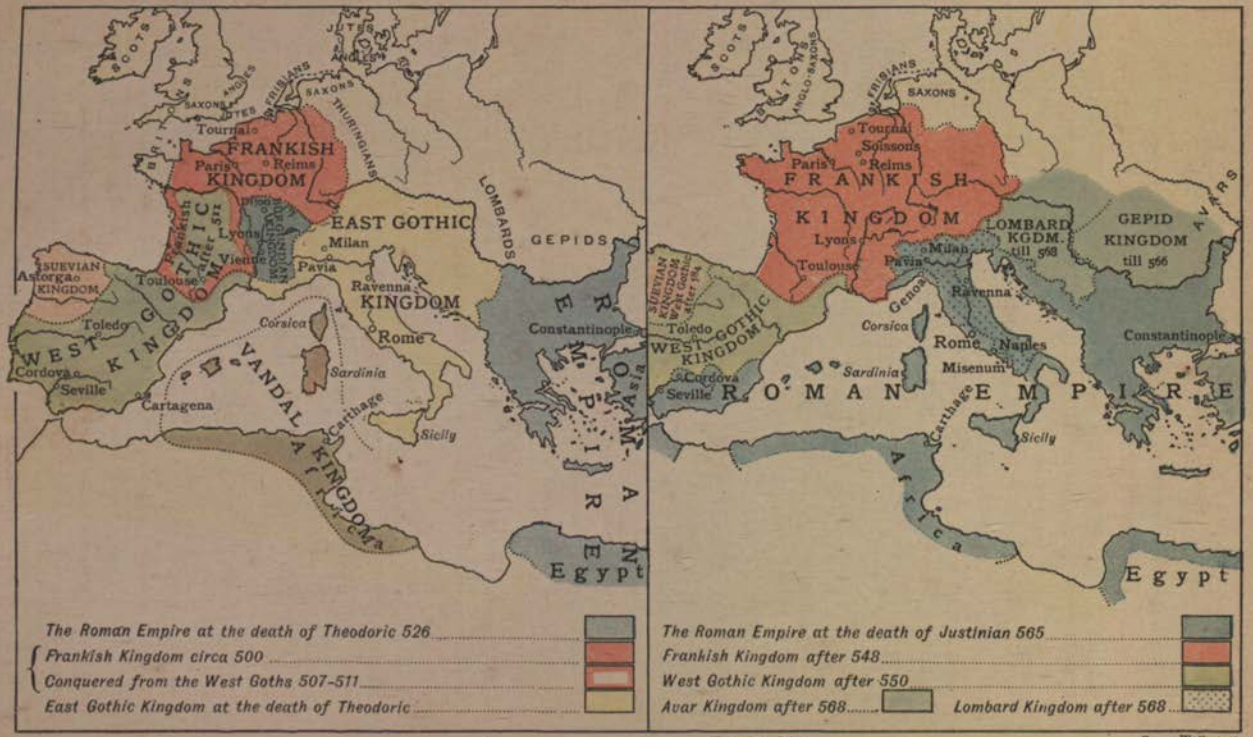
Emery Walker sc.

a new barbarian enemy prepared to take advantage of the situation. Among those who fought for Narses at Taginæ, was a large band of Lombards, a German race, whose earlier obscure fortunes and wanderings we need make no effort to trace. They had seen the richness of the land, and though they withdrew after the victory had been won, fifteen years later they invaded in force. The country was desolate and helpless. Little help came from the East, and little by little the Lombards found themselves, if not the masters of the whole peninsula, at least the strongest force there. The Lombards did not form a single kingdom, like the Visigoths and Ostrogoths. They had indeed a king; but they yielded him a doubtful obedience; and their bands spread without plan of campaign or unity of design throughout Italy. The Eastern Emperors still clung to important places where they held garrisons; thus Ravenna remained in their hands until 742, and they always endeavoured to maintain the connection between Ravenna and Rome. They held also Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and important fortresses in the heel and toe of Italy; their navy was supreme, and the sea coast was always liable to their raids. But except in the places that we have mentioned, the Lombards held sway. Their capital was in Pavia in the Northern plain, and south of the Apennines, Tuscany, and the lands of Central Italy fell into their hands. Their power was more loosely organized than that of the Visigoths or of the Ostrogoths, and the Lombard king from his capital at Pavia in the north held but a shadowy control over the Lombard dukes of Trent, Benevento, and Spoleto. On their first arrival many of the Lombards were heathens, but gradually they adopted Christianity, and though their Christianity was at first of the Arian type, it passed ultimately into orthodox Catholicism. This must be regarded as one of the most important facts in the development of their nation. In character and in talents they are far less attractive to us than their Arian predecessors, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, and they seem to have been more hated by the population of Italy. But the religious barrier which separated the Goths from the Italians was ultimately removed from between the Italians

The Lombards in Italy.

The religion of the Lombards.

EUROPE IN THE VI CENTURY



The Roman Empire at the death of Theodoric 526

Frankish Kingdom circa 500

Conquered from the West Goths 507-511

East Gothic Kingdom at the death of Theodoric

The Roman Empire at the death of Justinian 565

Frankish Kingdom after 548

West Gothic Kingdom after 550

Avar Kingdom after 568

Lombard Kingdom after 568

Scale, 1:38,000,000

English Miles

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Emery Walker sc.

and the Lombards. The two nations were thus able to blend and to intermarry, and whilst the Goths have left little or no trace on the development of later Italian history, the Lombards have left their name stamped on the northern plain of Italy, and have contributed permanent elements to the population and the civilization of the peninsula.

Gibbon and Hodgkin as before. Hodgkin's *Life of Theodoric.* Dr. Hodgkin has also published a translation of the *Letters of Cassiodorus,* which are of great value for the administration and ideas of Theodoric. For Justinian, in addition to Gibbon, Oman's *Byzantine Empire* is useful. For the codification of Roman law, see Gibbon, Ch. XLV.

CHAPTER IV

The Constructive Forces of the Middle Ages—the Papacy; Islam; the Franks

ALL that the Gothic powers had attempted to build had proved unstable and transitory, nor were the efforts of the Eastern Empire to restore its organization and power in Italy and the West successful for long; the old civilization lay everywhere in ruins. At first sight there seems no sign of any new structure that was to emerge from among them. But there is no period of history which is merely one of decline and failure, and when we look more closely into the sixth and seventh centuries we may see already those forces growing which were destined, by action and reaction, to produce the characteristic features of the Middle Ages.

The ruin of Roman civilization.

It is the organization and the power of religion which mark, above all, the Middle Ages, and it is to this topic that we must first look. The Christian Church had been progressing uninterruptedly during the whole of its existence, but during the sixth century it began to assume a much stronger organization and to exhibit much more obvious power. There are two chief agencies by which

The Catholic Church.

it assumed that mighty authority which it was to possess for so long: the first is the Monastic system, the second is the Papacy.

Origins of Monasticism.

Monasticism was no new thing; long before Christianity groups of men and women had withdrawn themselves from the world in order to live a purer life. India knew them well, and even in Rome the Vestal Virgins present some analogies to the convents of later years. Soon after the rise of Christianity we may observe, especially in the east of the empire, the same tendency strongly developed. We see hermits fleeing in great numbers into the Egyptian deserts; we see individual recluses, such as St. Simeon of the Pillar, establishing themselves in various forms of solitude and self-denial; even in Italy we may dimly see various groups retiring from the world for religious reasons. But what had happened hitherto was spasmodic, without discipline and liable to grave excesses. In some instances those who called themselves hermits were little better than robbers.

Saint Benedict.

It was St. Benedict (480–543) who gave to monasticism the form in which it proved later to be one of the formative forces of European history. He was not the founder but he was the law-giver and the organizer of monasticism. The monasteries which were established under his rule marked a great change from the ascetic practices of an earlier period. Those who entered them took perpetual vows and pledged themselves, not for a period, but for life, to celibacy and obedience to their chief. In the second place, their life was to be one of constant labour, of labour in the Church and in the Monastery, but of labour also in the fields; they were the teachers and the farmers of their age. In the third place, although the monastic system in Protestant countries is often associated with the solitary life, there was nothing against which St. Benedict so clearly fought as solitude for the monk. His followers lived together, prayed, slept, worked, and taught together; they were to act in every detail, not as individuals, but as a community. We may note further—though this feature is not so important at first as it proved subsequently to be—that each monastery managed its own affairs and admitted the authority of no bishop of the neighbourhood,

but only of the head of the Church, the Pope himself. In admitting to his order St. Benedict shows the most absolute disregard for station, rank, wealth, or race. Within those walls at least barbarian and Roman, bond and free were equal.

The social influence of monasticism was very great, though it is difficult exactly to analyse it. The services rendered by the monasteries to industry and to agriculture are plain. By establishing convents for women, and by allowing women to hold high authority in them, it is certain that the position of woman was indefinitely raised, nor can it be doubted that, in an age when literature and education were sinking lower and lower, it was in the monasteries that the sparks were kept alight which subsequently lit the revival of learning in Europe. But historically the importance of the monasteries is to be seen chiefly in the service which they rendered to the spread of the Church itself, and especially to the maintenance of the authority of the Pope. They were often in conflict with the neighbouring bishop, but they always preached the duty of obedience to the head of the whole Church. Each phase in the history of the Papacy is characterized by some corresponding development of monastic institutions, and each monastery may be regarded as an outpost or a fortress of the authority of papal Rome.

The social influence of the monasteries.

Their services to the papacy.

Soon after St. Benedict had done his work, the organization of the Church, as a whole, received a great impetus from one of the greatest of the Popes, Gregory the Great (590–604), who may be regarded as the founder of the Papacy as distinct from the Bishopric of Rome. It was Gregory from whom came the first impulse towards sending the missionaries to England, by whose means the Faith was planted again in the south of the island, though in the north and west it had not been wholly trampled out by the invasions of the heathen Saxons. It was also due to his efforts that the Lombards drew near to the Catholic Church, if they did not quite enter it. Their King Agilulf was an enterprising and ambitious ruler and frequently in conflict with the Pope on questions of policy and territory. But his wife,

Gregory the Great.

Theodelinda, was a devout Catholic, and through her agency the king allowed his eldest son to be baptized as a Catholic, and the conversion of the whole race was prepared.

If we look to his development of the papal power, the chief features are these. We see the Pope gaining an authority in Italy greater than that of any other single ruler. The Bishops of Rome had received from Justinian large powers in secular and judicial matters; but never before had the authority of the Roman See been nearly so great as it now became. Italy was still scourged by the rivalries and contests of her rulers. The Eastern Empire was represented by the Exarch who resided in Ravenna. He was in constant strife with the Lombard king in the north, and the Lombard dukes in the centre and south of Italy. The Franks —that great German race which was destined so powerfully to affect the history of Italy—were already in occupation of certain districts in the north. In the north-east a new Turanian race, the Avars, akin to the Huns, poured down on to the Lombard plain and did frightful damage. The power of the Eastern Empire was sinking, the Lombards were divided against one another. Amidst this political chaos the Bishop of Rome, or as he must henceforward be called, the Pope, appeared as protector of the people and the maintainer of order. The Church, too, advanced in power and in wealth; great possessions came into its hands, and a large part of the Pope's energy was devoted to the excellent and humane administration of the "patrimony of St. Peter." He devoted, too, much attention to the ritual, the music, and the services of the Church, and doubtless by these means the Church was able to make an appeal to the non-Christian world more powerful than she had hitherto made. It was not only what he did but what he was that made St. Gregory one of the greatest figures in the early history of the Church; the reverence which was felt for him subsequently raised him to the rank of a saint. It is certain that the organization of the Church has never lost the trace of the impulse given by his powerful hand.

The growth of the papacy.

Gregory never knew of the existence of his most important contemporary, for Mahomet (it is of him that we must now speak), though thirty-four years old at the time of Gregory's

death, had not yet forced himself and his faith upon the attention of mankind. The story of its rise is in every way an amazing one. There was little preparation for it, and its victories were won against enemies that seemed strong and well prepared. The Eastern Empire had come, in the year 610, into the hands of Heraclius, and he proved himself one of the most successful soldiers in the Imperial line. He had to fight against the Persians, who had recently invaded Palestine and Syria, and he defeated them in a brilliant campaign. He penetrated to Nineveh, and in 628 forced peace upon the Persian king on terms eminently satisfactory to the empire. Yet immediately after these splendid victories the Imperial armies came into collision with the forces of Mahomedanism, and soon lost in the conflict their former prestige and confidence.

Mahomedanism.

Heraclius.

The new religion rose in a part of the world that was almost unknown, for Arabia had never offered inducement enough to the Romans to try and conquer more than a small stretch of it. The inhabitants lived an almost nomad life, withdrawn from the attention of civilized powers; but it was in this unpromising region that Mahomedanism arose. The population had been affected by the religious currents of the time; there was some Judaism, some Christianity, and along with both, many lingering superstitions of a primitive type. At Mecca special worship was paid to a large stone, the Kaaba, which was believed to have fallen from heaven. Here in 570 Mahomet was born. He lived for some years an uneventful life as camel driver and merchant, and at the age of twenty-five married the widow Khadija. Soon afterwards his musings and preachings began. We get little idea of their power by merely analysing their doctrines, yet we know that he preached the existence of one God only, and of many prophets, the chief of which were Moses, Jesus, and himself; he insisted on a higher morality than that which was habitual among his tribesmen, and he denounced slavery; he accepted the polygamy which was already in existence, but placed restrictions upon it. His character must have been one of amazing energy and persuasiveness, and we may catch

Arabia.

some sense of the power which he exercised over his tribesmen from the more personal utterances of the Koran in which his preaching is enshrined. He held up with strange oriental eloquence the pleasures of heaven and the terrors of hell, and his fiery eloquence allowed no one to doubt his words. We may catch perhaps something of the manner of his preaching in a passage like the following—

"When the Heaven is rent asunder
And when the stars are scattered
And when the seas are let loose
And when the tombs are turned upside down
The soul shall know what it hath done and left undone,
O man! what hath deceived thee respecting thy Lord, the Generous,
Who created thee and fashioned thee and moulded thee aright?
Verily the righteous shall be in delight
And the wicked in Hell-Fire.
They shall be burnt at it on the day of doom,
And they shall not be hidden from it.
What shall teach them what is the Day of Judgment?
A day when no soul can avail aught for another, for the ordering on that day is with God."[1]

In 622 he was driven from Mecca, and his flight, the so-called Hegirah, has been taken ever since by Mahomedans as the first year of their era. In his exile he gathered his disciples round him and administered to them an oath of obedience and of morality. In 630 he re-entered Mecca in triumph, and died two years later in 632.

The Hegirah, 622.

However we explain it, his preaching had kindled a fire in the hearts of the tribesmen of Arabia which made them a different people, which made them above all things a body of warriors, irresistible for over a century by all enemies that they met. The idea of propagating the faith by the sword is implied in much of Mahomet's own words, but he had no time to carry any such plan into execution. But after his death his successors and especially the Caliph Omar fell upon the Roman Empire of the East with deadly effect. The empire had just shown itself supremely vigorous and successful in war; but the way was prepared for the acceptance of Mahomedanism in many of the provinces by

The conquests of Islam.

[1] From Mr. S. Lane-Poole's version of the *Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammad.*

the furious theological controversies of the time. These were far more eagerly prosecuted in the East than in the West, and those opinions were embraced by a large part of the population which emphasized the unity of God and refused to recognize the complete divinity of Christ. These views had been combated and denounced by the Popes, but they were held by many who now preferred the strong Monotheism of Islam to the elaborate theology of Rome. In 634 the province of Syria was lost in spite of the efforts of the Emperor, Heraclius; in 637, Jerusalem was taken and Persia was overwhelmed. In 640 Egypt was conquered, and before the soldier emperor, Heraclius, died in the next year, he had seen all his early victories more than undone, by this new and strange force. With the conquest of Egypt there came a check in the advance of Mahomedanism, to be accounted for probably by the deserts which lie to the West of that country, but half a century later the movement began again. In 695 Carthage was taken by the infidel, and the imperial power, which, as we saw, Belisarius had planted anew there, availed not to resist it. Westward still the Mahomedan horde streamed, and in 711, under their leader, Tarik, they crossed the Straits and landed at Gibraltar. In two years' time their bands had occupied the whole of the peninsula, had reached the Pyrenees, and were preparing to cross that mountain barrier. Would the future show that the centre and north of Europe was as powerless to resist as the East and the South had been, or would some new power arise which would be able to cope with these children of the desert? Such a power was found in the Franks, and it is to the Franks we must turn as the third great formative force of the early Middle Ages.

Conquest of Carthage.

The Franks were a German tribe of whom the Romans knew nothing until the third century. They were formed probably by a confederation of smaller tribes who took to themselves the name of Franks. We need not follow their dim early history and their occasional raids into the Roman Empire; their real history begins in 481 with the accession of their king Clovis. At this time the home of the Franks was upon the lower Rhine, both

The Franks.

banks of which they occupied; those who lived towards the sea coast were known as the Salians, those who lived on the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cologne were called Ripuarians. Gaul at this time was divided amongst various powers. In the valley of the Seine and on either side of it the Roman standard was still upheld by a patrician of the name of Syagrius, and this was the only fragment of the Roman Empire left beyond the Alps. South of the Loire was established the kingdom of the Visigoths; the valley of the Rhone and the land to the east of it were in the possession of the Burgundians. A little further north, the upper waters of the Rhine were in the hands of the Alamanni. Before his death Clovis had made himself supreme in all these lands. We need not follow the career of conquest by which this great achievement was performed. There is in his war against the Alamanni, however, one incident which outweighs, in its importance for the history of the Franks, all his victories. He was married to Clotilda, a Burgundian princess and a Christian, and he had vowed that if the God of the Christians gave him victory in battle he would accept the Christian Faith. He saw in the victory which followed the answer to his vow, and he kept his word. In 496 he was converted and baptized, and the Frankish people followed his lead in religion as they had followed it in war. It is a momentous incident. Clovis does not indeed seem to have been a much better man after his conversion than before; his career was full of vice and of crime, but the importance of the incident is that he thus entered into friendly relations with the organization of the powerful Catholic Church, for it was as a Catholic that he had been baptized. The Arianism of the Ostrogoths and Visigoths had contributed much to their ruin; the orthodoxy of Clovis goes far to account for the very different fate of the Frankish power. It is to a great extent by the support and the statesmanship of churchmen that the Frankish monarchs were assisted in the great tasks which awaited them.

Condition of Gaul.

King Clovis.

In 511 Clovis fixed his court at Paris, and died, and with his death the Frankish power fell rapidly from the high place

which he had won for it, and for a century its record is one of civil strife and almost impenetrable confusion. The words of Gibbon on this period are justified: "it would be difficult to find in any age more vice and less virtue." The royal line of Clovis, which is known as the Merovingian dynasty from a fabled ancestor Merwing, inherited little of his power and soon faded into insignificance, and, if the weakness of the royal line is strange, still stranger is the emergence by the side of the royal power, of another force greater than its own, that of the mayors of the palace. The origin of these officials is obscure. They seem first to have been what their name implies, domestic officers connected with the palace of the kings. Before the end of the century they came to be more powerful than the kings themselves, and, in an age when everything tended to become hereditary, their power also was handed on from father to son. By the side of the hereditary powerless monarchs there thus grew up another line of hereditary mayors, vigorous, powerful, and ambitious. The first great name among these mayors was Pippin of Heristal, who, in 687, by the battle of Testri, united again the northern Franks into one state lying on both sides of the Rhine. In 714 Pippin of Heristal died and bequeathed his authority to his son, Charles Martel.

The Franks after Clovis.

Mayors of the Palace.

Charles Martel may be regarded as the founder of the great dynasty which was to rise to the first position in Western Europe and re-establish there the imperial title. The great actions of his life took place in France, and his name is closely associated with the destinies of that country. But it is important to remember that he was himself a Frank, a man, that is, of pure German origin, speaking the German tongue, and unconnected with the old Gallo-Roman race. During the whole of his life-time the destinies of Frankland were in his hands, and it is hard to remember that there was always living at the same time some phantom king in whose name and by whose authority Charles nominally acted.

Charles Martel.

The authority of the royal power was by him raised to a much higher point. We see him, as we may see every strong

ruler of the Middle Ages, struggling with the great nobles of the land, and bringing down the barons and the dukes into subordination to his authority. Before his death the one strong power in the land was that of the mayor, speaking in the name of the king. He extended the boundaries of Frankland by a series of wars beyond the Rhine against the Saxons and the Bavarians, and though his work here was not final, it prepared the way for the very important conquests of his successors. The warm support which he gave to the Catholic Church and to the papacy within and beyond his own dominions is typical too of his whole house. It was a time of great missionary zeal and enterprise; many of the best-known missionaries were drawn from our own island, some sprung from the old British population, others from the newly converted Saxons. Thus in the low lands to the north of the mouth of the Rhine St. Willibrod laboured with success, and Holland regards him as the founder of its faith. Further up the Rhine we see St. Boniface, an Englishman of Devonshire, preaching and carrying the Christian religion among German races to the east of the great river. The efforts of these men were seconded by those of the great mayors of the Franks, and the missionaries in their turn did not a little to increase the prestige and the strength of their patrons. Between Charles, therefore, and the papacy there were relations of friendliness and mutual support, even before the great service which he rendered to the Christian faith by driving back the Mahomedan Moors in the battle of Tours (732).

Power and conquests of Charles Martel.

English missionaries in Germany.

Before we speak of this battle it may be noted that just about this time the Mahomedan advance was checked both in the East and in the West. In 718 a great Mahomedan army marched against Constantinople, and the city seemed in great peril; the infidel army, however, met with a most energetic resistance at the hands of the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, and in the end was repulsed from the walls of the imperial capital. Then, fourteen years later came the great triumph of Charles Martel. The Moors had overrun all Spain: they had passed beyond the Pyrenees and had taken many of the old Roman cities of the south of Gaul;

Battle of Tours, 732.

thus Carcassone, Nîmes, and Autun fell into their hands. It is unquestionable that the Christian civilization in the West was in very great danger. The Moors might turn their efforts against the central portion of Frankland, or they might pass through the Alps into Italy and threaten Rome herself. Their attack fell upon Aquitaine, the district lying to the south of the river Loire. The duke of this land was defeated in his first encounter with the Moorish leader, Abderahman. The forces of Islam poured northward in apparently irresistible force and threatened the lands of the Loire. The Duke of Aquitaine had not been on good terms with Charles Martel, but now he appealed to him, and in 732, Charles led the Frankish forces to his assistance. The allies met the Moors near Poitiers, though the battle has always been called the battle of Tours. The struggle was a desperate and confused one, and when night fell victory did not seem to have declared itself, and Charles was prepared to renew the battle the next morning; but the Moors had suffered more heavily than he knew, and in the night they retreated, leaving the battlefield and victory to their Christian opponent. It was a severe check, and it was followed by others only less severe. Town after town was wrested from their hands; little by little the whole of the South of France came once more into the possession of Christian rulers, and for the present the Pyrenees and the Bosphorus seemed limits impassable to the Mahomedans. In 741 Charles Martel died, leaving behind him two children, Carloman and Pippin, and his territories were divided between them. The unity of Frankland was thus threatened, but not for long; Carloman determined to abandon his power, and retire for his soul's health into a monastery, and thus from 747 onwards, Pippin reigned alone.

Consequence of the battle of Tours.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* Margoliouth's *Life of Mohamet* and *Mahomedanism. The Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammad*, by Stanley Lane-Poole (with valuable introduction). For St. Benedict and St. Gregory, the Ecclesiastical Histories of Milman and Robertson. St. Benedict's *Rule* is in Henderson's *Documents of the Middle Ages.* For the Franks, see Gibbon and Hodgkin.

CHAPTER V

Charlemagne and the New Empire

THE great development that was in store for the power of the Franks, and the change of the title of their ruler from mayor to king and then from king to emperor, depend upon the relation between the Franks and the papacy, and the mutual services which each rendered to the other. We must look, therefore, first to Italy, and understand the position of the papacy there.

The spiritual authority of the papacy was rising continually higher; the monasteries and the missionaries everywhere asserted the authority of the Pope as supreme within the Church; but in Rome and in Italy the position was full of great difficulties and dangers. The turbulence of the city and the rivalry of the nobles threatened the authority of the Pope within the walls of Rome; and outside of Rome he was continually in conflict with the power of the Lombards. The Lombards were not organized into a single monarchy: the duchies of the South, Spoleto and Benevento, were in practical independence. But the Lombard power had made of late rapid advances. Liutprand, the Lombard king, was a ruler of real power. Nearly all traces of the power of the Eastern Empire were swept away in the north of Italy, and even Ravenna itself was hard pressed. Liutprand forced his authority even upon those territories which the Pope had been accustomed to rule as representative of the emperors, and the bitter hostility which was expressed by the Pope against the Lombards sprang from a rivalry in power and not from difference of faith. The Lombards were indeed by this time Christians of the orthodox Catholic type, and yet the Popes poured upon them the most bitter invectives; they declared that they were "lepers"; that they were "a race cast out from the family of nations," and they doomed them with confidence to everlasting punishment.

The Church in Italy in the eighth century.

Liutprand.

If the papacy was to be safe from Lombard dominion, and if it was to enjoy independent rule over any part of Italy, it would need to find outside assistance, and yet this assistance could hardly come from the Eastern Empire. It is true, as we have already seen, that the ruler of Constantinople, the Emperor Leo, was a good soldier, and had waged a vigorous and successful campaign against the Mahomedans, but a theological quarrel prevented the Popes from seeking assistance at Constantinople. There had broken out a strange movement, known as Iconoclasm, which bears in many ways a striking resemblance to the Protestant movement of eight centuries later; it was partly a reaction from the superstition and asceticism of the Church in the East, and perhaps it was partly due to the influence and the success of Mahomedanism. Those who accepted this new movement rejected the worship of the sacred images, or Icons, which played so large a part in the ceremonies of the Eastern Church; they refused to worship the Virgin Mary, and they demanded the marriage of priests. The enthusiasm of the new movement supplied new vigour to the Eastern Empire, but it conflicted directly with all that was insisted upon most eagerly at Rome. The Emperor Leo himself adopted the new ideas, but they were condemned in 732 by a council at Rome, and the emperor with all those who supported them was solemnly excommunicated. Leo died in 741 and was succeeded by a Constantine, but the movement of Iconoclasm only grew stronger under the new ruler, and the breach with Rome grew in consequence wider. In 785 the Empress Irene mounted the throne by means of murder; she was orthodox, and restored the worship of the sacred Icons. But the relations between Constantinople and the papacy continued very much strained, and the Pope would not willingly look for help to a dynasty which in his eyes was stained by heresy, by vice, and by crime.

The papacy and the Eastern Empire. Iconoclasm.

The Empress Irene and the end of Iconoclasm.

But while relations with the East were thus strained the Popes had never hesitated to admit their great indebtedness to the mayors of the Franks, and it was to the mayors of the

Franks therefore that they appealed for rescue from the intolerable pressure which the Lombards were putting upon them. Pippin ruled for some ten years as mayor, though during a part of this time the throne of the Franks was vacant. Then, however, a new king was crowned, by name Childerich III.; but it was clear that this farce of monarchy must soon cease, and Pippin's power and authority were so great that it was only natural that he should claim the royal title for himself. He had unquestionably the power to take the crown, and yet the traditional sanctity of the monarchy was still so great that he hesitated as to the manner in which the step was to be taken. Here the Pope rendered him great assistance. The reigning Pope was Zacharias, a powerful ruler to whom the papal authority owed a great advance. When the question came from Frankland as to whether or no Pippin should be called king, the Pope answered without hesitation that he who had the power should also have the title, and the Pope's word was sufficient to remove all lingering scruples. The king was deposed and tonsured and sent into a monastery: Pippin was raised upon the shoulders of his nobles in the old Frankish manner at Soissons, and was anointed king by the English missionary St. Boniface. Then, two years later, the successor of Zacharias, Pope Stephen himself, came north of the Alps to the Court of Pippin and crowned him with his own hands; henceforth his dynasty reigned without opposition. It is known by the rather strange name of the Carolingian dynasty, a name which is derived from his great son, Charles or Charlemagne, and owes its form to the Merovingian dynasty which had preceded it.

The papacy and the Franks.

The last of the Merovingians.

Pippin King of the Franks.

So the Pope had made Pippin king, and now Pippin had to render to the Pope a great service in return. He was appealed to for help against the "unspeakable" Lombards, and in 754 a Frankish army passed into Italy. The Lombard king, Aistulf, was defeated without difficulty, and surrendered to Pippin. The Lombard monarchy was not destroyed, but the king was compelled to cede to Pope Stephen a large portion of his

Pippin in Italy.

territory, those lands namely which lay between Ravenna and Rome, about one-third of the Lombard dominions. This territory the Pope held not nominally as an independent power, but rather as the representative and dependent of the Frankish king. This was in 754; Pippin lived yet fourteen years and administered his dominions with success and extended their boundaries. He died in 768, and again, as upon the death of his own father, the unity of the Frankish monarchy was threatened. He left two children, Charles and Carloman, and his dominions were divided according to Frankish rule in about equal portions between these two. But Carloman, after two years of rule, died of disease, and Charles was left to rule in single and undisputed sovereignty. Thus in 770 the reign of Charlemagne begins—for it is by this name that he is best known to posterity, and by this name we will usually speak of him, though it is a name that was not applied to him until long after his death. His real name was Karl or Charles, and Charlemagne is a corruption of Carolus Magnus or Charles the Great, and is perhaps also due to some confusion with Carloman. He was himself of pure German descent: he lived for the most part to the west of the Rhine, where he made his capital at Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), and he is a more thoroughly German ruler even than Charles Martel or Pippin; yet not only Germany, but also France looks back upon him as a great national figure, and sees in his reign and policy the beginning of a great epoch in their history.

Accession of Charlemagne.

A pure German.

There is no more important reign than his in the Middle Ages. He extended the dominions of the Franks far into Germany, and even may be said to have created the mediæval German state. He carried the armies of the Franks victoriously into Italy and into Spain, and in both countries left behind him an enduring influence. His reign, too, saw a new movement in literature and culture, whereby, if only for a moment, the darkness of the early Middle Ages was broken and an impulse given which never entirely died away. Lastly, his power in western Europe became so great and so unrivalled, his services to the Church were so important, that in order to mark his

The life-work of Charlemagne.

position the title of emperor was bestowed on him, and this assumption of the old title proved to be a more important thing even than it seemed at the time. In nearly every direction a new epoch begins with his career. The constructive forces of the Middle Ages are combined in him; the long disintegration of the old Roman power is at an end; the building up of many features of the mediæval modern world may be traced directly to him.

The personality of Charlemagne.

We have, from his secretary, Eginhard, an account of the man and his work. He was tall, strong, and agile, delighting in the athletic exercises of the Germans; an unwearied rider, a great hunter; fond of swimming in the baths of his capital. He was, for the time, temperate in eating and in drinking, and did much to raise the standard of manners among the rude German nobles. His interest in culture was great, and he induced the great scholar, Alcuin of York, to come over from England and found schools for the training of the sons of the Frankish nobles. He was himself proficient in languages, and had even some knowledge of Greek; he was specially devoted to Augustine's great work *The City of God;* but it is a strange and, for the age, a characteristic detail that with his considerable interest in culture, and his great intellectual power, he never succeeded in learning to write. His character shows us great magnanimity and a genuine piety and devotion to the State; a higher standard of personal morality than was to be found as a rule among the nobles of his day; though his private life was in many respects irregular, and his record as a ruler is stained by more than one act of cruelty.

The conquests of Charlemagne.

He ranks in history as a great conqueror, though probably not as a great soldier. His campaigns were often delegated to others, and his own contribution to them was that of director and organizer. We will enumerate his chief conquests without regard to chronology. First, he fought against and thoroughly subdued the duchy of Aquitaine, which had hitherto been in loose dependence upon the Frankish monarchy. Next we see him attacking with success the Mahomedan power in the north of Spain. The Moors were troubled

Aquitaine.

with fierce dissensions and civil wars, and it was these which gave Charles his opportunity. He crossed the Pyrenees more than once. In 797 he took Barcelona and organized a strip of territory on the south side of the Pyrenees as the Spanish march. The work was permanent, but it was not accomplished without difficulty, and the death of one of his officers, Roland, as he was repassing the Pyrenees has become one of the most famous incidents in epic legend. It was of permanent importance that Christianity won a victory in Spain. From this point onward it developed gradually but unceasingly until many centuries later Spain became Christian once more. Still more important were the wars waged by Charles in Saxony. The Saxony of his time was very different from that which appears on the maps of Europe to-day; it included the lower valleys of the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe, and was a wide tract of heath and of marsh covered by forests and hardly penetrated by roads; the inhabitants were fierce heathens who clung to their old faith with much greater tenacity than the Goths and the Franks had done, and made a stubborn resistance to the Christian missionaries and the military forces by which they were supported. Charles fought against them in a long series of campaigns, which were marked by at least one serious disaster to his forces, for in 782 an army of his was unexpectedly attacked and destroyed. But the Saxons were unable to maintain their independence. The crucial point came when the Saxon leader, Widukind, surrendered and accepted baptism; a subsequent insurrection of his followers was punished by the cold-blooded execution of over four thousand of them. The conquered land was held down by the transplantation of the population and the building of monasteries. The work had been done by harsh and cruel means, but it proved permanent. The Christian Faith and the Frankish dominion struck firm root, and we shall see how subsequently it was the Saxon people which took up and carried on the imperial work of Charlemagne when his own descendants no longer availed to do it.

Spain.

Conquest of Saxony.

Other campaigns were directed against Bavaria which was now definitely annexed to the Frankish monarchy, and became

henceforward one of the most progressive parts of German territory. Nor was Charlemagne satisfied to rule over all Germany, but he passed beyond the Elbe and struck down many of the Slavonic peoples beyond that river, and penetrated into Bohemia and subjugated the Czechs. Further, he fought in a notable series of campaigns against the Avars who were resident in what we now call Austria and Hungary. They were a powerful people, and were believed to hold within their vast fortifications an enormous treasure, which they had inherited from Atila the Hun, and they were still a danger to the more cultured peoples of Germany. Their fortifications were forced in a series of attacks; the great treasure was taken, and brought into circulation; their ruler was forced, after his defeat, to accept Christian baptism.

Bavaria, the Slavs, Bohemia.

The Avars.

And now, quite out of order, we come to his conquest of the Lombards, and we place it here because it leads us up to the great and important change in the title of Charles. The victories of Pippin had not settled the relations between Pope and Lombards, and Charles himself had a quarrel with their king, Desiderius, whose sister he had married and subsequently repudiated. In 773, upon an appeal from Pope Hadrian, Charles marched into Lombardy, and legend for long retained the memory of the invincible iron-clad host which poured into the north Italian plain. The Lombard king was blockaded in Pavia and forced to surrender; his territories were now definitely annexed to those of Charles, who, in 774, took to himself the title of "King of the Lombards and Franks, and Patrician of the Romans." He increased at the same time the territories and power of the Pope, and for a quarter of a century was satisfied with the title that he had thus assumed.

Charlemagne and the Lombards.

His next great step came, not from any quarrel between Pope and Lombards, but from the bitter strife between the Pope and the nobles of Rome. Between the relations of the last Pope, Hadrian, and the new Pope, Leo III., there was bitter antagonism, and Leo was attacked by his enemies and half blinded by them just outside the city of Rome. He was imprisoned

Charlemagne becomes emperor.

but escaped, and in 797 fled beyond the Alps to Charles at Paderborn, and there implored him to come to the help of the Vicar of Christ, who had been thus grievously insulted and maltreated by his enemies. In the year 800 Charles marched again to Italy and to Rome; there was no resistance of any kind; Leo the Pope appeared before him in Rome, defended himself against the charges that his enemies brought against him, was declared innocent, and solemnly restored to his papal authority. Once more the Pope owed a great debt to the Frankish ruler, and now, as in the case of Pippin, he repaid that debt by facilitating the adoption of a higher title.

On Christmas Day of the year 800, Charlemagne attended High Mass in the old church of St. Peters at Rome, and after the ceremony the Pope rose, and walking across to him placed the crown upon his head and saluted him by the title of "Emperor." There is something a little mysterious about the occurrence, and there was something in the manner of it which Charlemagne himself did not like, for he said afterwards that if he had known what was going to take place he would not have gone into the church. But it cannot be doubted that the title was one which Charlemagne had already determined to take, and the Pope only did in fact what had been previously agreed upon. Henceforth, with short intervals, until the year 1806 there was again a Roman emperor in Western Europe.

Christmas Day, 800.

At first the change must have seemed a very small one. The Imperial title added no new subject and no atom of fresh power to the monarchy which Charlemagne already possessed. It must have seemed at first little more than a title of honour, and yet as we look back upon it we see that it was no mere ceremony but an incident of first rate importance in the history of Europe. The successors of Charlemagne in the title regarded it as something far more than an empty distinction, and however small their actual power, they thought that it gave them a rightful claim to supremacy in Western Europe. The Middle Ages, as we know them, could not have pursued the course they did had it not been for the revival of the

Importance of the Imperial title.

Imperial title by Charlemagne. It is of course in no true sense a continuation of the old Roman Empire; there is little in common between the powerful German king who now called himself emperor, and the old rulers of Rome from Augustus to Constantine, who spoke Latin, administered Roman law and regarded the Germans as their most dangerous enemies. But those who came after Charlemagne regarded themselves as successors of Julius Cæsar and of Constantine as much as of Charles himself, and their belief was one that influenced their actions and the course of history.

Charlemagne showed himself a great ruler, not so much in the winning of his vast empire, as in the ruling of it. It was obviously difficult to hold together so enormous a territory and one so recently won; there was a perpetual danger that local rulers and local feeling would assert themselves against the central authorities. In order to counteract this, he invented the system of Imperial agents (*Missi Dominici*). These were men appointed by himself, who constantly travelled through the empire carrying the orders of their master, and seeing that those orders were performed. Twice a year the armed force of the empire was called together; once in autumn and again in the following spring in the famous Mayfield (such was the title of these national assemblies). The appearance of the common soldiers gave to these assemblies a popular and even a democratic appearance; but the deliberations were conducted by the magnates and great ecclesiastics. The welfare of the people at large was probably better cared for by the emperor himself than by this assemblage of notables. He did his utmost to diminish the power of the old national dukes, and the empire was governed largely by means of his counts, who were in his time not the great hereditary rulers that they afterwards became, but were the nominees of the emperor and ruled only while they retained his confidence. The name of Charlemagne is sometimes associated with the beginnings of feudalism; but in truth he did his utmost to prevent the growth of feudalism, for feudalism implies, above all things, the almost independent authority of the local landowner, and it was Charles' effort to assert

The statesmanship of Charlemagne.

Feudalism.

everywhere the authority of the central government. We possess a large number of the laws or capitularies of Charlemagne, and in them we see his anxiety to promote learning, to preserve books, to maintain order and good government throughout the length and breadth of his empire. Since the fall of Rome, Western Europe had seen nothing like it: the vast extent of territory, the good order that was maintained, the high ideals which, on the whole, guided his policy, his effort to plant or develop learning and culture amid the population; all these make of his rule a bright period in the darkest section of the Middle Ages.

He died in 814. His work, as we shall see, was soon ruined by his successors; but in the confusion that followed, his own name and the memory of his deeds only grew greater in men's memories. Hardly was he dead before legend began to gather round his name, and all through the Middle Ages a large number of epics were written, in which the historical features of the great king were almost forgotten, and he became a mythical hero, going on the Crusades, fighting against the Moors, and even defending the city of Paris against them. Wide as all this is from the true work that he accomplished, it is nevertheless a tribute to the abiding reputation of the great Charles and the impression he produced upon the contemporaries.

Charlemagne's reign and period can be studied in English in Gibbon, in the last volumes of Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, in Dr. Hodgkin's small *Life of Charlemagne* and in *Charlemagne*, by H. W. C. Davis (*Heroes of the Nations*). Grant's *Early Lives of Charlemagne* consists of translations of the Lives by Eginhard and the Monk of Saint Gall.

For German history, which now begins to form a main part of European History, the books in English are few. Henderson's *History of Germany* and his *Germany in the Middle Ages* are useful summaries. Müller's *Deutsche Geschichte* provides a valuable outline in German, and Lamprecht's *Geschichte Deutschlands* may be consulted throughout. It may be well, too, to mention Freytag's series of historical romances, dealing with the history of Germany, called *Die Ahnen;* and his historical sketches entitled *Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit.*

CHAPTER VI

The Disruption of the Empire of Charlemagne

THE empire of Charlemagne was one which it required a man with the greatest energy and ability to manage, but after his death none such was forthcoming. He was succeeded by his only legitimate son, who is known as Lewis the Pious, a man too subservient to the clergy and the Church, and generally deficient in energy and will-power, who soon allowed his dominions to fall into disorder. There was recurrent civil war, and though the unity of the empire was not broken during his reign, it is clear that its organization was much weakened, and on his death, division quickly followed. He left behind him three sons: Lothair, Lewis, and Charles, and according to the Frankish custom his territories were divided among these three, though only one could hold the Imperial title. There was bitter strife as to the line of the division, and in 843 this was temporarily settled by the Treaty of Verdun. By this treaty Lothair, who had succeeded to the Imperial title, held the central portion of the empire, the lands namely, that stretched along the banks of the Rhine, the whole of what we should now call Switzerland and the north of Italy; a small portion of this still retains as Lorraine, the memory of his name. Lewis ruled over the lands that lay to the east of this, and Charles over all that lay to the west. The Treaty was no permanent settlement, but it has always attracted attention because it foreshadows so much of the history of the future. We may see here for the first time the existence of Germany and of France, and the lands that lay between them and fell to the lot of Lothair have been fiercely disputed between these two powers almost ever since that time.

Lewis the Pious.

Treaty of Verdun, 843.

The disruption of the territory of Charlemagne was no accidental thing due to the rivalries of his three grandchildren; there were permanent forces at work which would

have made the maintenance of the empire even by a second Charlemagne, a matter of great difficulty. We may note, in the first place, that the territories themselves were so vast, and varied so much in character and needs, that the maintenance of a single authority—especially in a time when communication was difficult and slow—would have been a matter of the greatest

General causes of disruption.

Charlemagne's Empire and the Division at the Treaty of Verdun.

possible difficulty under any circumstances; and, secondly, immediately after the death of Charles, there broke upon the empire another series of barbarian invasions, almost as dangerous and destructive as those which the German invaders themselves had carried out against the old Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. The Moors, though they had been checked by the Franks at the battle of Tours, were nevertheless still dangerous enemies, and south Italy, especially, suffered terribly at their hands. In the year 846 St. Peter's Church in Rome itself

New Barbarian invasions.

was occupied by them. They were driven off, but for a long time remained to plague and harass the centre of Italy. Upon the east the Magyars (the ancestors of the modern Hungarians), who had succeeded the Avars in what we call Hungary and Austria, were constantly striking into the more settled districts of Germany and of Italy, and carried everywhere with them ruin and devastation. Even more important than these were the invasions of the Northmen, whom we usually call the Normans or Danes. Driven from their homes in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic coasts generally, by a spirit of adventure and perhaps by the growing strength of their own governments, these adventurers, who were often known as the Vikings, or men of the Fiords, passed out in daring raids towards the lands of the West. Both in their immediate and remote consequences these raids are of great importance for European history. The beginnings of Russia may be traced to the voyage of Rurik the Northman, who penetrated into the country in 862. We know how immensely the history of our own island was changed by its conquest at the hands of the descendants of these sea-rovers in the eleventh century. Before that date they had planted stable governments in Normandy on either side of the river Seine, and also in Naples and in Sicily; they had already carried their conquering raids as far as Iceland, and there is now little doubt that from Iceland they made their way to the northern coasts of America, centuries before Columbus set out on his more famous expedition. It is not, however, of these remote consequences that we must now think. In their early raids they had no desire to found a permanent state, but they came to plunder and to slay. They sailed with their vessels up the chief rivers and landed to plunder: the coasts of England, of France, and to a lesser extent, of Germany, suffered unspeakable things at their hands. Thus in 841 they captured Rouen; in 847 they took Bordeaux, and from that time forward never ceased to harass the coasts of France. Their most destructive raid upon the German lands came in 881, when they penetrated up the Rhine and destroyed Liège, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and

The Northmen.

Attacks of the Northmen on the empire.

many other important towns, but ten years later (891) they were heavily defeated by a German army under Arnulf, and this defeat served to turn them away from Germany and perhaps to intensify their attacks upon France. When we remember that Charles' empire had been built up by a series of victorious military expeditions conducted by himself and his predecessors, we shall see that the failure of his followers to maintain the defence of the land against these barbarous invaders must necessarily have shaken the very existence of the Imperial power. The disruption of the empire and the constant subdivision of it into smaller and smaller units rapidly followed. For, in the first place, the three large divisions, that we have already seen established by the peace of Verdun, were soon broken into a number of others. Thus the kingdom of Arles was set up on the river Rhone. South of the Alps was established the kingdom of Italy, whilst a little further north came the kingdom of Burgundy. But more important than this establishment of separate kingdoms was the process whereby was established that system of society and government which is known as Feudalism. The origins of this system are to be traced far back into the past, and some of its features will be explained when we have reached the period in which they were more fully developed. It is enough here to say that under feudalism, the government and the whole social system were intimately connected with the ownership of land. The owner of land was not merely possessor of property but became a ruler and a judge, a commander of troops, even a collector of taxes. Upon his own estates he was supreme: and though he recognized as superior to him the king of the land, and the emperor, and though he would be bound to yield to them in certain judicial matters, and to render them service in time of war, he would not permit any interference with his own tenants or with his own lands. This system varied much from place to place and from time to time. It began to show itself in its chief features at the time of the break up of the Carolingian empire, and it seems clearly to be due in the main, not to any theory of government or law, but to the needs of the moment. The barbarian invasions were dangerous; from the weak

The beginnings of Feudalism.

central government no help was to be expected, and thus society organized itself for defence round the strongest force that was to be found, and that force was usually the landlord in his fortified castle. The system once adopted spread very rapidly and if feudalism was, to begin with, a consequence of the disruption of the old empire, it soon became a cause making for ever greater and greater subdivision.

The end of the Carolingian dynasty.

From 843 for some time the empire remained in the Carolingian house, but the Imperial power sank lower and lower, and the title was tossed about from one successor of Charles to the other. Until 888 some legitimate successor was always to be found. In that year the Imperial title passed to an illegitimate branch, the Arnulfings, and even there it did not persist for long; at the beginning of the tenth century the house of the great Charles had died out, and we shall find that his Imperial title and his Imperial mission were taken over by those Saxons against whom he had fought so many desperate campaigns.

Rome and Constantinople.

The Church was to be one of the great forces moulding European society in the future as it had been in the past; but at the close of the ninth century it was faced with many grave troubles. There was in the first place the relation of Rome to the Eastern Church. We have already seen that there had been differences between them and that these differences had contributed to the recognition of Charlemagne as emperor. In addition to the theological differences which perhaps would not have led in themselves to schism, there was doubtless real and serious rivalry between the authorities of Rome and Constantinople. In 866, a synod was held at Constantinople and there certain decisions were taken which proved to be the occasion of a serious breach between the two Churches. The synod of Constantinople protested against the celibacy of the clergy, which it declared to be a snare of Satan; it protested against the formula of the Western creed, which spoke of the Holy Ghost as "proceeding from the Father and the Son"; it desired to omit the words "and the Son" altogether, declaring that they amounted to a heresy

The Theological issues.

" so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas " ; it declared also its determination to celebrate Easter on a day different from that of the Western Church. There were constant efforts from time to time to heal the breach which was thus created, and sometimes these efforts seemed likely to succeed, but in the end they proved fruitless, and the Churches have remained separate until the present day.

866. Quarrel of Eastern and Western Churches.

The Pope was also harassed by the turbulence of the populace of the city of Rome itself and of Italy. We have seen how the Saracens invaded Italy, how the nobles of Rome were claiming an authority over the Popes, and how their different factions often managed to convert the papacy into their tool. Scandals were constantly occurring in the life of the Popes and of their courts, and, as so often happened, nowhere did the papacy seem weaker than in the city of Rome itself. Yet despite the breach with the Eastern Church, and despite these difficulties at home, the Popes were at this time putting forward greater claims than ever to temporal sovereignty and to authority within the Church. It is at this time that certain documents appeared which are generally known by the name of the Isidorian Decretals. They appeared in Rome about the year 860, and they purported to be early utterances of Popes or of Councils, all tending to establish the same conclusions, namely, that the Popes possessed supreme and absolute authority within the Church, and also that the Popes had the right to the exercise of a temporal sovereignty in the West. It is now universally recognized that the majority of these documents were false, and it shows how little the age knew of history that they could, even for a moment, be accepted as genuine. The most important of these forgeries is the so-called " Donation of Constantine." This strange document begins by telling how " Cæsar Flavius Constantine, faithful, merciful, supreme, beneficent, Alamannic Gothic, Sarmatic, Germanic, Britannic, Hunic, pious, fortunate, victor and triumpher, always august," was healed of leprosy by the personal action of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, when the Pagan priests had told him that he could only be

The Isidorian Decretals.

The Donation of Constantine.

cured by bathing in the blood of children; and how in gratitude for his recovery he had decreed that "he who for the time being shall be pontiff of the holy Roman Church shall be chief over all the priests of the whole world," and that "Sylvester, the universal Pope," shall possess "our palace, as also the City of Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy or of the western regions," and that this shall "remain uninjured and unshaken until the end of the world." It was on this document that the temporal claims of the papacy were often based in the future, and until the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, there was no one, even among those who most deplored the consequences of the document, who ventured to dispute its authenticity.

The Mahomedan World.

We may complete our survey of Europe in the ninth century by noting that the Mahomedan world was not more united than the Christian world at this time. The Mahomedan kingdoms fall mainly into three groups: the Khalifate of Bagdad, the Khalifate of Cairo and the Emirate of Cordova. Great things were being done by the Mahomedans and great contributions made by them to the maintenance and progress of civilization in Spain, where the Moors at their best gave an example of religious toleration that the Christian states might have followed with great profit. They devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge, and mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry trace gratefully to them important steps in their origin or growth. But already there were signs of disruptive tendencies within the Mahomedan world; something like the feudalism of Western Europe was observable there also, and in addition, their states were shaken by constant struggles for the succession, by the fanaticism of religious sects, and by the insubordination of their armies. For the moment the danger from Mahomedanism seemed passing, but we shall see how there came a revival of the Faith and the energies of Islam, and how two centuries later Christianity had again to put forward all her forces to resist its great enemy.

German and ecclesiastical histories as in the last chapter. The Donation of Constantine is printed in Henderson's *Documents of the Middle Ages*. Scheffel's *Ekkehard* gives an interesting picture of the ravages of the Magyars.

CHAPTER VII

The Saxon Kings of Germany and the Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire

At the beginning of the tenth century little of the work of the great Charles remained intact. His empire had been broken up into several kingdoms, and a number of duchies and other powers, which were in effect independent. The culture and education which had been planted under his auspices had almost died out; the barbarian invasions were increasing in intensity; the situation in Europe seemed very much what it had been in the fourth and fifth centuries, but the civilized and organized states had little of the strength and self-consciousness which had been possessed by the Roman Empire.

The beginning of the tenth century.

But the work of Charlemagne had not really been swept away, and the next upward move towards order and civilization owed much to his memory and example. It is strange that he found his real successors, not in those of his own blood, nor in Germans of the old Frankish stock, but among those Saxons who had been his fiercest enemies, and whose overthrow had been the most difficult task of his life.

Germany at this time was bounded upon the east by the river Elbe, for beyond that came various Slavonic races wholly alien from the Germans. The country was divided into six great duchies, each representing a certain amount of national feeling; they are often called from their German name the Stem-duchies. They were Saxony, Franconia, Thuringia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine. Each of these was a practically independent unit, and though they had recognized some king of Germany ever since the Treaty of Verdun, they had allowed as a matter of fact little interference with their own affairs. Now in 918 the throne of Germany was vacant, and there was no obvious candidate. The idea of hereditary succession had made much

The national Duchies of Germany.

progress of late, but it was not yet applied to the kingship of Germany, nor, on the other hand, was any other method of appointment recognized. In 919 at Fritzlar at an assembly of the Saxon and Franconian peoples, Henry of Saxony, better known as Henry the Fowler, was chosen as king, and his title was soon afterwards recognized by the other dukes.

Henry the Fowler, 919.

There was nothing to show that this election was to mark an important epoch in the history of Germany. Yet so it was; an able man and a powerful and vigorous race had gained possession of the royal title, and from this time onwards for more than three centuries the unity and prosperity and strength of Germany made rapid progress. Henry's own reign is not in itself of the first importance, but it forms an important introduction to that of his son and successor. His chief energies were devoted to the defence of the country. The Normans were no longer dangerous, but the non-German peoples beyond the Elbe were pressing in upon the native population. Henry opened a road for German colonization across the Elbe, and in a series of wars defeated the Abotrites, the Wiltzes, and other Slavonic races, and thus took up once more the task of Charlemagne himself. He conquered the territory which was later on to be known as Brandenburg, and from which in far distant centuries was to come another series of rulers who would give to Germany greater unity and power than were given even by his own powerful house.[1] He occupied the southern portion of Denmark and Christianized it. But his chief difficulty was with the Magyars, who now occupied the lands on the Middle Danube, and in wild undisciplined bands were working great havoc in the south of Germany, and often spreading their devastations far into the centre. Henry endeavoured to cope with them by two means: first, he built upon their usual line of attack a number of strongly fortified towns of which Quedlinburg, Merseburg, and Goslar were the chief, and he organized also a large body

The work of Henry the Fowler.

The Magyars.

[1] The allusion is, of course, to the Hohenzollern family whose representatives became in turn Electors of Brandenburg (1415); Kings of Prussia (1700); and Emperors of Germany (1871).

of cavalry to pursue the rapidly moving forces of the enemy. In 933 his long preparations proved their efficiency, for the Magyars were beaten in a great battle on the river Unstrut. In the government of Germany his chief effort was to win the allegiance of the other dukes; he treated them almost as independent powers, and Germany was more like a federation of duchies than a central monarchy. He had thus done a great and a permanent work before his death in 936.

Battle on the River Unstrut, 933.

He was succeeded by his son Otto I. (Otto the Great) who carried on his father's work, defended and organized Germany, increased the strength of the monarchy, and then, like another Charlemagne, placed upon his head the Imperial crown. He pushed further beyond the Elbe colonizing and conquering bodies of Germans; the bishopric of Magdeburg was founded by him, and it was important not only as a great religious centre for the newly won lands, but also because it commanded the chief passage across the river Elbe. On many of the frontiers of his kingdom he organized new forms of government which in the west were known as Palatinates, and in the north and east went as a rule under the name of Marks; thus in the east he founded the North Mark and the East Mark, in the south he founded the Bavarian East Mark, which was later on to gain great importance under the title of Austria, in the north of Italy he founded the Mark of Verona, and in all these frontier governments the rulers were given greater and more independent powers than they would have been allowed in the central and more settled portion of Germany. For him, as for his father, the Magyars were the great enemy, and against them he used the same methods of defence that his father had used. When in 955 they pushed up the Danube, as they had so often done before, he met them at Lechfeld, not far from Augsburg, and inflicted upon them a defeat so crushing and decisive that it may be said to mark the end of their danger to central Europe. They ceased henceforth from their raids, they settled into a permanent state in the lands which they had occupied on the Middle

Otto the Great.

The Marks of Germany.

Battle of Lechfeld: end of the Magyar danger.

Danube, and formed ultimately the important kingdom of Hungary.

Otto had more difficulty than Henry had had in his relations to the great dukes; he managed indeed to secure their territories for his relations or to marry them to princesses of his house; but, as has so often happened, such ties proved insufficient to maintain their loyalty. He had to fight against them on more than one occasion, for whilst they regarded themselves as independent rulers, the king wished to make of them merely hereditary officials of the empire. He succeeded in beating down their revolts, but their ambitions remained, and throughout the whole of the history of mediæval Germany, the contest between the kings and the great nobles is a feature that is rarely absent. The personal ambitions of the great nobles made Henry look to the ecclesiastics of Germany for his chief agents. They were the best educated, and, indeed, the only educated class in Germany; the celibacy of the clergy made it impossible for them to found families or to share in the feudal ambitions of the nobles; and the weakness of the papacy made it in effect possible for the king to appoint whom he liked as bishops and church dignitaries. More and more then as his reign advanced he placed the actual administration of Germany in the hands of his great ecclesiastics, and the bishops of Germany were busied henceforth not merely with the religious duties which belonged to them, but also with the collection of taxes, trials at law, the organization of armies, and the general work of administration. This close union between the German kingdom and the Church made the king particularly interested in the fortunes of the papacy in Italy, and it is to this land that we must now turn.

Otto and the German clergy.

Its condition was deplorable. There needed, indeed, only peace, and the maintenance of order for Italy rapidly to develop into one of the most advanced and prosperous districts of Europe; but peace and order were just what were wanting to Italy and what the country was destined to lack yet for many a long century. In the north there was indeed a king of Italy, an inheritor of the power of Charles the Great to the south of the Alps, but he was far from ruling over the whole land. The

Condition of Italy.

north of Italy was constantly devastated by the invasions of the Magyars, the centre of Italy for a long time was the helpless prey of Mahomedan invaders, and for some thirty years at the beginning of the century was held by Moors and Saracens. Nor was the condition of the south any better. There were still a few strong places in the hands of the eastern empire, but the land was harried by the raids of Mahomedan pirates, and unity, order and strength were quite absent. In the past the divisions of Italy had often been to some extent compensated for by the strength, and the public spirit of the Popes, but at the beginning of the tenth century the papacy suffered as much as any other part of Italy from disorder, and had certain evil features peculiar to itself. It is indeed the darkest period in the whole history of the papacy. The city of Rome was the constant scene of ferocious disputes between rival factions who regarded the papacy as their prey. The characteristic feature of this time, however, is the power which was exercised in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Rome by certain ladies of noble birth, and out from their real power has arisen the impossible legend that the papacy was at one time in the possession of a woman. The scandals of the papal court were innumerable and unceasing.

The condition of the Papacy.

Now all this was a matter of deep concern to Otto, the German. Relying as he did upon the churchmen in his own land, he could not desire to see the character of the Church sink at its centre, nor could he wish to see the rule of the Church come into the possession of any one who was strong and hostile to Germany. On the other hand, if he could himself secure a paramount influence at Rome he would be in a stronger position than ever with regard to the ecclesiastics of his own land; he had recently had experience of the unwillingness of the chief of them, the Archbishop of Mainz, to serve submissively his royal will. Hence came those interferences of the German king in Italy which lead up to some of the most striking scenes in mediæval history. But Otto's first visit to Italy had nothing directly to do with the papacy. The last king of Italy, Lothair, had left a widow, Adelaide, and the successor

Otto's interference in Italy.

of Lothair (Berengar) claimed her hand for his son. From this unwelcome union she appealed to Otto, and he readily used this as an excuse for invasion. He came and without difficulty mastered Italy: he did not depose King Berengar but allowed him to remain as a vassal, while Otto himself was crowned king of Italy at Pavia, and married the widow Adelaide. From this time he was clearly the strongest power in Italy as well as in Germany. He was, moreover, now a close neighbour of the papacy, and took a more direct interest than ever in the affairs of the city of Rome.

Otto King of Italy.

In 962 there came a sufficient excuse for his interference there. John XII., who sat upon the papal throne, was at daggers drawn with Berengar, and was also struggling against the various factions of the city. He himself was charged with various crimes and vices, but he appealed to Otto to help him against his enemies, and Otto came. He occupied Rome without difficulty, secured the Pope against his enemies of every kind, and restored him to the papal throne. Compare the position of Otto the German with that of Charles the Frank in 800. Both were the greatest rulers of their time, both had fought with success against the heathen enemies of Europe, and Otto's greatest victory at Lechfeld may be compared to the battle of Tours which was won against the Saracens by Charles' grandfather, Charles Martel. Both had rendered great services to the advance and the consolidation of the Church, and now Otto was to receive at the hands of the Pope the same reward which Charles had received 162 years earlier. On 2nd February 962, Otto was crowned as emperor, and the fabric of the empire of Charles seemed restored to Europe. But if the comparison between the positions of the two men is close, great also are the differences. The empire of Charles was far more cosmopolitan than that of Otto. Charles was indeed a German, but he ruled, as we have seen, over Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; whereas Otto, until he undertook the invasion of Italy, was a purely German king, ruling over an almost exclusively German population. His assumption of the Imperial

Troubles of Pope John XII.

Otto crowned Emperor.

title seems therefore less warranted than that of Charles, and it was destined to have disastrous results for his successors. Had they ruled in Germany alone, it is probable that the German monarchy might have grown into a vigorous and permanent state. It was their connection with Italy, and all the vast and indefinite ambitions that were inspired by the Imperial title which constantly drew them away from their immediate task and involved them in struggles with Italy and the papacy, in the course of which their work was compromised, the unity of Germany was broken up and the empire itself at last dissolved in all but name.

These dangers were many of them in the far distant future, but immediately after his coronation Otto found that he had many difficulties to face in Italy; the Pope proved disobedient to the wishes of the emperor, and through Otto's influence was deposed. Another Pope was appointed, and Otto exacted from the people of Rome an oath that they would never recognize any Pope to whose election the emperor had not consented. The oath was taken and broken, and Otto found that his attempt to rule in Rome and in Italy would involve him in constant disputes. He died in Germany in the year 973.

Otto's troubles in Rome.

He was succeeded by his son Otto II., and he in turn by his son Otto III. Their reigns are not of great importance, but they saw the appearance of many of those dangers against which the empire was later to struggle so hard and in vain. During the reign of Otto II. the danger of the Italian connection was apparent. The Saracens invaded the south of Italy, and the emperor fought against them at first with success, and then with entire failure; and whilst he, a German king, was thus occupied with a task really foreign to his position, his own land had been invaded by the heathen barbarians from the East, and the country had suffered very severely. The reign of Otto III. shows us the influence of Italy still more paramount. The emperor was a strange creature: his mother was a princess from Constantinople, and it must have been from her that he derived many ideas of government that were wholly foreign to Germany. He had been much influenced also by Gerbert,

Otto II. and Otto III.

an ecclesiastic of the time who subsequently became Pope as Sylvester II., and from him and from his mother he derived the idea of making the empire a strong centralized government after the model of that which ruled in Constantinople, and something wholly different from the feudalized monarchy which prevailed and developed in Germany. He lived in Rome in a palace on the Aventine Hill, and there surrounded himself with the ceremonial and rigid etiquette that had for centuries prevailed in the East. His behaviour pleased neither the Germans nor the Romans themselves, and he was driven from the city by an insurrection of the people. Had he lived longer his reign could not have been a success, but he died in 1002, at the age of twenty-two. We may note before passing from him that on the eastern frontier of Germany there grew up during his reign two powerful states which were destined to come into frequent collision with Germany. On the river Oder and to the east of that river there rose the kingdom of Poland, organized as an independent state partly through the help of the papacy; and further south the Magyars made an advance towards settlement by the acceptance of the Christian Faith. Thus Germany no longer was in touch with a vague body of barbarian peoples, but with two definite states which were destined to grow into great strength and importance. It is worth while also to note, as explaining the extravagant ideas of the emperor, that the year 1000, which falls within the limits of his reign, was expected to mark either the end of the world or some vast transformation of it. As the year approached it is said that all building ceased, and that even the fields were not tilled, and the fantastic ideas of the emperor reflected to some extent the superstitions which were current with regard to the millennium. No sooner was the year 1000 over than there came a great increase in the building of churches, and the world returned to more sober ideas in politics and religion.

The dreams of Otto III.

Poles and Magyars.

The German and ecclesiastical histories mentioned in the last chapter will be the best guides for this. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* is specially valuable for the whole of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER VIII

The Eve of the Great Struggle between the Popes and the Emperors

HITHERTO the empire and the papacy had rendered great services to one another, but soon the rupture was to come which was to bring confusion and suffering on both Germany and Italy, and which forms the chief thread which will conduct us through the central portion of the Middle Ages. It will be necessary to consider the general position in both countries before the great contest began.

We have seen the circumstances under which the King of Germany claimed the rule over a large portion of Italy and assumed the title of emperor. His action had not sprung merely from greed or ambition; and by establishing his influence at Rome the emperor had rendered valuable services to both the papacy and Germany. But the difficulties of the situation were there from the first, and became more apparent and insoluble as time went on, for Germany and Italy were countries of a widely different past, and in the present of a widely different social condition. Germany had only been for a very short time under the dominion of the Roman Empire, and preserved in her government and in her social institutions little or no trace of the influence of ancient Rome. Feudalism had rooted itself there, and had become the basis of the whole social and political structure. Italy, on the contrary, had been for ages the centre and the seat of the Roman dominion; her language and her institutions were derived from ancient Rome. Every part of the life of Italy still bore traces of the impression of the old Roman rule, and this was especially the case with the large number of cities, which, as we shall see, rapidly moved forward to power and advanced claims to an almost independent position. The institutions of feudalism were not unknown, but they had not nearly so great an influence

Contrast between Italy and Germany.

as belonged to them in Germany. Then again in Germany the rulers, whether kings or emperors, had co-operated easily and naturally with the organization of the Church in the country, whereas in Italy almost from the first, though they came to help and even to rescue the papacy, there was the greatest difficulty in establishing a friendly and useful relation with it. The Popes were not only heads of the Catholic Church, they were also temporal rulers in Italy, and both as temporal and ecclesiastical rulers they desired to be independent of the influence, or at least free from the coercion of the empire. This feature of the situation became clearer and more important as time went on, and every advance in the power and organization of the papacy made a conflict with the empire more inevitable. Lastly, we must note that the Italian peoples resented the rule of a German master. It is true indeed that in the eleventh century the sense of nationality had hardly begun to develop and that mediæval institutions were international to an extent that the modern world finds difficult to realize. But though there was no common Italian nationality, nor a German nationality either, still the Italian people resented the presence in their midst of conquering soldiers and rulers, who spoke a foreign tongue, represented alien institutions, and came from a distant country. Out from these and other elements of antagonism there gradually evolved that struggle between emperors and popes which forms the central event in two centuries of European history, and which came on without the desire of either of the chief combatants.

Causes of conflict between Popes and Emperors in Italy.

After the death of Otto III. the German monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire was in the hands successively of Henry II., Conrad II., and Henry III. Their reigns in Germany were quiet; there was indeed constant friction with the great nobles whom they tried to keep in subordination, but it will not be necessary to give any details of this. It is more important to notice that the kingdom of Burgundy came into the possession of the empire in 1006, and that its rule was organized by the successors of Henry II. so as to give the emperors

Acquisition of Burgundy, 1006.

control over the western passes of the Alps, and thus at all times to secure entry into Italy. But these reigns show us considerable trouble in Italy. Before the emperors there lay in Germany a plain and useful task, the maintenance of order, and the advancement of the unity of the state; but they were constantly turned aside from their work to deal with the problems of Italy which they were really incapable of solving. If we follow their reigns we find them called upon again and again to interfere in the squabbles of the factions of the city of Rome, and leading armies to extend their sway among the jarring elements of southern Italy. But these movements are only a prelude to the greater contest that was soon to come, and may be dismissed without detailed notice.

In Italy itself, meanwhile, new political elements were rapidly coming to the front. We begin now to see clearly the rise of the Italian communes, the development, that is, of municipal life in Italy. The origin of this municipal government is difficult to trace, and it is even questionable whether it is directly connected with the city life which flourished so splendidly during the second and third centuries of the Christian era. If there is a connection, the towns of Italy had at any rate lost their former unity and closeness of organization and had to work their way through constant confusion and conflict to a new unity. But it is important here to mark that cities such as Milan, Bologna, Verona, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and many others became factors in the Italian problem which could never again be neglected.

Rise of the Italian communes.

These communes, as the names given above will show, were to be found in their most vigorous form in the north. In the centre of Italy their growth was prevented by the jealousy and power of the papacy. The communal movement had begun in promising form in the south of Italy, especially in Naples, but here it was checked by the development of the new Norman power, at which we must now look. Even before the arrival of the Normans, southern Italy presented a strange mixture of races and a conflict of various powers. The Eastern Empire still held important places upon the coasts,

The Normans in Southern Italy.

and armies commanded by men who spoke Greek came occasionally to the country; the Lombard duchies of Spoleto and Benevento were strong and ambitious; the Saracens held Sicily and harassed Italy with their raids and had settled there in considerable numbers. The bulk of the population belonged to the old Italian stock, and, having suffered under the hard rule of its various masters, was ready to join itself to any power which promised it security and peace. In 1016 the Normans appeared in Italy for the first recorded time. By this time, as we know, they had settled on either side of the lower Seine and had formed there the compact duchy of Normandy. But the spirit of adventure was still strong upon them. It would take them fifty years later to England; it drove them now in detached bands as pilgrims and adventurers through the Mediterranean towards Palestine and the East. The Normans who appeared in 1016 had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but they were as ready to fight as they were to worship, and they readily took a share in the contests of southern Italy. Their help was welcomed and their armies were at first victorious, though not permanently so. Neither victory nor defeat, however, made much difference; the wealth of the land and the opportunity for adventure had been reported in Normandy, and ever fresh bands came out to fight for others and for themselves. About the middle of the century (1046) there came to Italy Robert Guiscard, son of the famous Tancred, and himself, next to William the Conqueror, the greatest name in the history of the Normans. For some time he led the life of an adventurer and almost of a robber, joining himself now to one and now to another of the warring elements in southern Italy. So threatening, however, did the Norman bands become that at last all parties were willing to join for their expulsion. The Lombards and Greeks were assisted in 1053 by the forces of Pope Leo IX., and it seemed that the Normans must be overwhelmed. They were saved partly by the sympathy of a section of the population, partly by the over-confidence of their enemies, and partly by their own courage and skill. In the battle of Civitate which followed, their

Their first appearance, 1016.

Robert Guiscard.

Battle of Civitate, 1053.

enemies were decisively beaten and the Pope shortly afterwards fell into their hands. But the result of the battle was a strange and unforeseen one. There was in the Normans a strong religious vein and a deep reverence for the papal power. Pope Leo found himself well treated by his captors, and the reverence which they felt for the Church which he represented allowed him soon to make with them terms of the most favourable kind. From this time onward until the thirteenth century, usually though not invariably, the Normans are to be reckoned as the allies of the papacy. In 1059 the Pope invested Robert Guiscard with the duchy of Apulia and Calabria, which he thus held as a feudal possession under the papacy. Sicily was at the same time promised to him if he could conquer it from the Saracens. This was done in a series of campaigns which began in 1062. The fighting force of the Mahomedans had in this part of the world sunk very low, and the Normans made themselves masters of the island without much difficulty. They succeeded in establishing there and in Italy a government of great strength and excellence. The country flourished under them as it had not flourished for centuries; architecture, science, and literature all owe much to them, and their government was of a much more strongly monarchical kind than was to be found elsewhere in Italy. The communal movement had little chance of developing itself under their power.

Alliance of the Normans with the Papacy.

Conquest of Sicily.

Further north another force must be noted, that of Tuscany, for here there grew up a feudal power that embraced a very wide territory and was for a time one of the most important factors in the balance of power in Italy. Boniface, the count of Tuscany, was a supporter of the emperor, and through the emperor he had received many great towns, such as Mantua, Ferrara, Brescia, and Modena. This great territory made him the most important force in central Italy. Upon his death in 1069 his power came into the hands of his daughter, the famous Matilda of Tuscany. She was married to Godfrey of Lorraine, but they had no children, and they were devoted to the authority

Matilda of Tuscany.

of the Church and of the Pope. All the money and all the power that was represented by their great territories was at the disposal of the Popes when the hour of their conflict with the emperors arrived.

We must turn our attention now to the papacy itself. The establishment of the empire had done something to improve the condition of things in Rome, but much remained to be done. The supreme authority of Rome was by no means recognized in northern Italy; and the bishops of Milan and of Ravenna claimed for themselves a position almost equal to that of Rome. Worse still were the scandals which so frequently occurred in Rome itself. The papacy never succeeded in establishing right relations with the secular authorities of the city, for these, although they knew how great a part of their importance was derived from the presence of the Pope in their midst, could not endure to be dominated by the Pope. They could neither, it was said, do with him or without him, and there was therefore for a long time constant tension between the ecclesiastical and municipal authorities in Rome, and a problem presented here which proved nearly insoluble. No precise rule had as yet been laid down as to the methods of papal election; the emperor, the people, the nobles, and the clergy all claimed a part; but exactly what part should be allotted to each was not as yet determined. Much that is legendary has probably collected round the Popes of this time, but what is certainly true is strange enough: thus Benedict IX. was chosen Pope at the age of twelve, and lived a life of open infamy, and finally resigned on condition that an annual income should be allowed to him. The emperor, Henry III., had to interfere because the papacy was disputed among three claimants. He managed to dispose of all three, and it was hoped that a better condition would be established by the election of a German pope, Clement II. Other German popes followed and scandals were for a time avoided, but there was no security for the good rule of the Church while the elections to the papacy remained in their unsettled condition. Thus, while the Catholic Church as a whole was extending its

Difficulties of the Papacy in Rome itself.

The papal scandals of the eleventh century.

boundaries, strengthening its organization, and constantly acquiring a greater prestige in Europe, Rome itself seemed to be the plaything and the victim of the passions of the different parties. From Rome itself it was difficult to see how any real reform could come, but on this occasion as on so many others, what Rome could not do for herself the monastic movement did for her.

The Cluniac Reform movement.

There had recently risen up a new monastic movement which had its centre in Cluny, in Burgundy. Monasteries were naturally liable to periods of depression and degeneracy, when the old ideals of St. Benedict grew faint and the rigorous discipline upon which he had insisted was felt to be burdensome. The whole history of monasticism shows us periods of depression followed by movements of revival, and the history of the papacy has always been closely dependent upon these variations in the character of the monasteries. One of the most important of revival movements was this of Cluny. It was essentially revivalistic: it added no new ideas on life or doctrine to those of St. Benedict, whose rule was still followed, but it brought to those ideas a new energy and enthusiasm and attached to them a different form of government. Whereas each of the earlier monasteries had been self-contained and self-governed, all the houses connected with Cluny were bound together by a strict organization; no monastery was allowed to elect its own head; each was governed by a prior, who was appointed by the Abbot of Cluny. It was hoped that in this way the errors of one house might be corrected by the vigour of the others. Ideas of strong monarchical rule were thus implied in the movement, and we shall see that they were soon transferred to the government of the Church as a whole.

Hildebrand (Gregory VII.).

The Cluniac movement owes much of its celebrity and influence to the career of the monk Hildebrand, who subsequently was raised to the papal throne, and there took the name of Gregory VII. The religious history of the Middle Ages has no more notable, no more influential figure. He came first to Rome as the secretary of Pope Leo IX., and from that time until his death in 1085 his was the chief influence in ecclesiastical affairs. The

independence of the Church was his aim throughout, and he saw two great enemies to that independence, and against them he fought his whole life through. The first was called Simony, the power of money in the Church, the influence generally, we may say, of secular power in the appointment of clergy and in the control of their action; and the second was the irregularity in the lives of the clergy, the frequent and open breach of their vows of celibacy and other similar disorders. Hildebrand and the Cluniacs insisted upon the necessity of celibacy for all priests partly as moral discipline, and partly because they were thus removed from entanglement with secular powers, which would not have allowed them to think and to act solely in the interests of the Church.

Insistence on the celibacy of the clergy.

Before he himself ascended the papal throne Hildebrand had secured one important change. In 1059 the method of papal elections was defined. The nobles and people of Rome were excluded from all direct influence upon the choice: the right of the emperor to confirm the election was very doubtfully acknowledged: the whole responsibility for the election was placed in the hands of the cardinals. Thus the independence of the Church at the centre was assured, and though there were in the future, as there had been in the past, disputed elections and occasional scandals in the life of the Popes elected, the system of Hildebrand on the whole worked well and has never been abandoned. It may be noted, too, that at the same council where this arrangement was made the doctrine of transubstantiation was clearly announced and defined. The ideas of Hildebrand found their ardent champions in Italy, but they also encountered much opposition. Bishop Aribert in Milan claimed for that city an independence in Church government and in the life of the clergy, which ran absolutely counter to the wishes of Hildebrand. In 1073 Hildebrand was raised to the papal throne. He was popular with the people as well as with the clergy, and he was acclaimed Pope by the people of Rome before he was formally elected in the manner recently laid down.

Papal elections reformed.

Troubles with Milan.

The Pope who thus ascended the papal throne is one of

the most noteworthy figures in mediæval history, and may be taken as representing the papal ideal at its highest and best. He is described as a small man of no very striking appearance, but in him there burned an intense will and an unshakeable belief in the righteousness of the cause that he represented. The Church was for him the supreme institution in the whole world, deriving its authority directly from God, and in its turn giving power to the kings and the princes of the world. To assert the power of the papacy, to give to it in reality the influence which in theory always belonged to it, was the lifelong effort of Gregory VII. We are not left to conjecture in order to determine what his ideas and aims were. From a contemporary document, which expresses his ideas though it was not probably written by his hand, we may extract the following sentences: "The Roman pontiff is unique in the world. He alone can depose or reconcile bishops. He can be judged by no one. The Roman Church never has been deceived and never can be deceived. The Roman pontiff has the right to depose emperors. Human pride has created the power of kings, God's mercy has created the power of the bishops. The Pope is the master of emperors." A man with such ideas as these, with a large power and strong alliances behind him, could hardly fail to throw Europe into confusion in his effort to realize them.

Personality of Gregory VII.

To the books referred to in the last chapter add Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages;* Stephens, *Hildebrand and his Times;* R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought.*

CHAPTER IX

The First Collision between the Emperors and the Popes

THE Emperor Henry IV. had come to the throne in the year 1056 when he was only six years of age, and the empire was in consequence submitted for many years to the weak rule of a regency. The early years of Henry IV.'s reign were full

of troubles with the baronage, and for a time it seemed as if the Imperial power would go down in this struggle, even before the power of the Pope was thrown into the balance against it. For the Saxons regarded with jealousy the rule of an Emperor who was not sprung directly from their race, and rose in rebellion against him. He was more than once defeated and forced to grant his enemies what they claimed. By the end of the year 1075, however, his difficulties had been for the moment overcome, and it was in this year that the great struggle with the papacy began.

Henry IV.

The struggle between Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. may be regarded as the very centre or watershed of mediæval history, and it is important to grasp its real meaning. There was no personal hostility between the two men: the emperor was a good Catholic, the Pope was quite ready to treat the emperor with respect and even deference, and yet causes lying outside of their own personal characters drove them into a fierce struggle. The fact is that the relations between the emperors and the popes presented difficulties of which the world was as yet hardly aware, and which certainly there had been no attempt to settle. The emperor claimed that he was secular head of the world; the Pope claimed that to him was given the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and it turned out in practice that the powers which each claimed were not compatible with one another. The emperor claimed certain powers which the Pope also claimed, and when they became gradually aware of that, the question arose which was to give way. The contest is due therefore, to the difficulty of defining exactly where the authority of the one ended and the authority of the other began. It is the most striking phase of the perpetual contest, which runs through all history, between the spiritual and temporal powers, between Church and State, between authority which rests on persuasion and authority which rests on force.

Meaning and importance of the struggle between Pope and Emperor.

The actual point at issue was the position of the bishops in the Catholic world generally, and especially in Germany, and their relation to the Pope on the one hand, and to the various temporal rulers on the other. As Gregory VII., full

of the importance of his office, and anxious to advance the claims of the Church at every point, surveyed the European world, he saw that in many places, but especially in Germany, the bishops, whose nominal task it was to administer the sacraments and to act as the greatest of the officials of the Church, were in fact appointed by a king or an emperor and employed by him as his ministers or his agents for the ordinary business of administration. There were, no doubt, reasons for this, and we have seen some of them; but to Gregory it only appeared that the men who ought to have been jealous for the honour and the power of the Church, and who ought to have been guarding it against all possible encroachment, were themselves the agents of the most dangerous rival of the Church. He issued, therefore, in 1075, a papal decree against lay investiture, that is to say, against the practice whereby laymen from the emperor downwards appointed Church dignitaries and gave them the ring and the crosier as symbols of their office. Such a method of appointment distinctly implied that a bishop so appointed was bound to render obedience to the emperor first, and that his duty to the Pope was subordinate to that. So Gregory VII. declared that, "if any emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, or any lay power or person has the presumption to grant investiture, let him know that he is excommunicated." The issue was, therefore, clearly stated. The Pope announced his determination to take from the emperor the agents through whose hands the empire had been most efficiently administered. No wonder the contest soon grew hot.

The question of the position and election of bishops.

Decree against lay investitures.

The Pope's letter of protest was answered by Henry IV. in terms which amounted to a declaration of the Pope's deposition: "Henry King, not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk . . . descend and relinquish the apostolic chair which thou hast usurped. Let another ascend the throne of Saint Peter who shall not practise violence under the cloak of religion, but shall teach the sound doctrine of Saint Peter. I, Henry, King by the Grace of God, do say to thee descend,

descend, to be damned throughout all ages." The Pope's reply is in much better taste, and sometimes pathetic in its tone. "O Saint Peter, chief of the apostles, incline to us I beg thy holy ears and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast nourished from infancy and whom until this day thou hast freed from the hand of the wicked who have hated and do hate me for my faithfulness to thee." The letter ends by a sentence of deposition, "I absolve all Christians from the bonds of the oath which they have made to Henry, the Emperor, and I forbid any one to serve him as King. And, since he has scorned to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to God whom he deserted, I bind him with the chain of anathema."

The forces on either side.

It was an audacious act, for the physical support of the papacy at first sight seemed to be ridiculously small in comparison with the overwhelming power that rested in the hands of the emperor. But the situation was not so unequal as it appears at first sight. We must lay great stress on the fact that the age was pre-eminently an age of faith; that men regarded the head of the Church and the powers that he wielded with unquestioning and superstitious awe, and trembled at the thought of being cut off by excommunication or interdict from the body of the Church. Then, too, nearly all Italy came to be leagued with the Pope in his struggle with the German Emperor. The Normans drew near to the Pope, Matilda of Tuscany gave him ungrudging assistance, and even the great towns of the north soon came to see in the papacy their champion against the foreigners from beyond the Alps. Nor was Henry IV. at all sure of the united support of Germany itself; the troubles with the nobles soon broke out again and were fomented by princes of the royal household, and even by the emperor's sons. It was the alliance of the papacy with the discontented elements of Germany which, at the most critical moment, brought the emperor to his knees. That moment came in the year 1077. Henry IV. was struggling against his nobles in a diet of the empire which had been called at Tribur. The feeling against the emperor had been outspoken, and it had

The Italian allies of the Papacy.

The enemies of the Emperor in Germany.

been decided to hold another diet shortly at Augsburg, where it was hoped that the Pope himself would appear and depose Henry from the throne. The forces against the emperor seemed overwhelmingly strong. He might very likely be thrust upon one side, like the last of the Merovingian kings, and see one of his great nobles raised by the support of the papacy to the position from which he had been driven. Henry IV. decided to meet these grave dangers by an abject surrender. The Pope was residing at the castle of Canossa, on the northern slopes of the Apennines, with Matilda of Tuscany. Thither in the winter the emperor went, and approaching Canossa, he asked to be allowed to present himself before the Pope and to sue for pardon. Gregory did not yield until the emperor had been subjected to the deepest humiliation. On three consecutive days the emperor presented himself before the door of the castle, and stood, the Pope tells us, barefoot in the snow, only to be driven away again by the stern command of the Pope. At last, upon the mediation of the Countess Matilda, the emperor was admitted. He threw himself at the feet of the Pope, he was raised and pardoned, and concord seemed established between the two great representatives of Church and State. "Conquered by the persistency of his compunction and by the constant supplications of all those who were present, we loosed the chain of the anathema and at length received him into the favour of communion, and into the life of the holy mother Church." Such is the account given of the event by Pope Gregory VII.

The Penitence of Canossa.

This famous scene, "the penitence of Canossa," has remained in men's memories ever since. It seems to mark the very highest point of papal powers, and gives us an unsurpassed instance of the humiliation of the highest of temporal powers before the claims of an ecclesiastic: and yet the situation was not quite all that it appeared to be. Henry IV. had gained much by his timely surrender: he had prevented Gregory VII. from undertaking a journey to the diet of Augsburg, and from co-operating with the nobles of Germany in his deposition. The penitence of Canossa gave him breathing space in which to prepare for

Renewal of the struggle.

the further struggle, and very soon the struggle was resumed, and resumed with all the old bitterness. Gregory again declared the emperor deposed, and he appointed another man in his place. Henry IV., on his side, declared that Gregory was no longer Pope and bestowed the title upon another bishop. The troubles in Germany having for the moment settled, Henry IV. was able to undertake an expedition against Rome in 1081, and he proceeded to blockade the Pope in his own city, but when victory seemed within his grasp, the ravages of malaria forced the emperor to withdraw. A few years later (in 1084) he was again before the walls of Rome, and this time mastered nearly the whole of the city and laid siege to Gregory VII. himself within the walls of the castle of St. Angelo. It seemed as if in a short time the Pope would be in the hands of his great antagonist; but a rescue appeared. He had summoned the Normans to his aid, and Robert Guiscard received his appeal when he was laying siege to Durazzo upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic. He came back at once to Italy; it was not only religious zeal and devotion to the papacy which urged him to do so, though these were unquestionably serious sentiments with him, but he saw in the emperor the great rival whom he did not desire to see victorious in central Italy, and so he returned quickly and marched upon Rome. The Imperial troops could not resist the assault of the terrible Normans. Henry IV. retired, and Gregory VII. was saved. But the Normans, though they had saved the Pope, proceeded to plunder the Holy City with dreadful thoroughness; neither Alaric nor Genseric had done such damage to Rome as these devout allies of the Pope. Gregory VII. retired with them from the execration of the Roman people, and shortly afterwards died in Salerno. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity," are said to have been among his last words, "and therefore I die in exile." His death did not bring the struggle to an end, for the contest was not between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., but it was between the Emperor and the Pope, and we shall see that in spite of all well-meaning attempts to establish peace, the

The Pope rescued by Robert Guiscard.

Death of Gregory VII.

contest was constantly renewed until nearly two centuries later it ended in the destruction of one of the combatants. We may notice here that in 1095 the first Crusade was preached, and the enthusiasm called out by that event, and the success which attended the arms of the crusaders raised still higher the prestige and the authority of the Pope.

Henry IV. died and was succeeded by Henry V. in 1106, and the relations of the new emperor with the papacy were strained and hostile. But soon thoughts of compromise and conciliation came to the front, and it was hoped that negotiations with Pope Paschal had really found out the road to peace. The clergy, it was stated, were willing to resign all their temporal possessions, and then the emperor on his side would resign his claim to investiture. Believing that these terms had been accepted, Henry V. went to Rome and was there crowned. But the peace was short lived. There was a vigorous protest made against what seemed the abject surrender of the Pope, and perhaps there had never been any real intention of putting the terms into operation. The ceremony of the coronation itself was interrupted by riot and bloodshed; Henry V. fled from Rome, and the matter was again submitted to the decision of arms. We must not follow the ensuing years which reproduced the main features of the earlier time. There were excommunications and royal letters, there was an anti-pope and there was an anti-emperor. There were negotiations and proposals which never touched the real point at issue. But on both sides there was deep weariness of the struggle and its consequences, and at last in 1122, Pope Calixtus II. managed to negotiate an arrangement, the so-called "Concordat of Worms," which brought the long struggle at any rate to a truce. The arrangement was made possible by taking a narrow view of the point at issue, and refusing to consider the wider question of the conflict between the two powers. It was agreed that the election of the bishops should be left in the hands of the authorities of the Church, and that the ring and the crosier, the insignia of their spiritual office, should be given them by the Pope. But, on the other hand, a representative of the emperor was to be

Henry V.

The Concordat of Worms, 1122.

present at all elections, and disputed elections were to be referred to him. All bishops, moreover, were to do homage to the emperor for the lands which they held within his dominions, and for their temporal possessions were to receive from the emperor a separate investiture.

The Concordat of Worms was a well-meaning attempt to settle a struggle which was doing much damage, and the arrangement that was made worked for a time fairly well, but there were great issues which still remained unsettled, and indeed, untouched. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire claimed for himself by his very title, a sort of universal sovereignty. He took to himself the traditions of the old Roman Empire, and aspired to control every department of the life of man, and on the other side the Popes could be satisfied with nothing less than universal dominion, and they also were unwilling in theory, and when they saw their opportunity, in practice, to admit any limitation or boundary of their authority and power. While such beliefs were held, and such claims advanced, peace was not in the long run possible.

The Concordat a truce not a peace.

Many of the documents relating to the struggle between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. are translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. It is from the volume that the translations given above are taken.

CHAPTER X

The Second Phase in the Struggle between the Emperors and the Popes

"In your kingdom," wrote the Pope, shortly before the passing of the Concordat of Worms, to the Emperor Henry V., "Bishops and Abbots are so occupied in secular cases that they are compelled to frequent the County Courts and to engage in soldiering. The ministers of the altar have become ministers of the court." Frederick I., whose career now claims our attention, declared that the bishops appointed by

EUROPE
at the end of the 12th. Century
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the Empire
Kingdom of Germany
Mark of Brandenburg
Duchy of Austria
France and Vassal States
Dominions of the Angevins
East Roman Empire (c.1190)
Venice
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Edinburgh
Dublin
GWYNEDD
LORDSHIPS MARCHER
London
Boulogne
PONTHIEU
Rouen
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
Paris
Orleans
Tours
Bourges
Loire
POITOU
GUYENNE
Bordeaux
Bayonne
GASCON
Toulouse
TOULOUSE
Arles
Rhone
Pyrenees
Barcelona
LEON
PORTUGAL
Douro
CASTILE
Tagus
Toledo
Guadiana
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cartagena
ALMOHADES
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Capua
Naples
Salerno
Beneventum
APULIA
Tarentum
Messina
CALABRIA
Palermo
SICILY
Syracuse
Malta
Crete
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
R. Elder
Rugen
Hamburg
Bremen
Brandenburg
SAXONY
Cologne
Aachen
Trier
Mainz
Worms
Spires
THURINGIA
MEISSEN
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Salzburg
SWABIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
CARINTHIA
Aquileia
CARNIOLA
Milan
Pavia
Genoa
Verona
Venice
Ravenna
Bologna
Florence
Pisa
DALMATIA
CROATIA
SERVIA
BULGARIANS
Danube
Drave
Save
Oniester
Cherson
Constantinople
Adrianople
Nicaea
Smyrna
SULTANATE OF ICONIUM
SELJUKS OF RUM
Iconium
ARMENIA
Antioch
SYRIA
Tripolis
Damascus
Tyre
CYPRUS (Latin Kingdom 1191)
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Dantzig
Thorn
Posen
POLAND
Cracow
Emery Walker sc.

Imperial mandate were superior in learning and spirituality to the nominees of the chapters, and there is reason to believe him. But the character of the clergy was only one point at issue in the contest though an important one. The policy of the Popes aimed at wresting from the hands of the Emperors their most efficient instrument of government.

The struggle was one between the Pope and the Emperor, between the Imperial crown and the Papal tiara, between one who claimed the obedience of all the world as the descendant of the Cæsars, and one who claimed equally universal obedience because he was a successor of St. Peter. But although it was on this high ground that the issue was usually argued when the advocates of either side issued books or made speeches, it was in practice largely a matter of balance of power and diplomacy. The Pope was for a long time able to rely upon allies of great military strength whose interest coincided with his own, so far, at least, as resistance to the empire went, and the catastrophe to the papacy at the beginning of the fourteenth century arrived when this alliance failed him. It will be necessary therefore to look at the condition and the supporters of the two great combatants upon the eve of the renewal of their struggle.

Issue at stake in the war struggle.

Henry IV. was succeeded in Germany by Lothair of Saxony, in 1125, and in 1138 Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen was elected to succeed him. Conrad's power lay chiefly in Franconia and Swabia, and the house to which he belonged drew its origin from a castle in the south-west of Swabia, called Hohenstaufen. This family, with short intervals, occupied the Imperial throne henceforth so long as the mediæval empire was a strong and living force. In 1152 Conrad III. was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick I., who was known to subsequent ages, though not to his own, as Frederick of the Red Beard (Barbarossa). He was the most splendid of all the mediæval emperors, if not the strongest or the most successful, and in the disastrous period that was shortly to follow, Germany looked back to his reign as to a time of military glory, commercial prosperity, and intellectual and artistic splendour. The cities of Germany

The Hohenstaufen.

Frederick Barbarossa.

were now reaching a development analogous to that which we have observed in the cities of Italy. Cologne, Mainz and Augsburg were the most important, and these cities had an independence of government and of life, and a keen interest in all the arts, little if at all inferior to what we have noted in Italy, and these three are only typical of the general municipal movement which was to be found in Germany, especially in the west and in the south. As the cities in France looked to the king, so the cities in Germany looked to the emperor as their friend and protector, and regarded the feudal nobles as their chief enemies or rivals, and the Imperial authority in its turn found its chief support among the German cities. They may count, therefore, as a distinct and strong force which was working against feudalism and aristocracy. Another force working in the same direction, though not destined for the present to produce much result upon German soil, was the revived study of Roman law. We have already spoken of the importance of this, and we have said that, as men turned to it, it seemed to them by reason of its splendid order and reasonableness, like another revelation from Heaven. It is important here to see that its whole tendency was anti-feudal. It had been developed at a time when Roman emperors ruled with no nominal check upon their power, and when their edicts were accepted as final. Roman law, therefore, had taken as its maxim, the famous sentence "what the prince decrees has the force of law," and, wherever Roman law was taught, its tendency was to efface or to reduce the powers of nobles and of all authorities except the central authority of the king or prince. Feudalism, indeed, found no place in Roman law because feudalism did not exist at the time when Roman law was growing to maturity.

The cities of Germany.

Roman Law.

There were, therefore, forces at work in Germany—and strong forces too, which were distinctly favourable to the advancement and development of the Imperial power. But it found at the same time a very serious rival in the powers and pretensions of the great aristocratic houses. This is the force against which the empire had had to fight ever since the days of Charlemagne,

The nobles of Germany.

and still more clearly, since the time when Otto the Great had assumed the Imperial crown. The great national dukes, it is true, had been reduced in power, and their territories had to a very large extent been broken up, but there was always the tendency for large estates to be joined together again in a single pair of hands, and in the time of Frederick Barbarossa, feudalism was an even more dangerous and disruptive force than it had been under Charlemagne and Otto I. Henry the Lion was its greatest representative. He was the head of the house of the Guelfs, and a cousin of Frederick. By inheritance and by marriage he had come into possession of the two great duchies of Bavaria and Saxony. To these original possessions he had added others. He had carried the arms and the civilization of Germany far into the East, and was the chief agent in that Germanization of the Eastern lands which is one of the great features of this time. He ruled over territories which were as large and nearly as wealthy as those territories in Franconia and in Swabia over which the Emperor Frederick ruled in his own personal right. The Emperor was bound, therefore, to feel towards him as towards a possible and dangerous rival, but at first there was nothing but friendship between them, and the early victories of the emperor owed much to the support of the Lion's sword. But when, later, that friendship gave way to rivalry, the result was quickly seen, not only in the confusion of Germany, but in the deep humiliation of the Imperial authority south of the Alps. During the early years of Frederick's reign, however, the empire possessed a great force, and it was in the hands of a man, capable, imaginative, and ambitious, who would not be content if it did not produce some great result in the European world.

Henry the Lion.

If we turn to Italy, we find at first no representative of the papacy who is to be compared for force of character and statesmanlike power with Gregory VII., and the names of the popes who followed immediately after him need not be recounted. But though there was not at first any great pope, there lived at this time a great churchman, second to none in importance in the whole of the Middle Ages. St. Bernard (1091–1153) dominates the Church

Saint Bernard.

politics of his period as completely as Gregory VII. had dominated those of his own age. He owed much to his own character and genius, and much also to the monastic order to which he belonged. We have laid stress already upon the close connection between the fortunes of the papacy and the rise or fall of the various orders. Its growth and greatness are closely connected with St. Benedict and with the later monastic movement which was set on foot in Cluny. Now another monastic movement, the Cistercian, had come up and was spreading on a great wave of enthusiasm throughout all western Europe. One of its earliest names is that of an Englishman, Stephen Harding, who was a friend of the founder, and who procured from the Pope the famous Charter of Love in 1119, which is the basis upon which the order henceforth rested. The Cistercian movement, like the Cluniac before it, was essentially a revival: it took up in the main once more the ideas of St. Benedict, and insisted upon their being strictly carried out. The Cistercians in many instances broke away from some Benedictine house already established in a large city, and fearing the distractions and temptations of society, fled into a desert for meditation and prayer. The new order brought no essential novelty into the monastic life. But the Cistercians were on friendly terms with the bishops to whom the monks of an earlier period had shown great opposition. They were not like the Cluniacs wholly dependent upon the will of a single man; rather, they established an aristocratic form of government, in that the heads of all Cistercian houses met together in a common chapter to decide upon matters which concerned the whole order. A special feature, too, of the Cistercian houses was their devotion to the worship of the Virgin Mary

The Cistercian order.

The Cistercian order would in any case have been important, but it owes its European celebrity to the name of St. Bernard. He entered the order at an early age, became the abbot of the great Cistercian house of Clairvaux, and throughout his life was one of the most powerful influences in European affairs. He interfered to crush and to confound the great heretic, Abelard, who was maintaining at Paris the thesis "that faith is an opinion."

The influence of Saint Bernard.

He was strong enough to bring to an end a schism which threatened to divide the Church through the rival claims of two men to the papacy. It was he who induced the powers of Europe to participate in the second crusade, and although he was dead before the struggle between emperors and popes again reached an acute stage, we cannot fail to see in the power of the Church a result of his influence and his work.

The popes in the coming struggle would be without the help which had been so devotedly rendered to them by Matilda of Tuscany. Upon her death her territories were claimed by various competitors, and no longer could they count as a force upon the papal side.

In the south the Normans were advancing from strength to strength. Roger of Sicily reigned until 1154, and during the latter part of his life he had often been not on the best of terms with the papacy. But in 1156 his successor, William I., after a quarrel with the Pope, and a victory over him, made a treaty with him and promised him his support against all his enemies. He was succeeded by William II. of Sicily (1171–1189) and under him the Norman dominion reached its most splendid development. Its population was a strangely mixed one, and contained men of various languages, races and religions; for there were in Southern Italy and Sicily not only Italians, but Normans, Greeks and Saracens, and the essential feature of the Norman government was that it showed a practical toleration to these different faiths and modes of life, and found in this toleration a cause of its strength and progress. It was found to be possible for men of different languages, races, and religions to live together, to fight side by side with one another, and to contribute mutually to the strength of one state. Palermo was enriched with splendid architecture, and the whole of the south of Italy entered upon an era of intellectual and artistic greatness which has never been repeated in its history. The Norman kings as we have noted had their own quarrels with the popes, and their devotion to the Church was not quite so simple as it had once been. But when they had to choose between the Pope and the Emperor, they saw with alarm the possibility that the King of Germany

The Normans in Naples and Sicily.

might establish his rule without a rival in Italy, and they unhesitatingly drew their swords on the side of the Pope.

The force upon which we need most carefully to fix our eyes is that of the Communes or cities of northern Italy. They had been rising into importance for some time, as we saw in the last chapter. The twelfth century saw them making their way to a position of unrivalled importance and wealth in Italy. Their rapid development is to be ascribed largely to the volume of commerce which rolled through the cities of northern Italy. This had been very much increased by the movement of the crusades, one result of which was to bring to the maritime cities of Italy the wealth of the East, and thus Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Milan and Venice became rich and splendid beyond any cities in Europe. They claimed for themselves the management of their own affairs; they were no longer content to be ruled, even for their own good, by their bishops. Feudalism had never been very strong in north Italy, and the cities had for the most part triumphed over the power of the neighbouring nobles, forcing them in some instances to leave their castles and to live within the city walls. It was not only in the north of Italy that this communal movement was to be found: it had had a moment of great brilliance in Naples, and Rome itself had striven to realize the same sort of life as had been attained by the more fortunate cities of the north. Arnold of Brescia, a pupil of the great schoolman and heretic, Abelard, had stirred up the city of the Seven Hills to claim the control of her own affairs independently of nobles, and independently of the papacy too, and for a moment it had seemed as though his effort would be attended by complete success.

The Italian Communes.

Arnold of Brescia in Rome.

These cities in their advance had shaken themselves free, as we have seen, from the control of nobles and of bishops: they came also into conflict with the emperor. The empire claimed over them certain rights (the so-called "Regalia"), such as control of roads and bridges, the control of the armed forces, the right even of appointing certain magistrates; and, if the ambitions of the cities were not to be checked, it would

Conflict of the Communes with the Emperor.

be necessary to repudiate the claims which the emperors advanced. We may say therefore of them what we have said of the Normans. Their relations with the papacy were not always entirely harmonious, but as between emperor and papacy they were altogether on the side of the latter, and the popes found in them some of their most eager and efficient allies.

Frederick I. and the papacy.

The relations between Frederick and the papacy had been strained early in his reign. Pope Hadrian IV. in 1157 had sent a letter to Frederick, in which he used words which seemed clearly to imply that the emperor was subordinate to the Pope; for he spoke of the empire as a "benefice" (*beneficium*) which the Pope conferred upon the emperor. This was language which seemed to imply a complete condition of feudal subordination, and against it the emperor naturally protested, declaring that the empire belonged to him by the election of the princes and the gift of God alone, and recalling the verse of scripture which bade men fear God and honour the king. The Pope explained away his words as not having the technical meaning which was ascribed to them: by *beneficium* he had meant, he said, not benefice, but benefit; but friendly relations had not been completely established at the time of Pope Hadrian's death.

Position of the Emperors in Italy.

The relations of the emperors with Italy were always a difficulty. They were kings of Italy as well as of Germany and Burgundy; and they felt their dignity incomplete until they had received the imperial crown at Rome at the hands of the Pope. Nor were they, Germans though they were, always felt to be foreigners in Italy. The sense of Italian nationality had hardly begun to be developed; and there were always Italian cities to be found who were ready to join with the German Emperor in an attack on their own countrymen. But generally the Italians resented the Imperial claims, and the Romans especially felt that they ought to have some share in conferring the title of Roman Emperor, and should at least receive something for the grant of the title. The Germans would only answer that they bought the empire with steel, and not with gold. The cities of Italy were so rich that the

emperors desired to possess, to rule, and to tax them, and thus they came into collision with the desire of the Italian communes for independence.

Frederick I. entered Italy six times. The first occasion was to receive the Imperial crown (1155), and even that was not accomplished without loss in Rome from fighting and pestilence. In 1158 he came again, that time to show to the proud cities of Italy the might of the Roman Empire, the restoration of whose former glory he declared to be the chief object of his reign. All went well with him on this occasion. Assisted by the jealousy of many Italian towns he reduced Milan to submission, and then held a diet at Roncaglia, near Bologna, where he asserted the rights of the Imperial crown in Italy. The emperor was henceforth to enjoy the reality of sovereignty in Italy as in Germany; and all that emperors had ever possessed in Italy was to be restored to Frederick. He was to collect tolls on highways and rivers, in ports and in markets. The cities were to receive at his hands magistrates to be called *podestàs*, who were to hold in check the ordinary municipal officials. Had these intentions been carried out the destiny of Italy would have been entirely changed; it would have enjoyed peace and prosperity perhaps, but its glorious achievements in art and letters could hardly have grown except from the soil of freedom. Many of the cities of the Lombard plain resented the new regime; and Milan resisted the emperor's arms in a siege of three years (1159–1162) before it surrendered to the pressure of famine. Frederick decreed that the proud city should cease to exist; that its fortifications should be destroyed and its population transplanted elsewhere. The emperor seemed without a rival in Europe; but he had reached his zenith, and the rest of his reign saw in Italy little but failure.

Frederick's first Italian journey.

His second journey.

The Diet of Roncaglia.

Rebellion and siege of Milan.

Rome was to be the storm-centre for the rest of his reign. In 1159 a papal election had resulted in the choice of Pope Alexander III. But certain discontented cardinals declared that the election was invalid, and that the true Pope was one Victor IV. Alexander III. had already

Alexander III.

shown himself an opponent of the empire, and Frederick pronounced in favour of the claims of Victor. Hitherto he had had little trouble with the papacy. He was a devout Catholic of unquestioned orthodoxy; but henceforth Alexander III. was his enemy, and joined the Italian cities of the north in opposing him. At first Alexander III. could not maintain himself in Italy and retired to France. But soon troubles arose among the Lombard communes which gave him his chance.

The cities of the north, taught by their experiences of the last years how powerless they were singly, forgot their mutual animosities and formed a league, which is known as the Lombard league. It was a movement which clearly threatened the position of the emperor. In the year 1165, Alexander III. came back to Rome from his exile in France. It was necessary for the emperor once more to interfere, and in 1166 he came to Italy. It was the fourth of his Italian expeditions. Again all went well with him at first: the newly-formed league could not oppose his passage through the north: he passed down towards Rome and again his armies entered within the walls. But just in the moment of his triumph there fell upon him a great disaster, in which contemporaries saw the finger of God. The plague struck his victorious troops and swept them off by thousands. With forces reduced almost to nothing he had to creep away through Italy towards the Alps again, and all his enemies raised their heads as he fled, for the work of his expedition was quite undone. "Never since the world began," wrote Thomas Becket, "have the power and justice of God been more clearly manifested than in the destruction by so shameful a death of the authors of this great persecution." In the year 1167 the Lombard league was formed in its most elaborate and final form, embracing nearly all the cities of the north from Venice to Milan, and from Brescia to Bologna, and, they decided to establish a new city to be called Alessandria, in honour of Pope Alexander III. high up in the Lombard plain, destined to watch the hostile city of Pavia. It was clearly necessary for the emperor to appear yet once again.

The Lombard League.

Frederick's fourth Italian expedition.

Failure of the Emperor.

He marched into Italy for the fifth time in the year 1176. His chances of success were seriously diminished by the quarrel which had broken out between himself and his great subject, who had hitherto been his friend, Henry the Lion. Henry had given him valuable support in his Italian expeditions of an earlier time, but now he refused to accompany him. Frederick met the forces of the Italian communes at Legnano, not far from Milan, and there fought the decisive battle. It was in the main a struggle between German knights and Italian foot soldiers. The Lombard troops had been carefully organized, and many had bound themselves by an oath to defend their cause to the death. They were grouped round a great car on which were displayed the banners of the various cities. After a long battle the courage of the Italians and the treason of some of the emperor's followers determined the issue, and the emperor was utterly routed. He saw all his high hopes of dominion in Italy disappear: he accepted the mediation of his great opponent the Pope, and at last, in 1177, he met Pope Alexander III. in the portico of the Cathedral of St. Mark, in Venice. It was just a hundred years since the great humiliation of Canossa, and this was a humiliation almost as complete. He knelt before the Pope and begged for his forgiveness, and when the Pope mounted his mule he held the stirrup, and would have held the bridle if the Pope had not declined the compliment. A few years later, in 1183, the victory of the cities was defined and declared by the peace of Constance. The cities were now recognized as practically independent; they governed themselves; they had their own armies, their own fortifications, their own jurisdiction. The emperor had not technically abandoned any territory but his real dominion south of the Alps was reduced to a shade.

Battle of Legnano.

The struggle between Frederick Barbarossa and his enemies, who group themselves round the Pope, is the most picturesque and the most important event of his reign, and we have already seen that it prevented him giving to German affairs the attention which could have been profitably bestowed upon them. But many things, important in view of their future influence, were

Frederick I.'s reign in Germany.

happening in Germany during his reign. We will briefly enumerate some of them. Hardly had Frederick made terms with the papacy at Venice than he turned to face his enemies north of the Alps, and the chief of these was Henry the Lion.

Territories of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

So great were Henry's personal possessions that some German historians have thought that it would have been better for the unity of Germany if he had succeeded in resisting the emperor's attack. But after much fighting the emperor was successful, and the territories of his rival were broken up and divided amongst various claimants. This was by no means the end

of the Guelf power, but never again were the Guelfs serious claimants for the leading position in Germany.

Connected with this struggle against Henry the Lion are to be noted certain events which contribute to that spread of German civilization eastward, which is one of the most important events of this period. Since the time of Charlemagne, German civilization east of the Elbe had gradually disappeared before the onslaughts of Slavonians and Magyars, but now the eastern movement had begun again. Two points chiefly deserve notice. In 1156 the territories lower down the Danube, and to the east of Bavaria, were made a separate and hereditary duchy. This territory which was first called the Bavarian Eastmark, came soon to be known as Austria, and it formed the centre of a power which was later to succeed the Hohenstaufens, as the dominating force in Germany, and indeed in Europe. For it was in this Eastmark that the Hapsburgs, whose home lay in the south-west of Germany, first made themselves a great power. They gave to the empire a long series of emperors from the fifteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century; and then on the same basis there arose the present Austrian Empire. At first the Bavarian Eastmark was merely an outpost of German civilization against the Magyars, and as such it was given from the first an almost independent life. A little earlier were planted further north in Germany the beginnings of a power, which, after an obscure early history, was destined to be the rival, and at last the successful rival, of Austria. When the lands east of the Elbe had been occupied again by the Germans, it was necessary to establish some stable form of government there, and the chief representative of German civilization, and the chief ruler in those lands, which were then so wild, was the Margrave of Brandenburg. The first Margrave was Albert, known as the Bear, and the power which he attained was recognized in 1141 by the title of Elector. Albert belonged to what is known as the Ascanian house, and this after many variations of fortune, died out. It was not until Brandenburg came, some two centuries later, into the hands of the Hohenzollerns that it found itself upon the road which has led it to

The Duchy of Austria.

The beginnings of Brandenburg.

the empire of Germany and the highest military position in Europe.

At the end of his reign Frederick was induced to embark upon the Third Crusade in which he co-operated with Richard I. of England, and Philip II. of France. This crusade, which promised so brilliantly, ended without achieving anything of importance. His allies went by sea. Frederick took the land route across Asia Minor, and there, while fording a stream, he was drowned, borne down, it is said, by the weight of the heavy armour which he wore (1190).

Death of Frederick on the Third Crusade.

In addition to the references of last chapter, note Freeman's Essay on Frederick I., in the first volume of his *Historical Essays*.

CHAPTER XI

The last Phase in the Contest between the Popes and the Emperors

A MARRIAGE which Frederick had arranged for his son, was destined to exercise an immense influence upon Italy, Germany, the papacy, and indeed the whole of European civilization. He had arranged that his son, Henry, should marry Constance, the heiress of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and thus the great Norman kingdom of the South, which had hitherto counted as one of the most dangerous and inveterate foes of the emperor, was now indissolubly bound up with the fortunes of the Hohenstaufen emperors, and this ally, which had rendered such valuable service to the papacy would henceforth, it was clear, stand upon the side of the empire in any contest that took place between it and the papacy.

Marriage of Henry VI. and Constance of Naples.

Henry came to the throne at his father's death in 1190 as

Henry VI. He ruled over vast possessions, and he entertained ambitions of the widest scope. He dreamed of converting the empire, which at present rested upon vague methods of election, into a definite hereditary monarchy, and if he had succeeded in this, Germany would, in all probability, have been saved from those many divisions which were to break its power in the coming centuries. He dreamed also of a great expedition against that Eastern empire which still ruled in Constantinople. But these distant aims could not be readily or immediately pursued in view of the difficulties which he encountered in making himself master of those dominions which were admittedly his. The popes had seen with alarm the union of Germany, Naples, and Sicily in the same hands, and they attempted to prevent Henry VI. from establishing his rule in either country. He had civil wars to fight in Germany; and in the south of Italy he encountered a rival candidate for the throne in the person of Tancred, who had been put forward as a claimant by the papacy itself. He succeeded, however, in overcoming his enemies after a good deal of hard fighting, but before his death in 1197, it was apparent that the popes would view with determined hostility the new Norman-German power which he had established.

Henry VI.

When Henry VI. died in 1197, his son Frederick was only a child, and for some time could have no personal influence upon the destinies of Europe. In the next year, 1198, there came to the papal throne one of the most powerful men who ever sat there, Innocent III. Along with Gregory the Great, and Gregory VII., he brings before us the power of the mediæval papacy at its very highest, and in many respects, at its best. The claims of the papacy were put forward by him in the most uncompromising manner. He compared the relations between the empire and papacy to those between the moon and the sun. As the moon shone only by the borrowed light of the sun, so the strength of the empire was merely derived from the papacy. In the Middle Ages such metaphors as these were regarded as arguments, and henceforth all defenders of the Imperal power had to deal with this comparison as though it were a serious contention. Innocent III. made himself the spokesman of the Italian

Pope Innocent III.

dislike for the Germans, and declared it his aim to drive from Italy the hated German race. In his writings such phrases as these occur: "Ye see what manner of servant this is whom the Lord hath set over His people, no other than the vicegerent of Christ, the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man, below God but above man, less than God, but more than man. He judges all and is judged by none, for it is written 'I will judge.'" And again he writes: "The Lord left to Peter not only the government of the universal church, but of the whole world." A pope who held such views as these was bound to come into sharp contention with the temporal powers, and chiefly with the greatest of all temporal powers, the empire; and it is to be noted that no emperor, however friendly he might be at the time of his accession to power, was able to maintain for long, relations of friendliness with the Pope. The contest was not one of personal opinion or of sentiment; it was a collision between irreconcilable claims.

The empire was thrown into much confusion by the impossibility of finding a candidate agreeable to all the electors. There were two candidates, Philip of Hohenstaufen, and Otto of the house of Guelf, son of Henry the Lion. The Pope threw his influence on the side of Otto, and he became recognized as emperor in the year 1208. He was loud in his protestations of gratitude to the Pope. "My kingship," he wrote, "would have dissolved in dust and ashes had not the authority of the Apostolic Church weighed the scale in my favour." He came into Italy, made many concessions to the papal authority there, and was crowned at Rome in 1209. But friendship between a pope and an emperor could not long endure. Otto IV. claimed the inheritance of the Two Sicilies, and the Pope was determined not to allow this union between Germany and south Italy to be established. He raised up enemies against Otto in Germany, and above all he appealed to Frederick, the son of Henry VI., whom in 1211 he declared king and emperor with the title of Frederick II. He had thus in the heat of the contest, in order to overthrow

Rival claims to the Empire.

Frederick II. made Emperor by the Pope.

Otto IV., raised up one who was destined to be among the most dangerous opponents that the papal see ever knew. Frederick had to fight long and hard before he could obtain the reality of Imperial rule, but the alliance of the papacy and of the King of France were strong forces upon his side, whilst Otto IV. had no ally except King John of England. In 1214 the battle of Bouvines, so important for English and French history, wrecked the hopes of Otto IV. and gave to Frederick secure hold on the Imperial title and power.

Innocent III. exercised in Europe an authority greater than that which had ever belonged to a pope before him: he had given to the empire the man of his own choice, and had taken it from an opponent: the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Sweden, Denmark, Aragon and Portugal all recognized, even though in vague terms, the feudal suzerainty of the Pope. His interference in England had been decisive and successful; he had forced Stephen Langton into the throne of Canterbury; he had procured from King John the promise of a yearly tribute and the submission of the crown of England. The strongest sovereign for the moment in Europe was Philip Augustus of France, and even this strong king was forced by papal opposition to dismiss a second wife whom he had married, and to take back Queen Ingeburga whom he had wronged.

Power of Innocent III. in Europe.

It is necessary also to notice that upon the eve of the third and most desperate struggle between empire and papacy, a new religious movement and the formation of new religious orders vastly strengthened the Pope's hands. What the Cluniac movement had been for Gregory VII., and the Cistercian movement for Alexander III., the Franciscan and Dominican orders were for Innocent III. and his successors. These orders came to the help of the Catholic Church at a time of great danger. In spite of—perhaps even in consequence of—the immense power which the Church had won, great masses of the population were being alienated from her. The use of the Latin tongue in her service and even in her sermons made a direct appeal to the people difficult, if not impossible. The poorer classes, especially in

Rise of the Franciscans and the Dominicans.

the cities, were largely careless or hostile: and in the south of France, in the districts called Languedoc and Provence, religious or irreligious movements had begun which seemed to threaten the very foundations of the Church. Views were being openly preached which the Church regarded as heretical, and though some of these were probably purer and more Christian than the official teaching of the Church itself, it is certain that some of the views which go by the general name of the Albigensian Heresy, attacked the very foundations of religion, and even of morality. We must not exaggerate the extent of the danger: these movements were strong only in the south of France, and even there probably would soon have declined even if left to themselves. But the movement inevitably gave great anxiety to the authorities at Rome, and seemed to demand some new method of treatment. To win back the poorer classes to the Church, to appeal to men in their own tongue, and to combat the heresies that had rooted themselves in the south of France, these were the chief objects of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Dangers threatening the Church.

St. Francis was born at Assisi in the centre of Italy: his father was a merchant dealing with France, and he himself seemed destined for the same career. But there came then a great change in his life; he renounced all worldly ambitions and any career which might lead to gain; he embraced a life of the most complete poverty, and devoted himself to the service of his fellows and of Holy Church. Around him there quickly grew up a considerable amount of legend and of myth, but the historical features of the career of St. Francis bring before us one of the purest, most beautiful, and most attractive figures that ever moved upon the face of the earth. At first there was little of organization in the movement; he gathered round him a few men of ideas like his own; he moved from place to place preaching and serving, relying everywhere upon alms for the sustenance of himself and of his followers. Only gradually did the idea of the formation of a special order emerge, and when he asked to be allowed to form an order which he desired to call the "order of the poor men of Assisi,"

Saint Francis of Assisi.

the Pope at first hesitated to sanction the new movement or to accept the alliance of a force so different from anything which the Church had hitherto known, since at least the very earliest days of the Church. But soon the sanctity and the sincerity of St. Francis were apparent, and in 1209 the new order was formed.

Saint Dominic.

The career of St. Dominic is contemporary with that of St. Francis, and his movement has many points of similarity with that of the Franciscans. The Albigensian heresies, to which allusion has already been made, had called out a crusade, and in this crusade St. Dominic had played a part. From the first he had maintained that, though the use of violent methods was permissible, other weapons could be used with more effect against the zeal of the heretics. Zeal, he said, must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity, the preaching of falsehood must be met by the preaching of truth, and in 1213, his order, the order of the preachers, was founded with the special object of combating the heretical views which had their centre in the south of France.

Characteristics of the Friars.

We may speak of these two orders of Friars together, for their general characteristics are the same. They differed very widely from the monastic orders which had preceded them, in that their aim was not meditation and the salvation of the souls of their members, but social service and the redemption of others. The friars were not to enclose themselves within the walls of any cloister, but to live in the world and to serve God by serving their fellow-men. At first it was ordained they were to have no settled home, no building of any kind devoted to them; and when later such buildings did arise they were a sign that these orders were falling away from the ideals of their great founders. In their organization we may notice especially the following points. First, they were to possess no property, and they were to live by begging. Secondly, they were to pay special attention to preaching, and they were to preach to the people of each country in the common language of that country. Thirdly, they were to take special vows of obedience and mutual love. A fourth feature which is

important as explaining something of their power is the division of the order known as the Tertiaries. These were men and women who did not wear the dress nor take the full vows of the order, but who, living in the world and living the ordinary life of the world, were connected with the order and were pledged to support it in every way.

These orders spread and developed with amazing rapidity. The Grey Friars and the Black Friars, as they were respectively called, were soon to be found established in all the towns of Western Europe, and they were especially numerous and strong in the south of Europe. Their organization is interesting and in many ways efficient, but their organization does not go far in accounting for their influence. The memory of their founders was a permanent force. Men remembered for long St. Dominic, the great "athlete of the faith"; but it was especially the life and character of St. Francis which came to men as a second revelation of purity, devotion and love. The stories of how he served the poor, how no disease was too repulsive for his attentions, no class too hostile or too miserable for his service, and how, in spite of all, he was ever gay and happy with his companions, not only loving men and women, but loving all animals and preaching even to the birds: all this amounted to a new force of the most important kind in the thirteenth century, and its influence has never entirely died out. To return to the point from which we began, we must regard the formation of these mendicant orders as a great force working on the side of the papacy in its next great contest with its secular opponent.

Spread and influence of the Friars.

The secular and Imperial power in this new contest was represented by a very remarkable man, the Emperor Frederick II. We have seen that he owed his elevation to papal favour and support: but the worst enemies of the papacy were often found among those who had been its closest allies.

The Emperor Frederick II. is described as being a man of mean appearance; he was short in stature, and he inherited the red hair of his family. But he was a man of exceptional powers, and showed such originality in his actions and in his thoughts that he gained from his contemporaries the title of the "wonder of the world."

Character of Frederick II.

There is no one like him in mediæval history; he stands apart from the ideas and the enthusiasms that characterize the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and seems to anticipate rather a ruler of the later age, a Henry VII. of England, a Louis XI. of France, or perhaps one of the Italian tyrants of the Renaissance. He was a writer of poetry in the common language of the south of Italy, and he may thus be regarded as one of the pioneers of the movement which was soon to give Europe a great literature in the common tongue. He was interested in the development of science and philosophy, with which the south of Europe was much occupied. He founded the University of Naples, declaring in his charter that he did so "in order that those who have hunger for knowledge may find within the kingdom the food for which they are yearning, and may not be forced to go into exile and beg the bread of learning in foreign lands." He founded also a school of medicine at Salerno, and made a collection of wild animals at Palermo. Under his rule the south of Italy and Sicily became a progressive centre of thought and art such as they have never been again. Not only did Christians, such as Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the mediæval schoolmen, contribute to this movement, but Saracen scholars were also patronized and supported, and the emperor was throughout on the most friendly terms with them. These scientific interests and the way in which he advanced them would perhaps have called down upon him the suspicion of the Church, even if he had not come into furious conflict with it on other grounds. He was later on branded as a heretic in many a furious papal document, but it is very hard to make out what his religious standpoint was. The Pope in his wrath maintained that he disbelieved in the immortality of the soul, that he spoke of Moses, Abraham, and Christ as the three great impostors. But these seem to be little more than the wild outpourings of anger; he himself always professed to be a Christian and a faithful supporter of the Catholic Church. It was not, he said, against the Church that he fought, but against the corruption and luxury of the Church. "I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honour the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof

Frederick II.'s religious opinions.

from secular affairs. It is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity that the Church is weakened, polluted, corrupted; against these evils it is my mission to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and to tread in the holy footsteps of Christ." It is certain that his ideas in religion went beyond the assertion of the obligations of poverty of the Church. Later, in his struggle with the papacy, he spoke in a way which implied that a layman might be the head of the Church; that the Emperor was worthy of as much reverence as the Pope, and he perhaps even claimed that reverence for himself. In these utterances there is much which seems vaguely to anticipate a secular headship of the Church such as was introduced into England by Henry VIII.

Frederick II. ruled over Germany and the north of Italy as emperor, and over Naples and Sicily ("the two Sicilies" as they were called) as king, by hereditary right. We see in him, therefore, those difficulties at their worst which confronted the emperors from the time of Otto the Great, through the divergent interests, and characters of Germany and the Italian peninsula, and we may see during his reign more clearly than in any other what evils came upon Germany through the preoccupation of the emperor with his personal dominion in Italy. Frederick had made promises to the Pope that he would not make the connection between Sicily and Germany permanent, and that he would confer the southern kingdom on his own son, Henry, to be held as a fief of the papacy. But he broke his promise and preferred to live and to rule in Italy rather than in Germany; for in Naples he was a king, indeed, whereas in Germany his Imperial power was much reduced by the rival power of the greater feudatories. In the two Sicilies he developed the strength of the monarchy against all rival powers. He weakened, where he did not overthrow, the powers of the feudal nobles; royal castles displaced the castles of the nobles; the cities found their independence limited; all the inhabitants of the kingdom were brought

Frederick II.'s conflict with the papacy.

into subordination to the royal law and to the king's courts. The provinces were ruled by his agents; the whole administration was supervised by his justiciar. The work was perhaps premature, and it was certainly not favourable to liberty. But Naples and Sicily enjoyed in consequence of it an order and a prosperity unsurpassed by any other part of Europe. The forces of Frederick, however, did not avail to govern both Sicily and Germany, and in order to have a free hand in Sicily, he at times almost abdicated his functions as ruler in Germany. Hence arose a curious contrast between the development of Sicily and the development of Germany during his reign.

The two Sicilies.

Whilst feudalism was crushed or tamed at almost every point in Naples and Sicily, in Germany it became again the dangerous rival of the emperor. In 1239 Frederick issued a statute in favour of the princes of Germany, and by this he gave to them such large judicial and military powers, that the chief of them were henceforth practically independent of the central authority. The empire had hitherto seen in the great towns of Germany its warmest support; but now, the privileges of the towns were clipped in order to favour the nobles and in some instances suppressed. In spite of all this—or perhaps because of it—the nobles rose in a dangerous insurrection against him, and they found, strangely, an ally in the emperor's own son, Henry, who, like many heirs apparent, saw in an alliance with the discontented elements of the State an opportunity of winning power without waiting for his father's death. Henry was defeated and sent into lifelong imprisonment (1235), and the emperor made an attempt to restore the prestige and authority of the Imperial crown in Germany. But the nobles had already gained too much power, and the emperor soon found more than enough upon his hands in Italy. This attempt failed, like every attempt that was made before the nineteenth century, to give the German Empire an efficient government.

Germany.

Between Frederick and the papacy there was no quarrel which turned on any dispute as to constitutional forms. Henry IV. had fought the papacy on the question of the election of bishops; Frederick I. had refused to recognize the

election of Pope Alexander III.; but the contest between Frederick II. and the papacy, when it broke out, was a direct rivalry of power, and the two fought almost consciously and openly for the lordship of Italy. Frederick II., soon after his elevation to the throne, had taken the cross in obedience to the promptings of the Pope, to whom he owed so much, and the Pope urged upon him the accomplishment of his vow. We shall turn in a subsequent chapter to the history of the crusades, and we shall see how at this time the crusading fervour was burning low, and how the whole crusading movement was being driven from its early high aims, and was made to serve the purpose of commercial gain, and national advantage. Frederick II. was wholly unlike the crusader of the earlier type, and as he felt no enthusiasm for an expedition against the unbeliever, so, doubtless, he saw that his presence in the south of Italy was necessary for the consolidation of his power. The papacy, however, was urgent with him to go crusading, and in 1227 he embarked at Brindisi, nominally for the East; he returned, however, in a few days, alleging a sudden attack of illness, and the Pope, in indignation against what he thought a mere subterfuge, at once excommunicated him. No man living under excommunication could properly go on a crusade, but, nevertheless, Frederick II. sailed in 1228, and his action on the crusade was as unusual as the circumstances of his departure. He professed no animosity against the Saracens, and undoubtedly he felt none. His second wife, who was the daughter of the titular King of Jerusalem, gave him a sort of claim upon the royal title there, and by diplomacy and negotiation, he won from the Saracens more privileges for Christian pilgrims than the early crusaders had won by the sword, and gained for himself the nominal crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He went up to the Holy City, but no priest could be found to crown an excommunicated king, and he therefore took the crown from the altar with his own hands, and with his own hands placed it upon his head. He returned home to find that the Pope had declared a crusade against him, and that a papal army was ravaging the territories of Naples. They were driven out,

The crusade of Frederick II.

Crowned King of Jerusalem.

and the Pope consented in 1230 to make peace with him and to release him from excommunication.

There followed then a few years of peace, and then there came fiercer contest. The Pope was Gregory IX., who, almost to his 100th year, remained an active force in the politics of Italy. But it was not against him in the first place that Frederick came into conflict, but rather against those Lombard towns which had had so large a part in the humiliation of Frederick I. The communal movement had spread rapidly in Italy since the defeat of Frederick I. and the Treaty of Constance. There were city-leagues now in central Italy, corresponding to the Lombard League in the North, and all were defiant of the power of the emperor. A change had passed over the cities of Italy during the past half century. They were richer, more splendid, more conscious of their own powers. But their liberty had often degenerated into anarchy, owing to the fierce spirit of the parties, and they had in many instances gained temporary peace by giving the chief authority to a native of some other state who was called a *podestà*. In some cases tyrants had established themselves, and the chief of these was Ezzelino in Verona. Frederick II. determined to reduce the Communes to subjection. Their divisions allowed him to find allies among themselves, and Ezzelino supported him vigorously throughout. The fighting was often conducted with the greatest ferocity. Its early stages were favourable to Frederick. In 1237, the Communes were defeated at the battle of Cortenuova, and it seemed as though Frederick's triumph would be complete. But then, and for the same motives as formerly, the Pope joined hands with the cities, the emperor was excommunicated, and although Gregory IX. soon died, and Pope Innocent IV., friendly to the Emperor, succeeded him, he soon forgot in his office the feelings which he had entertained as a private person. In 1245 a Church Council was held at Lyons, and Frederick was denounced in terms of the utmost violence, and declared to be a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero. The emperor was not slow to reply. He declared that the popes had no right to depose him. "I hold my crown," he said, "from God

Frederick II.'s struggle with the Communes of Italy.

Collision of Emperor and Pope.

alone, neither the Pope, the council, nor the devil shall rend it from me." "Shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the emperor who has no superior nor equal upon the earth?" The Pope, however, declared Frederick deposed, and set up another emperor in his place in Germany. The contest which followed was conducted with the utmost fury. The friars, whose influence was at its height, stirred up the people to hatred of the emperor's party. Frederick found allies in some of the towns of Lombardy, but the majority stood against him. In 1247, Frederick was sharply defeated at Parma which he was besieging, and when he died, three years later, in 1250, the issue of the struggle was still doubtful.

It is extraordinary to see what a change was made in the situation by his death. The power of the kingdom of Naples was the same; the situation in Italy and in Germany was the same; and yet, while Frederick II. could meet his foes at least on even terms, his successors very quickly collapsed before the Pope and his allies. The truth seems to be that the excellent government which he had established in Naples and Sicily had irritated the aristocracy against him, and the common people were not yet an important factor. All had depended upon Frederick's own strong will and power of organization, and when this was removed, the fabric that he had reared with such care, quickly fell in ruins. His son, Conrad IV., succeeded to him. He was in Germany at the time of his father's death, but found little chance of establishing a strong rule there, and came to try his fortune in Italy. He entered Naples, and seemed to have some chance of gaining the support of the kingdom when death cut short his career in 1254. He left behind him a young son who is known as Conradino, but the royal house was represented in Naples and Sicily by Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick II. Pope Urban IV. succeeded to the throne in 1261. He was a Frenchman, and was ready to use any means to expel from power what he called the "viper brood" of the Hohenstaufen. He offered the crown of the kingdom of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the saintly King of France,

The end of the Hohenstaufen.

Conrad IV.

Manfred.

and the offer was accepted. It was thus primarily against French troops that Manfred had to struggle. With Charles, the Pope made a very strict contract, and it marks the degradation of the papal policy, that it was stipulated that if Charles failed in his payments to the papal treasury his kingdom should be laid under an interdict. Manfred, for a time, made head against the French army, but in 1266 there came a battle not far from Benevento, and there Manfred was defeated and slain. Charles of Anjou occupied Naples and Sicily, and soon his heavy taxation and his ferocious cruelty made him bitterly hated, and turned the memories of the people fondly towards Conradino, who, in 1268, was only sixteen years of age. He was, however, a capable and ambitious youth, and he determined to take up the inheritance. He invaded Italy from the north. He was received with enthusiasm in Rome itself, but when he encountered the French army at Tagliacozzo, his forces were easily defeated and he himself taken prisoner. In August of the same year, he was beheaded in the market-place at Naples, and with him the great house of Hohenstaufen that had played so great a part throughout the central portion of the Middle Ages became practically extinct. The papacy had triumphed, but to secure that triumph it had used weapons which were more disgraceful, and in the long run more ruinous, to its power, than defeat itself could have been. The highest motives of religion, the supremest spiritual powers in the hands of the Pope, had been prostituted to personal and ambitious ends, and it is not surprising to find that the triumph of the papacy was followed in less than thirty years by the most severe defeat which it received in all its career, and we shall find that that defeat was administered by the French power which had been the instrument of the papal triumph.

Pope Urban IV. and Charles of Anjou.

Conradino.

Battle of Tagliacozzo.

Before we go further it will be well to notice certain happenings in Germany which are full of importance for the future of that land. A chief feature of German history from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries is the expansion of the influence and the nationality of Germany eastward. We have seen

already how the Elbe was no longer the eastern frontier of Germany. Its place had been taken by the river Oder. But beyond the river Oder, along the whole of the eastern frontier, Germany was confronted with non-German, and in part heathen races. The Hungarians (Magyars) were situated to the north of the Danube; to the north of them came the Bohemians (Czechs); then the Poles; and further to the north, on the shores of the Baltic, an agglomeration of Slavonic races of which the chief were the non-German and heathen Prussians. Against these last a singular and powerful force was now called into activity. We shall see how one of the strangest results of the crusades had been the establishment of military religious orders. The best known of these are the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers; less known but in their ultimate influence not less important were the Teutonic Knights. Their first object had been to protect German pilgrims to the Holy Land: but the Christian conquests in the East had soon been swept away, and on the soil of Palestine there was nothing for them or for any other order to do. In 1228 they were allowed to transfer their crusading zeal from the shores of Syria to the Baltic, and they were given whatever lands they could conquer in Prussia from the heathen there; and so under their grand-master Hermann of Salza they proceeded to conquer the land and to rule it. Their action was indeed characterized by great brutality; they showed little desire to convert the heathen Prussians; their chief object seemed to be to slay and dispossess them. But in a long series of campaigns they won for Christianity and for Germany a large tract of land beyond the Oder and the Vistula, and looking forward into the distant future we may see (though no one at that time could have foreseen it) that these Prussian lands would form one of the two bases upon which the mightiest of all German powers was to be built, a power which would at last succeed in the task of uniting Germany under one government, in which the Hohenstaufen had disastrously failed.

The Teutonic Knights in Prussia.

For Frederick II. see Tout's *Empire and Papacy*, and Freeman's Essay in the First Series of his *Historical Essays*. For Innocent III.

the Ecclesiastical History of Robertson and Milman. The Friars are also treated in these histories; Sabatier's *Life of Saint Francis* is the chief modern study of its subject; the *Little Flowers of Saint Francis* are translated and published in the Temple Classics. Miss Selfe's translation of *Villani's Chronicle* is useful throughout, though its first object is to illustrate the writings of Dante.

CHAPTER XII

The Rise of the French Monarchy

France, the successor of the Empire

We have followed the struggle between the papacy and the empire in order to bring into clearness the central thread of mediæval history. But while emperors and popes were struggling with one another, and Germany and Italy were suffering or profiting by their rivalry, great things were happening elsewhere in Europe. In England the unity of the nation had been achieved at an early date, and the country was advancing steadily towards strength and influence. In Spain, the contest which was to endure for centuries between the Mahomedan and the Christian powers, was in progress, and at last the scales began to incline in favour of the Christians. But the most important thing for European history was the development of the power and of the monarchy of France; for when the empire failed with Conradino, and the popes seemed to have won a final victory over their great antagonist, it was France which stepped into the position of Germany as the leading power in Europe; it was France which inherited the quarrel of the emperors against the popes; it was France which inflicted upon the papacy a terrible and irretrievable blow and revenged Frederick II. and Frederick Barbarossa. We now go back therefore three centuries in order to see what was happening west of the Rhine and Rhone, and specially what was the condition of things by the banks of the Seine.

We have seen that what we call France had formed part of the territories of Charles the Great; we have seen, too, how

at the Treaty of Verdun in 843, in the triple division of the territories of the great Charles, the district to the west of the Rhine and Rhone for the first time formed a kingdom by itself. We may say that the existence of France dates from the year 843, but for a century and a half its history is a troubled one. It had suffered much more than the eastern half of Frankland from the attacks of the Northmen and of the Saracens, and the central government proved utterly incapable of maintaining the defence of the land. More completely, therefore, even than in Germany, feudalism developed unchecked. The central Government counted for little: the one all-important force in the country was that of the great landowners with their tenants and retainers grouped round them. The attacks of the Normans provide us with the chief thread which conducts us through this tangled, dreary period. In 885 they laid siege to the city of Paris itself, and the city would have fallen if its fate had depended only upon the energy of the king. But what the king failed to do, a great nobleman succeeded in doing. Odo, Count of Paris, drove off the enemy, and for this service he was shortly afterwards elected king. In 911 the Norman invasions were practically brought to an end by the cession of the rich territory which lay either side of the lower course of the Seine to the terrible invaders. This district is henceforth known as Normandy, and the dukes of Normandy, though they ruled in their duchy as practically independent powers, nevertheless recognized the kings of France as having a vague feudal pre-eminence over them. But again for many years after this, the history of the monarchy of France shows us nothing but weakness, and the kings were little more than the titular heads of the State. Side by side with the kings of France were the great nobles of whom the chief were the rulers of Flanders, Champagne, Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine and Toulouse; and each of these men seem to possess a power equal to that of the king, and it seemed little likely that the royal power would ever succeed in reducing them to subjection.

France after the treaty of Verdun.

The settlement of Normandy, 911.

A great event—or rather an event which ultimately produced a great consequence—came in 987. In that year, Hugh

Capet was appointed king. He had previously been ruler of Paris and the surrounding region, and possessed a feudal territory which was not one of the largest, but was compact and strong. All the kings of France from this time until France had no kings at all, were descendants from this prince. Yet at the time there seemed little to show that a new era had begun. The significance of the event lies in the fact that between Hugh Capet and the Church there was a close alliance, and when the Church was fighting the bitter struggle against the empire, it was at the same time throwing all its weight upon the side of the new King of France. And then, next, Hugh Capet was himself an important and powerful feudal chief. It was therein that his power lay, not in his empty royal title. But he and his successors put his feudal power at the service of the crown, and little by little the authority of the crown was advanced until the feudal chieftains were beaten down, and the monarchy was made the one supreme institution without rival and almost without check, in the whole land. That is the great fact in the political history of France, and must be looked at a little further. Hugh Capet, at his election, possessed certain territories lying between the Somme and the Loire, and containing the important cities of Paris and Orleans. Over these he ruled directly; these were, in the language of the time, his "demesne." Outside of this demesne, the great nobles had their estates over which they ruled with almost absolute power, while they gave to the king only a very limited obedience and rendered him occasional service. During the course of the next three centuries the kings of France, by various means extended the royal demesne and encroached upon the feudal territories of the nobles until the whole of France was royal demesne, and there were no real feudal nobles left in the old sense of the word; all Frenchmen thus became in a real sense the subjects of the kings, and the nobles, though they retained their old wealth and much of their old possessions, were, nevertheless, without question, subjected to the royal authority. It is a long road that will lead us to this goal, but it will help

Accession of Hugh Capet.

Its importance.

The French monarchy and feudalism.

us to understand the road if we realize clearly what the goal will be.

The first king in whose reign we see clearly the development of the monarchy, is Philip I. (1060–1108). Two events during the course of this long reign contributed indirectly to the advance of the crown. First, in 1066, William, Duke of Normandy, the dangerous neighbour and the most powerful subject of the kings of France, invaded and conquered England. This conquest, no doubt, enormously increased William's importance, but it also removed the centre of his power away from France across the Channel; and though it made him for a time, an even more dangerous neighbour, it ultimately made possible the absorption of his French possessions in the royal demesne. Next, in 1095, the first crusade was preached at Clermont, and a vast force poured out by various routes to the Holy Land. In this first crusade the French played by far the most important part, and the King of France saw a large number of his most powerful and unruly subjects depart, many of them never to return, and their absence allowed him thus to strengthen his position against that of the feudal leaders. We may pass over the next reign and come to that of Louis VII. (1137–1180). It is in externals a somewhat inglorious and even unfortunate reign. He was unwise enough to join in the second crusade, and it brought upon him nothing but defeat and loss, and apparently more serious loss came upon him in France itself. He had married, by his father's arrangement, Eleanor of Aquitaine, the heiress of the greatest of the feudal powers of the south of France, and it seemed that in this way a vast and permanent addition had been made to the royal territories. But then there came a quarrel between the King and Queen, and Louis VII. persisted in getting the marriage dissolved on the ground that he was related to his wife "within the prohibited degrees." The territories of Aquitaine were thus for the time lost to the crown, which was bad, but it was worse that after the divorce, Eleanor of Aquitaine was married to

Philip I.

Norman Conquest of England.

The First Crusade.

Louis VII. and Aquitaine.

Henry II. marries Eleanor of Aquitaine.

Henry II., the great King of England. Henry was already possessed of the territories of Normandy and Anjou, and he now came into possession of those of Aquitaine, and thus possessed a power in France very much larger, and apparently very much stronger than that which yielded direct allegiance to the King of France himself, though it must be remembered that for all his lands in France, Henry II. yielded a nominal allegiance to the French king. But though the French crown made no external progress in the reign of Louis VII., those forces were already maturing which were ultimately to give the crown its great triumph. Briefly, these are the points to be noted: the machinery of Government was more carefully organized than it had been; all authority centred in the royal court which came now to consist not merely of great nobles, but of ecclesiastics and lawyers who rendered the king unquestioning service. At the same time, there was springing up upon the royal demesne a large number of new towns (*villes neuves*) which were peopled by traders, and often by serfs who found there refuge from the tyranny of ecclesiastical or feudal masters. Both these tendencies were developed much further at a later time. We need only point out that in the reign of Louis VII. the crown was already in close alliance with the Church and the middle classes, and it is on these supports that it was ultimately carried forward to victory.

Philip Augustus.

Louis VII. was succeeded in 1180 by Philip II., who is usually known as Philip Augustus, and mediæval France owed probably more to him than to any other of her rulers. He enormously added to the royal demesne as the result of a series of wars. The great territory that had been built up by Henry II. of England was ruled by his weak son John, and Philip fought against John with success. We need only recall how Normandy was overrun by the French, and how, in 1214, when John joined himself with the emperor Otto IV., Philip Augustus found a warm supporter in the papacy, and gained against his enemies the decisive battle of Bouvines. There are few more important battles in European history than this; it gave the Imperial crown to Frederick II., whose career we have already

Battle of Bouvines, 1214.

noted; it gave England Magna Charta; and it assured to the French crown the possession of the Norman and Angevin territories of the English royal house. But Philip II. gained other victories only a little less important than this. In the north and in the east, as well as in the west and centre, by conquest and inheritance large territories were annexed by the crown. Whereas the King of France, a few years before, had seemed only to be one and perhaps not the most powerful among a number of feudal chiefs, the kings were now by their own personal possessions in a position to struggle with success against all feudal rivalries.

But while the territory of the crown increased, the machinery of Government was also skilfully elaborated. The alliance with the Church was maintained in spite of sharp friction at certain periods, and the alliance with the middle classes was carried still further. No king of France ever gave charters to so many towns as Philip Augustus; he encouraged trading associations and allowed a certain measure of self-government. Paris itself was by far the greatest of the towns of France, and in size, in wealth, and in importance it gained immensely from the policy of Philip Augustus. But further, Philip gave the crown of France the weapons by which its future conquests were to be won; for he gave it regular officials; he gave it money; he gave it an efficient army. The regular officials were dependent upon the royal court, and were only a development of what had gone before, but the development was a large one; the nobility were pushed away from the service of the crown, which chose its chief agents among men of the middle classes. New officials known as *baillis* were sent down into the provinces of the royal demesne there to represent the royal authority, and to maintain it against all rivals. The king, too, secured a full exchequer, partly through the vast extension of the royal demesne which we have already noticed, partly by substituting direct payment for various feudal services. The Jews, too, were patronised, and had to pay for the royal patronage, and means were found of inducing the clergy themselves to contribute. The army which Philip

Encouragement of the middle class.

The new royal officials.

New sources of revenue.

used was not, as a rule, the usual feudal levy. He formed an army of men directly recruited and directly paid by himself, which was far more trustworthy than the forces contributed by his feudal dependents could possibly be. A French writer has thus summed up the great success of his reign :—"The royal demesne was stretched up to the frontiers of the realm. The royal authority was enforced up to those frontiers. Victory had been won against feudalism, England and the empire combined. The dynasty had been established upon solid foundations. France had been founded."

The new royal army.

After Philip, his son Louis VIII. reigned for three years, and then in 1226 his grandson, Louis IX., succeeded and reigned until 1270. Louis IX. is usually and rightly known as Saint Louis, and we see in him a type of mediæval catholicism at its very best. He may, indeed, be compared to St. Francis, though the one sat upon the most powerful throne in Europe, and the other was pledged to the life of a beggar. In both of them the influence of religion was paramount, and was allowed to guide their every action, without discussion and without resistance. St. Louis devoted a large part of every day to the services of the Church; he refused fine apparel, and rich living; he rejoiced in performing the most menial occupations, provided that the Church enjoined them. Especially, he was often known to wash the feet of beggars, and of the sick, nor did he shrink from them though they were covered with loathsome and dangerous sores. But the religious life in him was associated with great sweetness, joy, and humanity. He is not indeed free from that taint of religious persecution which is the dark shadow thrown by the Catholic Church throughout the whole period of its domination; but there is less of the persecuting spirit in him than in almost any other prominent religious figure of the Middle Ages, and the beauty of his character and of his life was the best recommendation of the faith in which he so ardently believed. It is important to notice, however, that the saintliness of St. Louis did not prevent him from being really a great ruler. He was anxious

Louis IX. (Saint Louis).

His character.

Statesmanship of Saint Louis.

to be just to all men; he was especially anxious to serve the best interests of the Church; but he was equally determined that others should yield its just rights to the crown, and he would not permit the Church itself to encroach upon what he believed to be his own rightful prerogative. He was anxious to convince the feudal nobles of France, that their privileges would be safe from any encroachment at his hands. But when, in 1242, the great nobles of Flanders, Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony, and Languedoc joined in an attempt to overthrow him, they found in him a vigorous and determined antagonist, and they were overthrown at the battle of Saintes. This has been taken by some as marking the final overthrow of French feudalism; never again was there any noble in France who could treat with the crown on terms of equality, and although the crown had in future much trouble and contention with its nobles, their resistance never again rested upon the old feudal basis, nor was it ever again likely to secure a decided advantage. He showed, too, a good deal of independence in his dealings with the papacy, and was unwilling to sacrifice anything of the royal power. The most serious charge against him in this relation is that he introduced the Inquisition into France, for he was as anxious as the popes themselves to repress and extirpate heresy, and the Inquisition was destined to have an evil influence not only upon the lives and thoughts of Frenchmen, but also upon the organization and the law of the monarchy of France. He became recognized as distinctly the first power in Europe. He was appealed to during the course of the Baron's War in England to decide between the combatants, and no one disputed the honesty of his verdict, though it failed to establish a durable peace. We have already seen how, towards the end of his reign, his brother Charles of Anjou became King of Sicily and Naples, and though he was in this position quite independent of France, his promotion no doubt tended to raise the prestige of the French Crown.

Overthrow of feudalism.

The Inquisition in France.

One division of the activity of the king will be noted in another chapter. He was the last of the genuine crusaders. Twice he went on crusading expeditions; on the first occasion

he landed in Egypt, and after an early success, suffered a complete overthrow. On the second occasion he embarked upon an unwise expedition against Tunis, and upon his arrival there, perished from plague with a large portion of his army.

Crusade of Saint Louis.

It is important to follow the development of the constitutional machinery of France during his reign. It was, indeed, St. Louis who created the engine of government which was to be used by his grandson Philip IV., to establish what may fairly be called tyranny in France, and to humiliate the papacy for which St. Louis held so profound a veneration. Again, we must note that the king's court is the all-important power. The free institutions which existed in France were of little importance, nor were they destined to anything like the development which ultimately created parliamentary government in England. We have already seen how the king's court had driven out or subordinated the feudal nobles, and was formed chiefly of clerks and lawyers. In the time of St. Louis we see the king's court adopting a special formation for dealing with special subjects. We begin to see the establishment of a Royal Council for the consideration of foreign affairs and general policy. We see quite distinctly a Chamber of Accounts, which was technically the king's court acting for financial purposes, and which contained those members of the king's court who had special knowledge or aptitude. More important still, we see in this reign the clear beginnings of the Parlement. This was, to begin with, another phase of the royal court, and it consisted of those members of the court who were specially suited for judicial work. The Parlement was divided into various chambers, but its organization need not here be considered in detail. It is enough to see in it a great royal court of justice, and to note that legislation, which we connect so closely with the English parliament, was no part of the duties of the parlement of Paris. It acted as a court of appeal for all within the royal demesne. More important still, it acted as an instrument for maintaining the rights of the crown against the claims of the feudal nobles, and even

The new Monarchy.

The Parlement of Paris.

Its work.

for encroaching upon the privileges of the nobles in the interests of the crown. It was maintained that a large number of the cases which hitherto had fallen within the competence of the feudal courts really belonged to the king's courts; they were claimed as royal cases (*cas royaux*), and as such were taken away from feudal courts and brought before the Parlement. In all early history, judicial procedure is one of the chief agencies of government. In England the itinerant judges of Henry I. and Henry II. were specially organized for the maintenance of the rights of the crown: this function was performed in France by the Parlement. It holds a very high place among those forces which overthrew feudalism and established the monarchy as the one supreme and unrivalled institution in France.

During the reign of St. Louis a process was nearly completed whereby a vast territory of the utmost value came into the hands of the crown. To understand this, we must go back for a moment, and in a few sentences sketch one of the most interesting episodes of the thirteenth century.

Religious condition of Southern France.

The south of France was one of the richest and most cultivated territories in Europe; it was the home of poetry and of the Troubadours; its towns were rich and flourishing, and the castles of the great and small nobles were centres of refinement, of luxury, and sometimes of vice. In this district, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, religious movements of a strange kind had made their appearance on the western slopes of the Alps, and in what is called Provence. The movement that was strongest in the east was that of the Waldensians, who advocated a return to primitive Christianity, and protested against many of the doctrines as well as against the pomp and ceremony of the Catholic Church. Further to the west, round the city of Toulouse, in the district that was known as Languedoc, those views of religion and life were to be found which are usually known as Albigensian, from the little town of Albi. Under this one name, several varieties of view were included. It seems that the germs of these heresies had been brought by various channels from the East, and that for the

The Albigensian movements.

most part the heretics asserted the existence, not of a single God, but of two rival and almost equal powers of good and evil. Various practical consequences were deduced from this. Some held that a life of the strictest morality was necessary for them; others found in these views an excuse for plunging into every kind of vice. The great power in Languedoc was Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who lived in great splendour, but with a license that reminded men of what was to be found among Mahomedan rulers. His own views were indefinite; he declared himself later a convinced adherent of the Catholic Church; but certainly the heretics found favour at his Court.

The matter was brought to a head in 1208 by the murder of a papal emissary called Peter de Castelnau. Innocent III., the reigning Pope, preached a crusade against the heretics of Languedoc, and declared that those who fought against them would enjoy the same privileges as if they went to the Holy Land. The chief agent in this crusade was Simon de Montfort, the father of the man who played such a conspicuous part in the foundation of English parliamentary institutions. Under his guidance the crusade assumed features of horrible barbarity. We read of towns that were wholly destroyed without regard to guilt or innocence, age or sex; we read of the ferocious crusaders preparing for their work of indiscriminate bloodshed by the singing of hymns to the Holy Ghost. The Count of Toulouse was unable to resist the armies that poured in upon his lands, and even after he procured the alliance of his neighbour, the King of Aragon, it fared no better with him. The battle of Muret in 1213 took from him his last hope of victory.

The Albigensian crusade.

Battle of Muret, 1213.

The crusade had been directed against the Count of Toulouse who was a feudal subject of the King of France, but the King of France had played no part in it; the moving force has come from the Pope, Innocent III., and in justice to him it must be said that he had in the end protested, though in vain, against the bloodshed and the torture that were employed. But though the King of France took no part in the war at first, it was to him that all the profit came. The

The gains of the French Monarchy in the South of France.

French monarch had become so great that when any feudal power within the frontiers of France was broken up, the fragments were inevitably drawn into the orbit of the greater power. The chief stages whereby the territories of Toulouse became the demesne of the Crown of France are as follows: Simon de Montfort died in 1218, having seized the lands of the Count of Toulouse and introduced into them the northern nobles who had followed him in the war. But soon the population, exasperated by the oppressive rule of men whom they regarded as foreigners, rose in rebellion on behalf of the son of the Count of Toulouse; and the war entered on a second phase. Amaury de Montfort, Simon's son, conscious of his inability to hold the land which his father had won, ceded them to the King of France, Louis VIII., who succeeded Philip Augustus, in 1223. The war then became clearly one for the acquisition of a vast territory by the French Crown. Louis VIII. died before the end was reached; but in 1229 Blanche of Castille concluded on behalf of her son Louis IX. the treaty of Meaux (1229). By this treaty it was arranged that certain rich territories immediately to the west of the Rhone were to come at once into the hands of the king. It was further arranged that the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, his only child and heiress, should be married to the brother of the French king. When he died in 1247 without heir, the whole of these rich territories came into the royal possession, which consequently stretched continuously from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean.

Toulouse added to the royal demesne.

France is peculiarly rich in histories in which a single author has told the whole story of the land from the beginning to the present day. The chief of these are those by Martin, Michelet, Sismondi, Dareste. All these are in many volumes: the short and brilliant history of Lavallée (six smaller volumes) deserves mention. All earlier histories of France have been to some extent superseded by a series of volumes, written by various authors under the direction of Lavisse. Hutton's *Philip Augustus*, and Perry's *Saint Louis*, are short and useful biographies. The *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, is an interesting chronicle, and has often been translated. Tout's *Empire and Papacy* is valuable for French history. The institutions of France may be studied in Gasquet's *Institutions Politiques de la France*. The best histories of France in English are those by Kitchin (3 vols.), and an excellent summary by W. H. Jarvis, revised by Hassall, called the *Student's France*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Catastrophe of the Mediæval Church

We have seen how victory crowned the struggle of the popes against the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Henry IV., Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. had all suffered humiliation at the hands of the papacy; the descendants of Frederick II. had been defeated, and the race extinguished, and the rich territories of Naples and Sicily had passed by papal grant into the hands of a French prince. Now we have to see how, shortly after this crowning triumph, the papacy came to blows with the royal house of France to which it was bound by so many mutual services, and how in this struggle it suffered a sudden and irretrievable disaster.

The papacy and the French monarchy.

In this new struggle the papacy found itself without effective friends of any kind. Germany lay prostrate and divided, incapable of effort as a whole, and not likely to render services to a power from which it had suffered so much. Not much was to be expected from the French house which had received at the Pope's hands the south of Italy and Sicily; for Sicily, exasperated by the oppression of the French, had risen against them, massacred a great number of them in what is known as the Sicilian Vespers, and transferred the island to the house of Aragon (1282). The cities of Italy which had served the Pope so well in the past saw no longer any reason to continue their alliance, now that all danger from the emperors had disappeared. Further, it seems plain that at the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a decline in religious enthusiasm and in devotion to the papacy. There was no new monastic movement, no new mendicant order: the old monasteries were inert and the orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were weakened by internal quarrels, and had fallen away from their early ideals. The use which the popes

Condition of Italy after 1270.

had made of spiritual weapons, such as excommunication, interdict, and the preaching of crusades, for purposes of private gain, or even of personal revenge, had certainly weakened the influence and blunted the edge of those weapons.

At the end of the thirteenth century the papal throne was occupied by one who maintained the claims of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. to the utmost. This was Boniface VIII. who came to the papal throne in 1294. Before his election he was thought to be a friend of France, but after his election he pursued the aggrandizement of the Catholic Church, and consequently his own, without regard to former connections. He maintained the claims of the papacy to superiority over all crowned heads in the most direct way. "God has established us above all kings and emperors that we may in His name pull up and destroy, bring to nothing and disperse, or build and plant." Such were the words that he used in 1301, and later, in a more famous Bull, he declared that to the papacy were to be applied the words of the prophet: "I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms." He declared that if the earthly power erred it was to be judged by the spiritual power, but if the spiritual power erred it could be judged by God alone. In 1300 there was held a great Jubilee at Rome, and an immense influx of people thronged into the Eternal City. The Pope seems to have been carried away by the enthusiasm which was displayed. He is said to have claimed that he possessed the two swords—that is, the temporal power as well as the spiritual—and to have presented himself to the people in the robes both of emperor and of pope. Such a man holding such views was bound to come into conflict with the temporal powers of Europe in proportion to their strength. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should soon find across his path the royal house of France, hitherto the strongest supporter of the Catholic Church, but now, since the overthrow of the house of Hohenstaufen, the occupant of the leading position in Europe.

Pope Boniface VIII.

Philip IV. came to the throne of France in 1285. The policy of his reign was throughout vigorous, unscrupulous, and cruel; especially it attacked the Pope with a direct brutality

such as had never before been shown in the history of the Church. But we know little of the character of the king himself, and his actions seem to have been guided by his chief ministers. Of these the most important are, Pierre Flotte for the early part of the reign, and Nogaret for the later part. These men were both of the middle class, separated from the feudal aristocracy by birth and by interest, but well-versed in those principles of Roman law which had now come into such vogue, and which declared the authority of the king to be supreme above all rivals. The reign of Philip IV. in France has some close analogies with that of Henry VIII. in England, and Flotte and Nogaret have a certain similarity to the agents of the Tudor monarchy—to Empson and Dudley, and, above all, to Thomas Cromwell. The influence of Roman Law was doubtless one of the strongest forces during the whole reign. Another was the need of money. The machinery of the monarchy had much developed of late, it was requiring a larger income, and this necessitated a heavier taxation. In his anxiety the king had recourse to the dangerous and dishonest expedient of debasing the coinage, and of issuing gold and silver coins containing less of the precious metal than they professed to contain.

Philip IV. King of France.

The chief semi-independent feudal powers which were now left in France were, Brittany, Guienne, and Flanders. It was the last which especially attracted the envious eyes of the king. It was a land rich in manufactures, full of towns bursting with industrial and political activity, almost independent in the management of their affairs, and beginning already to distinguish themselves in the domain of art. The cities of Flanders and the Netherlands were for northern Europe what the communes of Italy were for the south; and the kings of France were destined to find in Bruges and Ghent an antagonism as serious as the Emperor Frederick I. had found in Milan and Brescia. A quarrel with the Count of Flanders arising out of the French king's need of money led to war, and in 1300 the Count yielded before an invasion of the royal armies, and all Flanders was for the moment annexed to the royal demesne. But the citizens of Flanders soon found their municipal liberties

Flanders and its Count.

and activities curtailed or repressed by the royal authority; they were not accustomed to yield obedience to any one, and in 1302 an insurrection came, not of the Count, but of the people against the royal authority. The royal army marched into Flanders, confident of its power to overwhelm the burghers who had so daringly challenged it. They found the Flemish army drawn up near Courtrai, and with rash confidence the French knights spurred forward to the attack. The commons of Flanders had, however, skilfully protected their position by a canal, and in the confused struggle which followed, the chivalry of France suffered an entire defeat. Pierre Flotte was himself among the slain. For the moment, Flanders was abandoned: later, another French army was collected, the country was invaded and the honour of the French armies was to some extent avenged at the battle of Mons-en-Puelle. But the resistance of Flanders was far from broken, and the king accepted a peace, whereby the greater part of Flanders remained independent under the nominal rule of its Count, though a small stretch in the south passed into the hands of the French king.

Revolt of Flanders after annexation.

Battle of Courtrai (1302).

Final arrangement with Flanders.

While the war with Flanders was in progress, the king was already engaged in a more important conflict with the Pope. Its first stage was in 1299, when in answer to an attempt of the king to tax the clergy of France, the Pope issued a Bull known as *clericis laicos*, forbidding the clergy to pay taxes to any lay power. The king or his ministers answered the Bull by refusing to allow any money to pass out from France into Italy; the Pope was thus deprived of valuable revenues from the Church in France, and soon withdrew from the position which he had taken up and made peace with the French king.

The Bull "clericis laicos."

The struggle was renewed before long. Some sort of struggle was unavoidable between popes who thought as Boniface VIII., and kings who possessed the power and pursued the ends of Philip IV. of France. The next phase in the struggle is connected with Bernard, Bishop of Pamiers. He was opposed to the new ecclesiastical arrangements which had been made in

The question of the trial of the Bishop of Pamiers.

the south of France in consequence of the annexation of Toulouse, and especially he was at variance with the new Bishop of Toulouse. He was accused of plotting against the life of Philip IV., was arrested, and was placed upon his trial.

The methods of Nogaret.

We see here, and in all the events that followed, the hand of the king's chief minister, Nogaret, who was skilful and wholly unscrupulous in poisoning public opinion by bringing charges of the foulest kind against those whom he wished to destroy. So constantly did he pursue this plan, not only with regard to the Bishop Bernard, but later with regard to the Pope, and later still with regard to the Templars, that it is impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood, and it is wise to suspect the foundation on which the wild charges of the time rested.

The Pope demanded that Bishop Bernard should be tried in Rome, and declared that the lay courts had no jurisdiction over an ecclesiastic. The legal question at issue was the same as that which had thrown England into confusion in the reign of Henry II., when Thomas Becket claimed for all clerics immunity from the ordinary courts of the realm. Fierce papal Bulls were met by fierce answers from the side of the king and his agents, and in 1299 the Pope in his Bull *Unam sanctam*, declared that it was "altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." It was a contest not unlike that between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., but it was to be waged in a much fiercer mood, and by different weapons, and was to be brought to a different issue. Nogaret devised a plan of the greatest daring. He proposed to enter into relations with the Pope's private enemies in and near Rome, to attack the Pope himself and gain possession of his person, to bring him as a criminal before a general council which the King of France was to summon, and thus to force the papacy to recede from the position which it had taken up with regard to its authority over secular powers. In pursuit of this plan, in the year 1303, Nogaret joined the retainers of the Colonnas in Rome. The Pope was in his castle at Anagni, a few miles out of Rome. Nogaret and the Colonnas penetrated with an armed force

The great quarrel with the papacy.

into the town, forced their way into the Pope's presence. A contemporary Italian chronicler thus describes the scene: "Pope Boniface hearing the uproar and seeing himself forsaken by all his cardinals . . . caused himself to be robed in the mantle of Saint Peter and, with the crown of Constantine on his head, and with the keys and the cross in his hand, he seated himself upon the papal chair. And when Colonna and the others, his enemies, came to him, they mocked at him with vile words, and arrested him and his household, which remained with him." The rumour was even circulated that the aged Pope, Christ's vicar, standing in full pontifical dress, had been struck in the face by the mailed fist of Colonna. The stories widely current to the discredit of the life and character of Boniface were forgotten and his sufferings only recalled. Dante was the enemy of Boniface, and yet he speaks in his great poem with awe of the outrage: "Christ," he says, "had been again crucified among robbers; and the vinegar and gall had been again pressed to his lips."

Assault on Boniface VIII. at Anagni.

It did not seem at first as though Nogaret's scheme would be successful. A popular rising liberated Boniface VIII. The old man, however (he was in his 80th year), soon afterwards died, and Nogaret pressed forward unscrupulously to win a further victory for his master. The next Pope, Benedict II., was not sufficiently amenable to the pressure which the French put upon him. But he soon died, and in 1305, Clement, Bishop of Bordeaux, was elected Pope as Clement V. Before his election there had been negotiation between him and the King of France, and though its exact nature can never be known, it is certain that he had promised to serve the French king's purposes. Whether as a result of that promise or not, he established the residence of the Pope in Avignon, and removed the papal court from Rome. Avignon belonged to the papacy, but it was geographically in France, and actually within the power of the French king. The authority of the popes had depended so much upon their independence of any secular power that it is a matter of immense moment that now for some seventy years the popes

Death of Boniface VIII. Beginning of the Babylonish captivity.

were in such a position that all Europe saw in them the pliant agents of the French crown. It is this subservience to France, with all that flowed from it, which is the chief feature of that residence of the popes at Avignon, which is known in history as the "Babylonish captivity."

Events soon threw light on the promises which the Pope had made to the king before his election. The king was reconciled to the Church: even his agents were forgiven the violence that they had used against the person of the Pope; and soon there came in France a famous assault upon the order of the Templars.

The Knights Templars.

The Knights Templars had been founded in 1118 as a result of the first crusade, and their duty was to assist and protect pilgrims to the Holy Land. But, as we have already seen, the Mahomedan tide had surged back again and destroyed the weakly rooted Christian states of the East, and the military orders had no longer foothold in Palestine. The knights of St. John still held out in Rhodes, but the Knights Templars were no longer engaged in the struggle against the infidel. There were some fifteen thousand of them in all, of whom a third resided in France. Amidst much that is doubtful concerning them it is clear that they were very rich, that they rivalled the Jews as bankers and money-lenders, and that their lives showed, as was natural, a great falling away from the strict principles which they professed. But beyond these charges for which there is sufficient evidence, other wild charges were brought against them about which it is difficult to judge. They were accused of having adopted the religious beliefs of the East; they were accused of denying Christ and of spitting upon His image; they were accused of the foulest personal vices. No certainty is procurable here; but it must be remembered that these charges are brought against them by their enemies who were anxious to find an excuse for their spoliation, and even for their murder, and it seems reasonable, as well as charitable, to believe that there is little or no foundation for these views. They were arrested; they were tried in Paris, and the Pope in vain demanded that the trial should be transferred to the Papal

Charges against the Templars.

Court. In 1310, fifty-four of them were burnt in Paris, and then pressure was put upon the Pope to induce him to abolish the whole order. Unwillingly he consented: the order was abolished, its property confiscated to the crown, but even this did not prevent the burning of the master of the Templars, Jacques de Molay. It was said that from the midst of the flames he summoned the king and pope to appear with him before the throne of God.

Their execution and spoliation.

Constitutionally, the reign of Philip IV. carries forward and develops the methods of Philip II. and of St. Louis. Parlement was carefully organized and became more clearly than before the agent of the crown in all its efforts to win supreme power. During the struggle with the papacy, the germs of a new institution appeared which was destined to have a great name, and to play occasionally an important part in the history of France. Philip IV., like our own Henry VIII., under similar circumstances, wanted the support of his people in his struggle with the Catholic Church; and in 1302, there was called together for the first time a body known as the "States-General," consisting of the three orders or "estates" of the realm—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons. They met in these three separate groups, and they did little more than express their approval of the policy of the king, and of the arguments by which he supported his claims against the Pope. We shall see how in future reigns, especially at times of great crisis, this institution of the States-General emerges again. It was a body as fairly representative of France as the contemporary parliament was representative of England; and upon certain occasions it exercised great power and claimed a control over France greater than the Houses of Parliament possessed in England; but it was not destined, like the English parliament, to become the basis of the political life of France. The causes of its failure are manifold: we need only notice here that its roots were not struck deep down into the ordinary life and habits of the people as was the case in England. It was a royal expedient to meet a sudden

Constitutional history of Philip IV.'s reign.

The States-General.

emergency; and there was in the whole history of the States-General—down to the time when in 1789 it became the instrument for the overthrow of the royal power—a weakness which reminds us of its origin. The really important institutions in France were those which emanated from the royal court, not those which sprung from the choice of the people.

The histories of France all give much attention to the reign of Philip IV. Michelet's treatment of the reign deserves special mention. There are interesting documents relating to the struggle with the Papacy translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. Villani's *Chronicles*, translated in abridgment by Miss Rose Selfe, are of much interest and value for the period.

CHAPTER XIV

Feudal Society

FEUDALISM is a word loosely used to cover a form of society existing over a large part of the surface of Europe for many centuries. Its roots may be found in the time of the Roman Empire; it took definite shape in the ninth century, and it did not quite disappear from Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century. It was thus an important feature of European life for nearly a thousand years. It extended also over a very wide area. It lay at the foundation of the life and institutions of Great Britain, though it was always restrained from full growth in our island by the strength of the monarchy; France and Germany were the countries where it could be seen in its freest development; it was important in Spain and Italy; and though Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Russia were not technically feudal countries, they exhibited some of the characteristics of feudalism in a striking manner, and retained them when they had died out elsewhere in Europe.

Extent and duration of feudalism.

In the attempt, made in this chapter, to bring out some of the main features of feudal society we will think chiefly of the thirteenth century, and draw most of our illustrations from France.

Feudalism, and the society that went along with it, are usually described in legal phraseology derived from Latin or early French. Its institutions thus come to have an artificial appearance, as though they were the work of lawyers who imposed a system of their invention upon Europe. But feudalism was in fact a spontaneous development, the result of the forces, needs and ideas of the time. The institutions and practices were in existence before lawyers gave Latin names to them. No attempt can be made here to discuss the origin of feudalism; but it may be well to recall the saying of J. S. Mill that "government is always either in the hands, or passing into the hands, of whatever is the strongest power in society, and what this power is does not depend on institutions, but institutions on it." Among the forces which influenced its growth the following may be noted.

Feudalism a spontaneous growth.

Feudalism is the negation of central government and administration; and in the ninth and tenth centuries the governments of Europe were weak and ineffective. The Roman Empire had collapsed. Charlemagne's effort to establish an efficiently administered state had failed immediately after his death. And we have seen how the attacks of the Northmen and the Magyars had broken down the feeble governments which faced them in France and Germany.

Feudalism the negation of central government.

Feudalism is marked by the rendering of certain personal services where the modern world makes money payments. The Middle Ages were without a sufficient supply of coined money, and they knew nothing of the methods, such as notes and cheques, whereby the supply of coined money is now so largely supplemented. There was little capital in the Middle Ages, and when capital began to be a force it was always hostile to feudalism.

Personal service instead of money payments.

In early civilization tradition is more important than the

stipulation of written law, and feudalism shows us custom and tradition controlling society with scanty reference to law, reason, or utility.

Tradition.

The unit and base of feudal society was everywhere the landed estate, where the feudal noble, of whatever rank, lived in his fortified house, surrounded by dependents, servile or free, over whom he ruled with supreme authority. A French writer has said that feudalism means "the identification of landed property with sovereignty." In modern times the possession of land gives the owner certain powers over those who live on it; he exacts rents from them; he can turn them off from it, and can influence their lives in many ways direct or indirect. But in the Middle Ages ownership of land gave most of the rights which we associate with sovereignty. The feudal lord could tax those who lived on his land; he could call on them for military assistance; he could force them to work on his land; he could try them in his courts. Without the sovereignty of the landowner over his dependents feudalism could not have existed.

Identification of property with sovereignty.

The serfs were the largest and most important class of those who worked upon the land, though free labourers were not unknown. It is difficult to generalize about the serf's condition, for it varied from time to time and from place to place. In one respect the serf was superior to the modern wage earner. He had security of tenure. Custom rather than law forbade the feudal noble to deprive him of his cabin and the land which belonged to it, and the principle of heredity, which was so general in the Middle Ages, assured the descent of the serf's property from father to son. The serf must often have had a life of security and some comfort; but he could never escape from complete dependence upon his lord. At every turn he had to contribute to the well-being of his master. There was no limit to the taxes (*taille* is the most general word for these) which could be placed upon him. When he ground the corn or pressed the grapes which grew upon his plot of land, he must use his lord's mill, his lord's wine-press, and pay what custom demanded of him. The labour that he had to perform for his master (known in France

Serfs.

as *corvée*) had no limits (he was *corvéable à miséricorde*), and he could only give to his own land the time which was not demanded by his master. Further, for any quarrel with his fellows or any dispute with his master, he had to appear in his master's court, there to be tried according to the forms laid down by custom, and to pay the fees demanded.

The ruling class rarely attended directly to the administration of the estate. This task was left to an overseer, bailiff, or attendant, while the lord devoted himself to the one honourable occupation, the practise of arms. Until the fourteenth century the armour-clad knight was the one force in war of real importance, and poor men were of necessity excluded from such employment. From youth upwards the feudal noble looked to war for distinction and the gratification of his ambition. He served an apprenticeship in the service of his father or of some other noble, attending to his master's horse, serving at his table, assisting in his toilet. Then at the age of eighteen or twenty he became a knight and entered into the ranks of chivalry. The ceremony of admission was at first a simple one—a light blow on the shoulder from the lord who had trained him, followed by the mounting of a horse and the performance of some martial exercise. But in the thirteenth century the influence of the Church added a religious ceremony. The aspirant to knighthood passed the eve of his admission in prayer. Next day he heard Mass; the sword with which he was girt was taken from the altar. The ceremony was completed by prayer and a sermon, in which the newly "dubbed" knight was urged to remember his duty towards the Church, the poor, and widows. The Chronicles of Froissart give us the brightest picture of the moral virtues of chivalry, and it did much, no doubt, to raise the warfare of the age above mere brutality and plunder. But the same writer will also show us how insufficient its standard was, and how frequently the soldiers of the time fell below that standard. The English Black Prince, who is described as the very flower of chivalry, was capable of the massacre of Limoges.

Military ideals of the ruling class.

Chivalry.

The essential feature of feudalism is to be found in the

relations of the members of the noble class to one another, founded as these relations were upon the system of land tenure. No one, except the king, was the absolute owner of his land. The lord of each estate held it as vassal of some other and usually of some greater lord.

The essential of feudalism.

The ceremony of homage is significant of the whole relation. The vassal came before his lord, bare-headed and unarmed, and declared on his knees that he became his "man." The lord then kissed him and raised him from his knees. Then the vassal swore fidelity (fealty) to his lord, who gave him some object—a glove, perhaps, or a lance—as a symbol of the landed property (or fief), of which he now became the occupier. The relation thus established between master and vassal was defined by custom, which varied from place to place.

Homage.

The vassal was always bound to render military service to his lord. He must serve him in arms against all with whom he might be at war. But this assistance was not indefinite. It was limited in time and did not usually extend beyond forty days; it could also be only demanded within a certain distance from the lands for which he did homage. By this stipulation of military service the armies of the Middle Ages were brought into being, consisting of contingents sent up by individual nobles, often widely different in character, often disobedient to the authority of the commander, and inefficient against a more united force. The victories of the English in the Hundred Years' War were largely due to the fact that England had procured a royal army, while France still fought with a feudal one.

Vassalage.

The obligations of the feudal inferior did not end with military service. He had also to render him aid on various other occasions; and aid was usually interpreted to mean money payment. When a new heir succeeded to the fief there was usually a heavy payment required, and the payment was the heavier if the heir was not a direct descendant of the last tenant. The vassal had to give lodging and hospitality to the lord and his followers on his journeys or his hunting expeditions. Moreover, there were certain incidents or accidents in the feudal lord's life which

Feudal aids.

were the occasion of payments from the vassal. If he were made prisoner of war, the vassal had to contribute to his ransom; if he went crusading he demanded an aid for his expenses; there were payments to be made when his daughter was married and when his son was knighted.

The vassal had to give not only aid, but council. He was bound, that is to say, to come at the call of his lord to deliberate with him on grave questions of peace or war, and he was bound to sit with him and to judge cases that were brought up for his decision. **Council.**

Such are the essentials of the feudal system; but it is important to notice that it was not really a system at all, but a great confusion, which the principle of land tenure above described was powerless to bring into order. As explained by the theorists, there was a long hierarchy of ranks and powers, stretching up from the serf, through many gradations of nobles, to the king on his throne; and some writers carried the logic of it further, and made the kings the tenants of the emperor, and the emperor of the pope, who was himself the tenant of God. But no such symmetry is to be found in Western Europe. The tenant was sometimes more powerful than his lord, as when Henry II. of England did homage to the French king; a man often did homage for different estates to two lords, and there were cases where a man was both lord and tenant to the same person for different lands. **Feudalism in theory and practice.**

Feudalism, it has been said, "was not a disease." It was a spontaneous stage in the development of society, and at a time of toppling governments and barbarian invasions it performed a necessary service in the maintenance of some sort of social bond. But feudalism was always liable to the disease of anarchy. Each feudal lord upon his estates was in effect sovereign, and the feudal tie was wholly insufficient to maintain harmony. Private war was a recognized right of a feudal chief. The strong government set up in England by the Norman Conquest prevented this plague from ravaging our island except on rare occasions; but in France, Spain, and Germany it was common. So obvious were the disastrous effects of it, and so incapable **Anarchy of feudalism.**

was the state of putting a stop to it, that other expedients were tried to destroy it or mitigate it. One of these was the Truce of God. The Church, the best organized of all mediæval institutions, attempted to do what the rulers of Europe were unable to do. First the attempt was made absolutely to prohibit private war, and then to limit it within certain periods. The kings often gave the movement their support. In 1085 the emperor Henry IV. proclaimed the Truce of God for Germany. His object, he said, was, as a permanent peace could not be established, at least to exempt certain days from warfare. It was ordained therefore "that from the first day of the advent of our Lord until the end of the day of Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima until the eighth day after Pentecost, and on every Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday until sunrise on Monday, peace shall be observed." The Church was strong, but not strong enough to restrain with a word the warlike passions of feudal barons, though the Truce of God had some effect in limiting and mitigating warfare.

The Truce of God.

The administration of justice was not more successful under feudalism than the maintenance of order; and nowhere is there a greater contrast between the Middle Ages and the classical world on the one hand and the modern world on the other than in the character of trials and the conception of justice. The administration of justice was in the hands of the feudal noble and the vassals whom he called to his council. His superior in the feudal hierarchy would sometimes interfere, but each nobleman was tenacious of his judicial rights, which were a valuable property. M. Seignobos writes of justice under the feudal *régime* as follows: "The court makes no effort to probe the question to the bottom and to determine what really has happened; it judges not according to equity and reason, but according to the forms established by custom. Feudal justice is essentially an affair of forms, and has its strict rules, like a game; the only business of the judges is to see that the rules are observed, to judge the points and proclaim the winner. Every trial consists of several acts consecrated by tradition and accompanied by a solemn form of words. A movement or a word contrary to the rule

Feudal justice.

is enough to condemn the litigant. At Lille a man who moved his hand, which rested upon the gospels, while he took his oath, at once lost his case."

The most characteristic of the legal processes of feudal society were the ordeal and the trial by battle. There were many forms of ordeal, all irrational and superstitious. The most common was the ordeal of fire, wherein the accused person had to subject some part of his person to the operation of fire; either by walking through burning logs or plunging the hand into boiling water, or holding a heated iron in the hand. Innocence was proved by the healing of the part affected within a certain number of days. The trial by battle or the duel was the usual result of trials among the noble class, but was often used in the case of litigants who were not noble. Reason, evidence, justice had here no place. The function of the court was merely to decide the conditions and to register the result. The practice must have given an evil and dangerous advantage to mere physical strength and placed no check upon the bully.

Ordeal and trial by battle.

When the men of the Middle Ages, accustomed to such methods of procedure, became acquainted with the principles and methods of Roman law, they were amazed at the difference. For Roman law acted in the interest of society at large, sought after the truth, balanced evidence, and aimed at justice. It seemed to the twelfth and thirteenth century like a new revelation, and the admiration for Roman law partly accounts for the readiness of many of the best minds of Europe to accept the claims of the holy Roman Empire.

Feudal and Roman law.

In conclusion we must consider the forces that were undermining feudalism. The Church had passed to some extent into the framework of feudalism, and was often in league with the feudal chiefs; but it was in essence anti-feudal. For it was universal, and feudalism was local; it excluded succession by heredity, and it wielded an authority that had no necessary connection with the ownership of land. The monarchies of Europe were always anti-feudal in proportion to their power.

The forces against feudalism.

1. The Church.

They had their origins in Western Europe in feudal ideas, but their aim was always to bring all the inhabitants of the realm into subjection to the crown and to break down the local sovereignty of the landowner. We have seen how the kings of France succeeded in these aims and how the emperors in Germany failed; but, even in Germany, what the emperor failed to do for the whole country was done to a large extent by the individual electors and rulers.

2. The monarchy.

Another anti-feudal force is to be found in the towns which grew up so rapidly in all parts of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The splendid city civilization of the Roman Empire had died out under the pressure of the fiscal exactions of the empire and the invasions of the barbarians. But the city is a natural form of human organization, and as Europe settled after disorder, and commerce began to move again, city life reappeared, turbulent but vigorous, in all parts of Western Europe. There were a great number of differing types of city life and constitution. Some were entirely self-governing republics; others were kept in considerable subordination by some king or noble. But all had a large measure of control over their own affairs, and though they were at first a part of the feudal *régime*, they were from the first its decided enemies. Feudalism sprang from and was always connected with the life of the landowner. Liberty, commerce, democracy, art, co-operation, were ideas that flourished in the towns, and feudalism broke up at their approach.

3. The towns.

For a general sketch of feudal institutions, see chapters i. and viii. in Vol. II. of the *Histoire Générale* of Lavisse and Rambaud; *Medieval Europe*, by H. W. C. Davis; *Le Moyen Age*, by Seignobos; *Medieval Europe*, by K. Bell.

CHAPTER XV

The Crusades

THE spread of Christianity differs from that of Mahomedanism in the methods by which it was effected. From the early days of Islam the Mahomedan faith was propagated by the sword and by conquest. It was by the triumphs of soldiers that the Christian faith had been driven out from Asia, Africa, and Spain, and the crescent substituted for the cross as the symbol of faith. The great victories of early Christianity, on the other hand, had been won by persuasion and by attraction. The Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals, and Franks had accepted Christianity voluntarily. When the Franks in their turn carried Christianity further East, it was doubtless forced on an unwilling people by hard blows; and Charlemagne made baptism a condition of submission. Yet even here it was the conversion of the heathen that was aimed at by Boniface and Wilibrord. "We seek not yours, but you," might have been their motto. The heathen were to be won to Christianity, with little scruple indeed as to the means employed; but they were to be won, not exterminated. The use of force as the chief method of propagating Christianity begins with the crusades: from this time on, the effort of the Church was too often not to convert the heathen but to destroy them.

Contrast in the propagation of Christianity and Islam.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries armed bands of Christians were constantly attacking the Musulman powers in Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere, and this movement is known as the crusades. Seven chief crusades are usually counted, but the number is arbitrary, and the hostility of the Christian and Musulman power in the East was almost continuous.

What were the crusades? By what motives were the

crusaders impelled? One writer has said that the movement can only be explained by supposing that an epidemic of madness passed over Europe at this time. But strange and romantic as the movement is, fanciful and unreal though it often was, it is not difficult to understand it.

Causes of the Crusades.

At the end of the eleventh century, the Church was at the very zenith of its power. The influence of Gregory VII. filled the middle of the century, and we have seen how high were the claims which he made for the papacy, and how far he succeeded in realizing them. When the Church spoke through its great representative all Europe listened and thought it a duty to obey. It was pre-eminently the Age of Faith.

The Age of Faith.

It was also the Age of War. Society rested on the feudal basis; and the core of feudalism was the armed knight. Men embarked then on a war with a readiness hardly conceivable now. War took the place of sport and politics, and even of commerce. The growth of monarchies was curbing the opportunities of private war. When an opportunity arose which allowed the feudal nobility of Europe to fight and to conquer territory in the rich East, with the sanction and under the orders of religion, there is no difficulty in understanding why it was eagerly embraced.

The Age of War.

The Church had its own reasons for urging on the enterprise. Pilgrimage had come to be an important part of the religious life of the time. The shrine of Thomas Becket, of St. James of Compostella, and many other saints attracted their crowds. But the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was the greatest of all objects of pilgrimage. Hitherto, though Jerusalem was in the hands of the unbeliever, access to the Holy Places had not been difficult. But at the end of the eleventh century Islam was again advancing both in the East and in the West. A cry for help came from Constantinople, and the pilgrims to the Sepulchre were either stopped altogether or advanced only in face of manifold dangers and insults.

Pilgrimages.

The popes and the Eastern emperors—these were the real authors of the crusades. And the crusades are best understood if we look at them from Constantinople. The Eastern

Empire fell out from the centre of the European story after the time of Charlemagne, but it was still the chief bulwark of European culture in the East against the forces of barbarism. Feudalism had made some headway even in the East; but the East was not feudalized as France or Germany were. The emperor was the great centre of the administration; his relations with the Church were so close that there was no possibility of such struggles between the spiritual and temporal power as rent Western Christendom in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; the principles of Roman Law formed the basis of the administration. Greek was the official language. A well-organized mercenary army drawn from various races was usually an efficient weapon. In Constantinople a high level of culture, erudition, and art was maintained down to the end of the twelfth century.

The Eastern Empire.

Constantinople itself was an impregnable fortress, but wave after wave of barbarians swept over the Balkan peninsula. In the eighth century an invasion of Slavonians had penetrated even to the Peloponnese and a large number of them settled permanently in Greece. At the end of the ninth century there came the new and dreaded race of the Bulgarians. They swept on in a conquering horde as far as Corinth, and it seemed as though they would become a dominating force in the peninsula. But a powerful emperor arose—Basil "the slayer of the Bulgarians",—and in 1014 they were defeated with huge loss, and all the sufferings that they had inflicted on the empire were avenged with horrible cruelty: the eyes of many thousands of them were put out, and they were sent home as evidence of what came of attacking the empire. In the tenth century, too, another enemy—ominous of danger in the far distant future—had appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Russia had been recently occupied by the Northmen, and in 941 a fleet of their vessels from the Black Sea appeared before the Capital. They were driven off by "Greek Fire" and this particular danger did not appear again. We have already seen how the empire had lost her possessions in Italy and Sicily. In Asia Minor the empire still ruled over a rich country, and in the

Bulgarians.

mountains of Isauria over a warlike population. But in the eleventh century a new danger arose even there. A new race —the Seljukian Turks—had seized Bagdad and infused new energy into Mahomedanism (1055). Syria and Palestine soon fell to them, and their ignorant fanaticism brought danger and oppression to the pilgrims to the Holy Places: Europe soon rang with the stories of their sufferings. The Turks then penetrated Asia Minor, and in 1071 an imperial army was crushed at Mansikert and an emperor taken prisoner.

The Seljukian Turks.

The Mahomedans had not been so dangerous since the eighth century, and it was not only in the East that their arms were successful. In Spain the Christian states had been slowly gaining ground, but here, too, there was a revival of Musulman energy, and in 1086 the Christians lost the great battle of Zallaca. Europe, as in the eighth century, was threatened on both fronts. An effort was really needed to drive the heathen back. Gregory VII., the author of so much that is most important in the eleventh century, called on Europe for a great effort, but the hour had not yet come. In 1095 Pope Urban II. held a great Council at Clermont. So great was the gathering that no building could contain all who came. After some business of minor importance the Pope addressed the crowd and called for a general attack upon the Mahomedans. He quoted (with a strange perversion of meaning such as was frequent in the Middle Ages) the text, "He who will not take up his cross and follow me cannot be my disciple." In a frenzy of excitement those present cried, "It is the will of God," and, attaching to their dress strips of red cloth in the form of a cross, prepared for the great enterprise, in which they believed themselves certain of the support and the direct guidance of God.

Recovery of Mahomedanism in Spain.

The preaching of the first crusade.

A noble enthusiasm was nearly always the motive of those who embarked on the crusades; but when the movement was once begun personal ambition, the hope of gain, the animal instinct for fighting, greed, hate, revenge, and cruelty all cloaked themselves under the pretext of the crusade. It was not only against the Mahomedan that violence was let loose.

The Jews who resided in the west found their lot changed for the worse, and had to suffer pillage and sometimes even torture at the hands of those who set out to rescue the land where Christ died for all mankind.

Before what is usually called the first crusade, a great throng of men, women, and children set off under Peter the Hermit, whose preaching had done much to rouse the enthusiasm for the crusade by his account of the sufferings of the pilgrims. They marched without organization, expecting miracles at every turn, and suffering dreadfully on their route. Those of them who reached Constantinople were sent across to Asia Minor by the emperor, who was glad to get rid of such strange allies, and there they quickly fell victims to the sword of the Mahomedans. Peter the Hermit escaped and lived to see the realization of his dreams.

The prelude to the first crusade.

Meanwhile, the first real crusade was preparing. No king took part in it; but the great nobles of Western Europe eagerly offered their services. They came in greater numbers from France than from any other country, and the number of French who took part in the crusades warrants the name which is given to the whole movement by a chronicler, "Gesta Dei per Francos."

The first crusade.

Raymond of Toulouse led a band of Provencals and Italians. The Normans, Bohemond and Tancred, led an army from the South of Italy and Sicily. Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of the French king, and Robert of Normandy, the brother of the English king, led French and Normans. Godfrey of Bouillon was the leader of French and Germans from the Rhinelands: he was not the commander of the host, for the host had no single commander; but his name came to be the most prominent in the great adventure. The crusaders made their way by various routes to Constantinople: some by the Danube which had been opened to a Christian army by the recent conversion of the King of Hungary; some by the sea which was secured against Mahomedan attacks by the recent development of the navies of the maritime states of Italy, such as Pisa, Genoa, and Venice.

At Constantinople a difficulty at once appeared, which was

ultimately to endanger the success and the stability of the whole effort of Christian Europe against Islam. If lands were won from the Turks to whom should they belong? The Emperor Alexius demanded that the crusaders should do homage for all that they won: they, on the contrary, looked forward to carving out independent possessions for themselves. At last they took the oath of fealty to the emperor, but the future was to show how little it weighed with them.

Difficulties of the crusaders.

The numbers of the crusaders had already shrunk far below the vague myriads which are ascribed to them at the beginning of their enterprise. They were in many ways ill-prepared for the contest that lay in front of them. They trusted to the heavy armed knights who had become the chief arm of Western armies; and they were to find that those knights were often ineffective against their more nimble opponents. Yet when it came to blows the crusaders were decidedly the stronger. They advanced across Asia Minor, captured Antioch, and defended it against a relieving force, and at last appeared before Jerusalem; their numbers had shrunk to some 25,000. They found a fleet of Genoese ships at Jaffa, and from them they got the timber required for their siege apparatus. They marched round the city in religious procession with Peter the Hermit at their head. But the walls could only be carried by heavy fighting. The furious attack came on 15 July, 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon was among the first to mount the walls. Their great enterprise was crowned with success. Passionate religious zeal and fierce hatred of the heathen enemy combined to rule their actions. To slay the enemy was to do God a service. They wrote to the Pope: "God was appeased by our humility, and on the eighth day after our humiliation he delivered the city and his enemies to us. . . . And, if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses."

Jerusalem reached.

The capture of Jerusalem.

It remained to distribute and to organize the conquest. The disruptive ideas of feudalism controlled the action of the

The First and Fourth Crusades.

victors. No single strong state was founded, but the newly won territory was divided into four Latin (that is, Catholic) states. Baldwin occupied the County of Edessa; Bohemond the Principality of Antioch; Raymond occupied Tripoli; all these owed allegiance to the kingdom of Jerusalem, which fell to Godfrey's share, though he refused the title of king and accepted only that of Defender of the Holy Sepulchre.

The new states founded by the crusaders.

Special religious orders were founded, first for the assistance of pilgrims, and then for the defence of the hardly won land. The chief were the Knights Templars, the Knights Hospitallers (Knights of St. John), and the Knights of the Teutonic order. These men proposed to join the virtues and the rigorous asceticism of the monk to the courage and vigour of the soldier. Religious enthusiasm has often inspired the most heroic courage; but the effort to blend in permanent union the characteristics of the monk and the knight proved a failure. The orders prospered in numbers and wealth, and all have an important history, but in all it was the knight and not the monk that triumphed.

The military orders.

The Latin states of the East soon showed themselves unstable. The number of the Christian conquerors was small; they were only a garrison of occupation. The nobles were jealous of one another, and the presence of the enemy could not keep them from private war. The Eastern Empire which they had saved for the time from the pressure of the Turks, regarded them with jealousy and alarm. Its territory had been increased; but its trade had been ruined. Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, had established themselves in the harbours of the East. The course of commerce was diverted from Constantinople, and the trade of the city is said to have fallen by nearly a half. In the future the emperors were sometimes ready to join with the Saracen enemy against their Christian allies.

The weakness of the crusading states.

The divisions and jealousies of the crusading states soon allowed the Mahomedans to recover some of their lost ground. In 1144 Edessa fell into their hands. Saint Bernard preached a new crusade. Louis VII., King of

France, and the Emperor Conrad responded to the call; but the second crusade effected nothing, and St. Bernard saw in its failure the punishment of God for the sins of the Christian powers of the West. But soon there came news from the East which called peremptorily for another effort. A great Mahomedan ruler had arisen, who succeeded for a time in welding the dispersed Mahomedan states in the East into a compact whole. This was Saladin, whose courage, generosity, and comparative humanity have passed into legend, which exaggerates, but does not misrepresent the character of the great soldier. He advanced from Egypt into Syria. The Christian powers were quarrelling bitterly about the succession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Count of Tripoli even allied himself with Saladin. A great battle by the sea of Tiberias decided the issue. The Templars and the Knights rallied desperately round the fragment of the true cross. But all availed nothing against the terrible leader and the greater numbers of their opponents. Saladin advanced next against Jerusalem, forced it to surrender and used his victory with humanity. Soon there was little left of the victories that had given Christian Europe so much glory and had cost so much blood. The cry for another crusade rose at once.

The second crusade.

Saladin.

Loss of Jerusalem, 1187.

The third crusade, like the second, was conducted by kings. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion of England, Philip II., the great King of France; all consented to go out on this holy war. They had all three much to do in their own countries, but the pressure put upon them by the papacy was strong, and they left for the East, postponing their quarrels and ambitions. Without the motive of religion and the influence of the Church the crusade could never have taken place; but, once embarked on their adventure the leaders displayed no singleness of purpose, nor was their action controlled by thoughts of religion. The crusade was a failure. The Emperor Frederick was drowned during his march across Asia Minor; Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip II. of France quarrelled on the road to the Holy Land, and quarrelled when they got

The third crusade.

there. They won some victories. Cyprus was taken (1191). The army of Saladin could not prevent them from taking Acre. United action might perhaps have given them Jerusalem. But Philip was anxious to get back to France. He saw in Richard's power in Normandy an enemy much more dangerous than Saladin. Richard remained a little longer. He left behind him a memory of great courage, of military prowess and the knightly virtues. But in humanity he fell far below the standard set by Saladin; he slaughtered his prisoners at Acre, whereas Saladin had freed those who fell into his hands at Jerusalem. A study of his career shows how fantastic was the whole enterprise of the crusades, how little religion influenced the soldiers of the Cross, and how evil was the influence of the action of the crusaders on the repute of the Church.

Failure of the third crusade.

The second and third crusades produced no important results. But the fourth was an event of great European importance.

Innocent III. was the real author of the fourth crusade. Amidst all the many troubles of his pontificate it was his constant hope to unite again the armies of Christendom against the Mahomedans who remained in unshaken possession of the Holy Land. He partially succeeded in his enterprise; but he unchained forces which he could not control and he regretted at last the results of the movement which he had labelled with the holy sign. The fourth crusade was an aristocratic, not a royal movement, and again the chief actors in it came from France and her borders. Theobald, Count of Champagne, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Simon de Montfort were the chief leaders. They made their way to Venice and sought there ships to take them direct to the Syrian coast. The commercial states of north Italy had played a great part in the crusading movement and had profited vastly by it. They had secured trading rights in all the chief towns of the East, and had diverted trade from Constantinople into the harbours of Venice and Genoa. Venice, above all other cities, had found advantage in the holy wars. The city of the

The fourth crusade.

Venice and the crusaders.

lagoons was conscious of her strength and of her opportunities. Secure in her fastnesses she had resisted the attacks of the maritime powers of the Adriatic. She had drawn all the population of the islands under a single government, and had given to the government a strong aristocratic and commercial character. Already she held important trading rights at Constantinople, and her ambitions were looking to further triumphs when the crusaders asked for ships to take them to the Holy Land. Venice drove a hard bargain with them. They had no ready money, and the Venetians would only furnish ships on condition that the expedition sailed in the first instance against the city of Zara, on the east of the Adriatic, a Christian city, but a naval and commercial rival of Venice. The Doge of Venice, Dandolo, an old man said to have been nearly ninety and totally blind, but vigorous still, and burning with ambition for Venice, accompanied the expedition. The Pope in vain protested against the misuse of the army of the Cross. Zara was besieged and taken and handed over to Venice. But even then the expedition did not sail for the Holy Land. There came to the camp at Zara information which opened up the prospect of a greater adventure, in which Venice would certainly be a gainer. There had been a fierce palace struggle at Constantinople, and Alexius, the son of the late emperor, and the nephew of the reigning emperor, came to ask the help of the crusaders against his usurping uncle. He promised trading concessions to the Venetians, pay to the crusaders, and salved their consciences (if that were needed) by the prospect of the union of the Eastern with the Western Church. Again, therefore, these soldiers, signed with the cross and pledged to fight against the infidel, moved against a Christian city, and this time against one which for centuries had been the chief defence of Europe against the Mahomedan. They succeeded in deposing the reigning emperor and setting up their candidate, Alexius IV., instead. He reigned as their puppet, and the population rose against him and his supporters. Alexius IV. was slain, and his death gave the crusaders a welcome excuse for an assault upon the city in their own interest. The city had never yet

The attack on Zara.

Appeal from Constantinople.

been taken during its life of nine centuries, and if properly defended was still impregnable; but the defence was weak and corrupt, and the city fell into the hands of the crusaders. Never, said an eye-witness, had there been such plunder in any city since the world began. Priceless treasures of art and monuments of antiquity, for which the Venetians and their allies had no care, were destroyed; but the gold and silver, the precious tapestries for which the city was famous, were systematically sought out and divided. The citizens were submitted to indiscriminate slaughter. Then the crusaders determined to set up a new government. The schismatic Church of the East was replaced by Catholicism after the Roman model. A new emperor was chosen from the ranks of the crusaders—Baldwin of Flanders, Venice occupied a large district of the city for her commerce; and the old Doge realized his most ambitious dreams. But it was a dreadful and a fatal deed, "an act of colossal brigandage on the part of adventurers, who had hypocritically taken the crusading vow." The defences of Christian Europe were seriously weakened, for the new empire was not nearly so strong as the old one. Large territories both in Europe and Asia never obeyed the new "Latin" rulers. The new state lived a weak and troubled existence from 1204 to 1262. Then the Greek Church and the national sentiment of the East overthrew the feeble Latin empire, and a new Greek empire was set up under the *Palæologi*. But it never recovered its old strength. When two centuries later Constantinople fell to the Turks (1453), the causes of that great disaster are largely to be found in the evil effects of the fourth crusade.

Capture of Constantinople.

Restoration of the Greek Empire.

With this lamentable success the great period of the crusades was quite over. After the fourth it is impossible to distinguish the crusades by number. The popes fell into the evil habit of declaring any war in which they were interested "a crusade," and the expeditions sent out against the Mahomedans are none of them on the same scale as the first four crusades. There was an expedition against Egypt in 1218, which is usually called the fifth crusade. Egypt was chosen as the point of attack, because the centre of the

The "fifth" crusade.

Mahomedan power was in Egypt. This expedition was conducted by a papal legate, Pelagius, and it was his implacable temper which prevented it from achieving a solid success. Damietta, at the mouth of the Nile, was taken. The Sultan offered to hand over Jerusalem to the crusaders if they would restore him Damietta; but they refused, and were soon overwhelmed, and lost Damietta and all. Frederick II. (whom we have seen as Emperor and King of Sicily and Naples) was wiser when he went to the Holy Land in 1229. He was urged on to the crusade by the Pope, and excommunicated because he returned in a few days. Still lying under excommunication he sailed again. Arrived in Palestine he showed himself ready to treat with the Sultan of Egypt, for in his own dominions he lived on such good terms with the Saracens that he was not likely to reject all terms with them in Palestine. He secured free access to the Holy Places for pilgrims, and to gain this made a defensive treaty with the Sultan. No one had done so much for Christianity in the East since the first crusade; but on his return Frederick found that the Pope had punished him for going on the Holy War while lying under sentence of excommunication by placing the kingdom of Naples under an interdict.

The crusade of Frederick II.

The victories of diplomacy in Palestine proved as transitory as those won by arms. There was violent civil war among the Mahomedans, but the Christians could take no advantage of it. When the Sultan of Egypt was master of the situation again he easily swept away the scanty remains of Christian power in Syria. In 1244 Jerusalem was again in Mahomedan hands, and has never since that date been held by a Christian power.

But before the crusading movement expired it was associated with one of the greatest names of mediæval Christianity and directed by him with the purest possible motives. Saint Louis of France sailed for Egypt in 1248 with a French army, and with him went Joinville, the chronicler of the expedition. We get from him a most attractive picture of the saintly king, but we get also a clear conviction of the hopelessness of the whole crusading enterprise. Damietta was retaken. Then the French army advanced on Cairo. At Mansourah the Mahomedan army

Saint Louis as crusader.

inflicted on the crusaders a decisive defeat. A fragment only of the force escaped and tried to make their way to the coast, but, harassed by the enemy and weakened by loathsome disease, Saint Louis surrendered in order to get better terms for his men. He had to abandon Damietta and to pay an enormous ransom. As soon as he was free, Saint Louis made his way to Palestine to organize and strengthen the few garrisons still remaining there. He did his work devotedly and well; but all was of no avail. Hardly had he left the East when a new invasion swept over the land; commanded this time by the Mongolian Bibars. Antioch and Jaffa fell into his hands (1268). Acre held out a little longer, but it also fell in 1291, and then there was nothing left in Palestine for all the efforts and all the blood that had been spent in the crusades. Before the end came Saint Louis, with the support of Edward of England, son of Henry III., made one last effort and led an expedition to Tunis, in the hope of effecting the conversion of the Sultan. The plague fell on his army. The king himself died in 1270. The last of the genuine crusaders died with him.

Death of Saint Louis.

There were, even after this, many movements which were called crusades, but none that deserved the name. The popes had learnt that they could strengthen their arms, in many struggles in which they were interested, by calling them crusades and giving to those who fought in them the privileges which had been accorded to the followers of Godfrey of Bouillon and Saint Louis. But Europe, as a whole, no longer responded to the call, and the credit of the Church was injured by the attempt to regard as "holy wars" expeditions which were prompted by the secular motives of ambition, greed, or revenge.

What was the result of it all? It is very doubtful whether the cause of Christianity in the East had profited in any way. There was no Christian force left on the continent of Asia. Rhodes and Cyprus were in Christian hands, and remained so for some time longer (Rhodes until 1522, Cyprus until 1571). But if these acted as valuable checks to the growth of the Ottoman Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there must be set against them the weakening of Constantinople by the

The results of the crusades.

fourth crusade. There is no good ground for the claim that "the crusades saved Europe."

The indirect results of the crusades were great and lasting. The cities of Italy owed to them the rapid advance of their commerce, and with their commerce, of their municipal government and their artistic achievements. Venice gained most of all, though she had to fight hard with Genoa before she could maintain her hold upon the spoils she had won. The contact of the East and West had been fruitful too in other ways. New grains, fruits, trees, spices, stuffs now came for the first time into Europe. The art of the East influenced and stimulated the art of the West, especially the art of Venice. It was said, too, that the ideas of the East had not been without their effect on the West. Christian Europe had gone out to the war confident in the support of the God of Battles in the struggle waged in His cause. But the result had been disappointing: shortlived triumphs, lasting defeats, the waste of life and treasure, and the boundaries of Christianity not materially expanded. There was food for thought in all this. It was said later that the Mahomedan victories in the East had had an influence in producing the strange Albigensian heresies of the South of France

The gain of Italy.

Heresy.

Lastly, the crusades marked and caused a deterioration in the relation of the Church to its enemies. They stimulated immensely the temper and the practice of religious persecution. No declaration of war was necessary against the infidel: his religion was a sufficient ground for drawing the sword against him. The massacres of the Jews during the first and third crusades, and the so-called Albigensian crusade show that this principle could be applied in Western Europe. The inquisition in all its forms is only an application of the same spirit.

The crusades and religious persecution.

The story of the crusades is told by Gibbon and in the ecclesiastical histories of Milman and Robertson. Archer and Kingsford; *The Crusades* in the Story of the Nations. G. W. Cox; *The Crusades*. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Saladin*. Villehardouin's *History of the Conquest of Constantinople* and Joinville's *Life of Saint Louis* are two delightful chronicles. The article on The Crusades in the Encyclopaedia Britannica deserves mention.

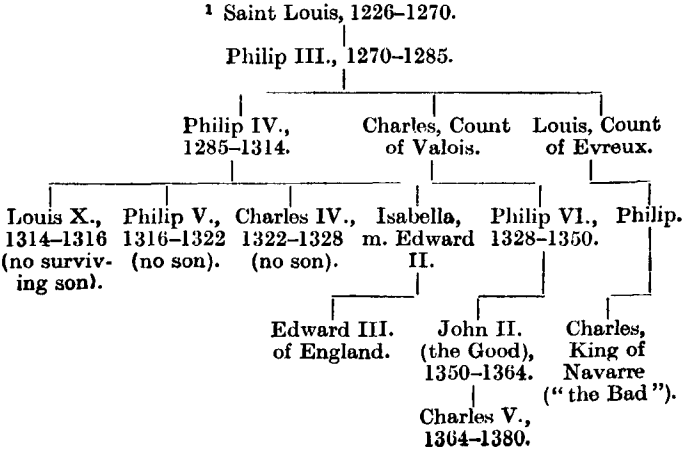
CHAPTER XVI

The Hundred Years' War

ON the death of Philip IV. of France there was no lack of descendants in the royal line. There were three sons, and besides these a daughter, Isabella, who was married to Edward II. of England. An unchallenged succession seemed assured; but France was soon involved in one of the greatest struggles that has ever arisen out of a disputed succession. For the three sons of Philip IV.—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV.—died one after the other, not indeed childless, but without male heirs. On the death of Charles IV., therefore, in 1328, the question of the descent of the crown was a really difficult one. Edward III. of England was the male in nearest direct descent from Philip IV. Charles "the Bad" of Navarre was the grandson of Philip IV.'s eldest son: Philip, soon to be Philip VI., was the nephew of Philip IV.[1]

The question of the succession in France.

[1] Saint Louis, 1226–1270.


Philip III., 1270–1285.
Philip IV., 1285–1314.
Charles, Count of Valois.
Louis, Count of Evreux.
Louis X., 1314–1316 (no surviving son).
Philip V., 1316–1322 (no son).
Charles IV., 1322–1328 (no son).
Isabella, m. Edward II.
Philip VI., 1328–1350.
Philip.
Edward III. of England.
John II. (the Good), 1350–1364.
Charles V., 1364–1380.
Charles, King of Navarre ("the Bad").

There was plenty of room for legal disputes. To exclude the claim of Edward III., a clause was produced from the laws of the Salian Franks with regard to landed property which said: "Of Salic land no portion of the inheritance shall come to a woman, but the whole inheritance of the land shall come to the male sex"; and it was maintained that this rule of inheritance, which applied to landed property in one branch of the Franks at the beginning of their history, applied for all time to the inheritance of the crown of the King of France. But the question was not a legal one. The "Salic Law" was the excuse, but the real motive was the desire to keep the crown of France from the hands of a foreigner, and thus to preserve the national independence of the country. **The Salic Law.**

The Hundred Years' War was a struggle arising chiefly from the rivalry of the only two strong national states of Europe. Germany, since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, was divided and ineffective both for politics and war. Italy was only a geographical expression. Spain did not exist as a state, and the different Christian kingdoms of Spain held their own with difficulty against the forces of Islam. But England possessed national unity and an effective organization. Thanks to the wisdom of Edward I., Crown and Parliament worked in efficient co-operation, and the means of creating a powerful armed force existed. France had not achieved such complete unity as England, but over a large stretch of country the king ruled with unquestioned authority, and the nobles were no longer rivals and independent powers in any part of the country. In the fourteenth century war was undertaken very lightly, and the jealousies of kings were always apt to produce war as soon as the kings possessed power. For over a hundred years the two royal houses struggled, with intervals of peace, for the possession of the crown and territories of France. **France and England.**

Froissart has described the early stages of the war in the most brilliant of chronicles. The joy of fighting and the glory and pageantry of war are given with a brightness of colour hardly to be matched outside of the pages of Homer. But the historian must give a very different **Froissart.**

account of it. It was one of the most terrible of wars in its social consequences. While the knights of England and of France were winning glory and exhibiting the graces and the virtues of chivalry on the battle-field, the country was pillaged mercilessly; the soldiers, high and low, exhibited the most brutal savagery; France, in the words of one of her historians, "passed through the flames of Hell."

The war was a savage conflict of two great rival powers. But there were excuses for the outbreak of the struggle more serious than the question of the validity of the Salic law. Edward III. was at war with Scotland, and France was in alliance with the Scots. The French king was suspected of designs on Guienne, which Edward III. held as a fief of the French king. But the chief immediate cause was to be found in Flanders. England and Flanders were intimately connected by commercial ties. Flanders was the one great centre of the woollen industry in Europe, and the best wool came from England. Just at this time the King of France had joined with the Count of Flanders (for there was a Count of Flanders again since the failure of Philip IV.'s attempt to annex the country) in crushing the turbulent citizens of the great towns. There followed another outbreak in Flanders under Jacob van Artevelde of Ghent, and the insurgents entered into friendly relations with the English king, who thus gained valuable allies and an excellent base for an attack on France. The success of the war depended throughout very largely on the allies whom England could procure. Her early successes were the result of the support of Flanders and the adjacent districts of Brabant and Hainault. And a hundred years later the ruin of England in the war came when these lands, then united under the rule of the Duke of Burgundy, transferred their allegiance to the King of France.

The immediate cause of the war.

The situation in Flanders.

The first phase of the war showed brilliant and uninterrupted success for England, and her victories were often won against great odds. For England was a great innovator in methods of warfare. Her army was gathered by voluntary enlistment for wage, and had none of the disorder of the

feudal levy. The Black Prince was a great commander, swift to seize the favourable opportunity in the crisis of a battle, daring in the adoption of new methods, as when at Crecy and at Poitiers he caused his knights to leave their horses and fight on foot, skilful in planning a battle, if not in arranging a campaign. Above all, in the long bow the English army possessed a weapon of dreadful efficiency. The Continental armies had nothing equal to it. It had a longer range and a greater penetrating power than the crossbow which was used by the French archers. It produced a more immediate revolution in war than the invention of gunpowder.

The early victories of England.

The long bow.

War was declared in 1337. It was one of the slow moving wars which stand in such marked contrast with the rapidity and continuity of modern campaigns. Want of money often brought operations to an end just when we should have expected something decisive. For twenty years the English arms had hardly a serious check. The naval fight off Sluys (1340) demonstrated and assured the naval superiority of the English. In 1346 King Edward III. and the Black Prince landed at La Hogue and marched towards Calais. The French army, superior in numbers and confident of victory, came up with them at Crecy. In the great battle which followed the feudal chivalry of France, with undisciplined courage, flung themselves on the strong defensive position which the English had taken up. It is said that the English used cannon; but if so they were of little service. It was the long bow that did the work. The arrows seem to have penetrated even the mail of the knights, and upon the bodies of the horses they fell with murderous effect. The English gained their victory with insignificant loss. The siege of Calais followed—a long and cruel blockade, in which famine at last gave the English the town. The inhabitants were expelled, English settlers were introduced, and for the future the English would always possess the gate of their enemies.

Crecy.

There was an interval of comparative quiet after this, due largely to the ravages of the Black Death. In 1355 the Black Prince conducted campaigns in Guienne and enlarged the

English frontiers there. In 1356, laden with booty, he was intercepted near Poitiers by a much larger army under King John, who had succeeded to the throne in 1350. John the Good he is called, his "goodness" being according to the standard of feudal chivalry; for he was an evil ruler for France, and her sufferings during the following years were largely due to his weak rule. The features of Crecy were repeated; on the one side complete self-confidence and a fierce onslaught; on the other, a carefully chosen defensive position, the archers the chief arm, and a repulse turned into a rout by an attack at the right moment. King John "the Good" himself fell a prisoner into the hands of the English and was taken to London.

Poitiers.

Disaster, financial distress, the horrible pestilence of the Black Death and the excesses of the bands of mercenary soldiers, who wandered about the country, filled up the cup of the misery of France. And it seemed that from the extremity of her disaster would arise a revolution in her government. Paris fell into the power of Stephen Marcel, Provost of the Merchants, a remarkable man who came near to leaving a great name in the annals of his native land and of Europe. He joined with Charles of Navarre ("Charles the Bad") and projected a new scheme of government which would have brought the political development of France into close resemblance to that of England. His ideas were embodied in the ordinances of 1357, which amount to the establishment of representative government in France. The States-General were to play the part of the English Parliament. They were to meet frequently and were to control the taxation of the country. The English were to be driven out of the land by a national army, which was to be raised by a general conscription and universal obligation to military service. These ideas are prophetic of a distant future; but it is doubtful if they could have been realized in the France of the fourteenth century. Charles of Navarre gave Marcel hesitating support: the Dauphin Charles, who ruled during the imprisonment of his father, had the national feeling of France on his side, and the revolutionary

Stephen Marcel and the Revolution of Paris.

The States-General.

movement was strong only in Paris. The tumultuous outbreaks of the peasants (the Jacquerie) showed the dangers of disorder. Marcel was killed and Paris surrendered to the Dauphin. There was no further attempt to take the conduct of the war from the control of the crown.

In 1360 King John accepted the Peace of Bretigni whereby King Edward III. abandoned his claim to the French throne, but received in full sovereignty, without homage or allegiance of any sort, the large district of Aquitaine to the south of the Loire, as well as Calais and the neighbouring district. It seemed a great victory for the English king; but it was soon to pass away like smoke.

In 1364 John "the Good" died, and his son Charles V. succeeded. The fate of France must have seemed more precarious than ever when it depended upon this weak, ill-shapen, unwarlike king. But he proved, in fact, a far more effective ruler than his rash and empty-headed father. He was fortunate in discovering Du Guesclin—a Breton knight—who soon displayed military talents of the very highest kind, and showed great skill in adapting his methods to meet the peculiar strength of the English. He gave them no further chance of winning another Crecy or Poitiers. He fought war in grim earnest and not as a knightly sport. He "kicked at the belly" by devastating the country through which the English were to pass and taking refuge within walled towns. The French won no days of glory like those which had fallen to the lot of the English, and twice Du Guesclin fell into the hands of the Black Prince. But the English possessions constantly diminished. Heavy taxation had made the Black Prince unpopular even in Guienne. In 1372 a little known but very important battle off La Rochelle ended in a naval victory for France. When Edward III. died in 1377, nothing remained in English hands except Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne and the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of these towns.

King Charles V. and Du Guesclin.

Battle of La Rochelle.

At the death of Edward III. the military outlook for France was much brighter, but she was still the prey to grave social evils. Du Guesclin had employed against the English

"companies" of mercenary soldiers—raised by promise of pay and booty, directly subordinate to their commanders, and far more efficient than the old armies of the kings of France, penetrated as they were by the spirit of feudalism. But though these "companies" were efficient in war, they were almost as dreadful a scourge to the country as the enemy himself. For in time of peace they spread over the country, plundering the peaceful inhabitants, and in some places a fresh army had to be raised against them, and at one time a crusade was even declared against them. Charles V.—Charles the Sage he is often called—died in 1380, leaving a son, Charles VI., only eleven years old. So, first, there were all the troubles that belong to a regency, and then, when Charles VI. came of age, other and worse troubles soon showed themselves. The king was stricken with madness. He recovered at times, but it would have been better for France if the clouds had settled permanently upon him, for then some stable government might have been established through a regency. As it was, France became the prey of furious factions which claimed the right to rule France in his name.

The companies of France.

Charles VI.

These parties are usually labelled the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. They were the followers of two princes of the blood royal who each claimed the right of exercising the government in the King's name. It was a great disaster for France that there was any Duke of Burgundy at all, and that there was one was due to the unwise action of King John the Good. For in 1362 the old house of Burgundy had come to an end, and its territories had fallen to the crown. They should have been annexed to the royal domain; but John gave them with the Ducal title to his son Philip the Bold, who alone had stood by his father on the disastrous field of Poitiers. From him were to come for four generations the most dangerous rivals and enemies of the French crown.

Burgundians and Armagnacs.

Philip the Bold of Burgundy claimed the Regency as uncle of Charles VI., and at his death his claim was taken over by his son, John the Fearless. His claims were resisted by the King's brother Louis, Duke of Orleans, and when the Duke

of Orleans had been murdered in 1407, his cause and the cause of his party was espoused by the Count of Armagnac, the father-in-law of the new duke, who was not old enough to fight for himself. There are few more savage contests than this between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, though it finds a close parallel in the feuds of the Yorkists and Lancastrians in our own country. It was a struggle for power and the wealth that power brings, but each gave to their cause some show of principle. The Armagnacs were associated with the feudal nobility of France, and found their strongest support in the south. The Duke of Burgundy allied himself with the democracy of the city of Paris and with the merchant classes of the other northern cities; but it was an alliance that sprang merely from a common enmity; for the Burgundians were equally ready to ally themselves with the feudal nobles when it served their turn to do so. The rivalry of these two princely houses led to fierce civil war. Paris fell into the power of a revolutionary party; but despite the support of the Burgundians it was reconquered by the Armagnacs. They controlled the King and the Dauphin, and victory seemed in their grasp, when in 1413 there came another acute crisis in the war with England.

Nature of the new civil war.

Henry V. was on the throne of England, young, ardent, ambitious, anxious for a military success which should make his people forget how weak was his claim to the English throne. He invaded France, conquered Harfleur after very great loss, and then, with an army sadly thinned by war and disease, he marched towards Calais, hoping to re-embark there for England. A great French army crossed his path at Agincourt. The English were saved from a situation of the greatest peril by the skill of their king and the courage and discipline of the troops; but also by the faulty tactics and masterless confusion of the enemy. They attacked as at Crecy and Poitiers, and it was no advantage under the circumstances that the knights had dismounted and fought on foot. The English archers did their deadly work, and Henry V. gained an even more overwhelming victory than those which had fallen to the lot of the Black Prince.

Henry V. of England.

Agincourt, 1415.

France fell lower and lower. The Dauphin quarrelled violently with his mother. The civil war of the factions showed no sign of abatement. Efforts at reconciliation only provided opportunities for assassination. The Burgundians made themselves master of Paris; and in 1418 John the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in order to avenge his father's murder, made hearty alliance with the English. Thus supported, Henry rapidly advanced in the conquest of Normandy, and his success was sealed in 1420 by the Treaty of Troyes. He was to marry Catherine, daughter of the imbecile King Charles VI., and was to rule France as Regent for the present, and as King at the death of Charles VI. The Duke of Burgundy was rewarded for his support by a declaration of the independence of those territories which he had hitherto held as a fief of the crown of France. Next year, Henry V. entered Paris. A career of unlimited possibilities seemed opening before him, when in 1422 he died.

Alliance of the Burgundians with the English.

Charles VI. died in the same year, and he was succeeded by his son Charles VII.—Charles the Victorious, as he was called at last—Charles the well-served, as he has been more justly styled. The English victories continued unabated. Victories in the south of Normandy and the upper course of the Seine seemed to confirm the alliance with Burgundy and to open the way to an attack on the centre and south of France, where alone Charles VII. now had any serious following. The only sign of hope for France was seen in the difficulties that arose between England and Burgundy; for the Burgundian alliance was the pivot of the English triumph, and in 1425 it seemed endangered by the effort of Humphrey of Gloucester to secure possessions in Hainault by a marriage with the heiress. This quarrel was, however, patched up, and in 1428 the English advanced to the siege of Orleans. They built forts at the gates of the city and though they did not encircle it by continuous lines of blockade, it seemed certain that famine would soon give the city to the English, and with the city the means of striking at the centre and south of France. It seemed that the French monarchy was close to its ruin.

Charles VII. "le victorieux" or "le bien servi."

Then Joan of Arc arose. Our knowledge of her career is drawn from evidence that is singularly good and full; but scrutiny, if it dispenses with miracle, does not lessen the wonder of it. She was an ignorant and pious peasant girl, and she had no experience of war; and yet she showed not only a contagious courage and enthusiasm, but also made suggestions that might have come from an experienced soldier. She believed herself divinely commissioned to relieve Orleans and to crown the King at Rheims, which lay in the heart of the country which was at the time of her coming in possession of the enemy. Both French and English came to believe that there was something supernatural in her, and this accounts for the change from the depths of depression to confidence on the side of France, and a corresponding and opposite change on the side of the English. Her career was a short one, and not so decisive as it is sometimes represented. Orleans was relieved, and the confidence of the English rudely shaken. The king was crowned at Rheims, and thus the mission, which "the voices" of which she spoke had confided to her, was accomplished. She remained unwillingly with the armies, and what followed was a dismal anti-climax. The king gave her poor support, and, like his generals, was probably jealous of her. The French army was driven off from an attack on Paris, though if Joan's advice had been taken the city would probably have fallen. Then she was captured in an attempt to relieve Compiegne. There is no more pitiful tragedy than the story how she was sold by her Burgundian captors to the English; and how a court, presided over by the Bishop of Beauvais under English influence, found her guilty of witchcraft. Her life was at first promised her; but on the ground that she had resumed her male attire she was sentenced to death as a relapsed heretic, and was burned professing to the last faith in "the voices" that had guided her.

Joan of Arc.

Relief of Orleans.

Martyrdom of Joan of Arc.

She had done much, but much remained to be done. The English grasp on France was loosened but not shaken off. The Burgundian alliance was still the key of the position, and Duke John the Fearless was again irritated with his

English allies because he thought they were aiming at acquiring power within his own dominions. In 1435 he took the final step, and by the Peace of Arras separated himself from the English and made peace with the King of France; his dominions were increased, and he was to be free during his whole life from any feudal dependence on the crown of France.

Burgundy makes peace with France.

In England, meanwhile, there was no government and no statesman capable of meeting the difficulty. The dismemberment which she had brought upon France seemed coming to her: the bitter strife of factions had begun, which was to lead later to the Wars of the Roses. France, encouraged by the prospect of success, turned to the reorganization of the state with confidence and energy. In 1436 Paris was reoccupied by Charles VII. He was well served to the end, and his chief servants came from the ranks of the merchant class. One such man, Jean Bureau, took in hand the artillery of the French army, and soon it came to be the best in Europe, and was more than an adequate counterpoise to the English archers in the remaining stages of the fighting. Another servant, Jacques Cœur of Bourges, laboured to reform the finances of France. It was an appalling task, for the country seemed sunk in chaos and misery. The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 was a financial help to France, for while Councils were declared superior to the Pope, and the Church was allowed to choose her own officials, certain large payments which had hitherto been made to the Pope were refused, and some of them found their way to the king's treasury. More directly important measures came in 1439, when a famous ordinance was issued by the king, dealing with the organization of the army (*ordonnance sur la gendarmerie*). In this measure it was not so much the English war that was thought of, for there was a breathing space in that; but rather the bands of brigands, or *écorcheurs*, who traversed France in large numbers and made life insupportable except within the walls of a town. These men were disbanded soldiers from the mercenary companies, men of many nationalities and all classes, who now plundered

Reorganization of France.

The Pragmatic Sanction.

The ordinance of 1439.

with deliberation and organization the country they had been hired to save. The one means to meet this and most other evils seemed to Frenchmen in the fifteenth century to be an increase in the authority of the crown. So with general support the great ordinance was issued. The taille, a tax hitherto levied by the nobles on their estates—a tax on property, on land, and on houses—was transferred to the crown and was to be devoted to the raising of a standing army. No one was to be allowed to raise troops without licence from the king, and all captains were to be nominated by him. It was an ordinance of far greater scope than was suspected at the time. It was effective against the brigands, and gave the king an efficient army when the war against England was renewed. But it also proved a potent instrument for the advancement and enforcement of the royal power. The kings of France henceforth had the power of collecting a tax that was elastic, and could be made to raise great sums of money; and this tax could be used to maintain a standing army. What the kings of England never won—the right to tax and the right to maintain a standing army—was given willingly to the kings of France! This of itself does not by any means explain why France became an absolute monarchy, and England, despite all checks, worked forward to parliamentarism. The geography and the primitive institutions of the two races were potent influences on their divergent growth. But the ordinance of 1439 was an important step, and it was never recalled until the monarchy disappeared in the storms of the revolution of 1789.

Its consequences.

War with England came again in 1439. Normandy rebelled against the English and was supported by the forces of the crown. Rouen was taken, and then the English made their last stand at Formigny (1450). Their defeat gave the whole of the north of France, with the exception of Calais, into the hands of the French. Then in 1453 Guienne came over to France. Bordeaux almost alone held out for England. A last effort was made to recover some of the lost ground, when the veteran Talbot led out an army. At Castillon (1453) the last battle of the Hundred Years' War was fought. The last picture that we get of the

The end of the war.

fighting is characteristic. The English archers failed. The English knights charged with stubborn courage, but they were swept down by the new artillery that Bureau had given to France.

The long duel was over. If we did not remember the character of the century and the light way in which the rulers undertook wars we could not condemn too strongly the action of England which had filled France for a century with every kind of evil. England paid for her action in the Wat Tyler and Jack Cade rebellions, perhaps in the Black Death, certainly in the Wars of the Roses. France had gained her great victory, and had expelled the English from all France with the exception of Calais, because a genuine national spirit arose in the country which made the inhabitants feel the English dominion a hateful foreign oppression.

Charles VII. prolonged his glorious reign to 1461; but he had personally contributed very little to its glory, and the last years of his reign showed that though the old feudalism had lost its power to harm, the nobles were still restless and hostile to the royal authority. Their claims were supported by the Dauphin, afterwards the famous Louis XI. But the royal forces dispersed them. The Dauphin took refuge with the Duke of Burgundy, and Charles VII. died in peace.

His reign shows us how little the development of the monarchy was due to the ambitions or the powers of the individual kings. It was the nation that was concentrated in the monarchy and found there a truer representative than the States-General or the Parlement afforded. It has been said of the next century in Europe generally that "the true Messiah was the king." France had learnt to look for salvation to the monarchy a century earlier.

"Le nouveau Messie c'est le roi."

Besides the great histories of France, Froissart's *Chronicles;* Andrew Lang, *Maid of Orleans;* Ashley, *James and Philip van Artevelde.*

CHAPTER XVII

The Catholic Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

WITH the election of Clement V. and his adoption of Avignon as the papal residence, the history of the Church enters on a new and well-defined phase. It had been for centuries the most important force in the making of the history of Europe; it had aspired to rule in political as well as in spiritual matters all the states of Western Europe, and it had come near to realizing its ambition. But with the victory of Philip IV. of France there came a great change. The claims of the popes were as high as they ever had been; the language of Gregory VII., and Innocent III. still flowed from their lips; but they hardly dreamed of realizing their claims. The secular powers triumphed. There were three clear stages through which the Church passed in this period. First the popes lived as exiles in France within the control of the French kings. This was the period of the "Babylonish Captivity." Next, no sooner was the papacy restored to Italy than there broke out a schism in the Church by the election of rival popes, and no way was found to heal this schism except by an appeal to great councils of the Church. This was the period of the Conciliar movement. The papacy emerged from that movement with less weakening of its power than at one time seemed likely. The popes resided in Rome again, and their authority within the Church was not curbed by any constitutional checks. But they regained their theoretical supremacy by abandoning much of their actual power in the states beyond the Alps. They built up for themselves a strong power in Italy and devoted themselves to the politics of the peninsula. This marked the third phase before the storm of the Reformation broke—the phase of the papacy as an Italian power.

The triumph of the secular powers.

Phases in the development of the papacy.

Seven popes reigned in Avignon, and they found their residence there extremely agreeable. The city belonged at first to the Count of Provence, but it was bought by the papacy, and the popes possessed there more personal freedom than had been possible amidst the ambitious nobles and turbulent people of Rome. When the papal court moved back again to Rome, the cardinals complained loudly of the vulgar and sordid character of the city, and regretted the luxurious civilization of Avignon. The popes at Avignon were bound to the king of France, and they thus lost the independent position in Europe on which their *prestige* had depended. But they made up by the vehemence of their claims for what they lost in real power. The empire still claimed to be the first of the secular powers; though we shall see in the next chapter how weak a thing the empire had become. The popes claimed now quite definitely that the Pope was suzerain over the empire, and that when the Imperial throne was vacant the popes acted of right as regents. But their claims were met on the Imperial side with a stout denial. The situation naturally produced fierce controversy and subtle discussion on the nature of the state, on the source of authority within the state, on the relation of the spiritual and the temporal powers. Dante had a few years before asserted in his *De Monarchia* the necessity of a supreme secular ruler to control the anarchy and misery of Italy. Now, in 1327, Marsiglio of Padua, once a teacher at the university of Paris, on behalf of the Emperor Lewis IV. declared in the *Defensor Pacis* that the Pope was the source and fountain of all discords; and that the head of the Church should use persuasion only, and should lay no claim to any power of compulsion. The Imperial claims, too, went beyond the domain of theory. It was declared that he whom the German electors chose was king of the Romans and prospective emperor, and stood in no need of papal confirmation. The Emperor Lewis made his way to Rome and was there crowned by the Pope's enemies. The old controversy existed, but it no longer produced the disturbances and the wars of former times.

The Babylonish captivity.

Controversies as to Church and State.

There was another feature in the life of the papal court of Avignon which seemed at the time a great success and nevertheless was sowing the seeds of future disaster. The luxurious life of the city entailed great expenses, and the protection of the king of France took away much of the sense of responsibility which was felt in Rome. New methods of making money were discovered, and the result was a full papal treasury. Papal dispensations were lavishly distributed and in effect sold at a high figure. The popes claimed the right to appoint to ecclesiastical offices of various degrees, and those who were appointed made payments to the Pope; most important of all, the revenues of vacant benefices were claimed for the papal exchequer. No wonder that residence at Avignon was so pleasant; but the luxury, vice, and iniquity of the papal court became proverbial throughout Europe; and the papacy was thus losing the very foundations of its real strength. The protection, too, of the king of France had its dangers and drawbacks. The enemies of France refused obedience to the papacy which they regarded as an agency of France. England, at war with France, refused to contribute to the papal funds, and checked the papal extortions to which we have alluded by Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire.

New methods of filling the papal treasury.

In the papal states of Italy, too, there were grave disorders. The absence of the papal court allowed the petty princes to raise their heads and assume independence. Civil war was constant in the land. Nor must we omit to note that there were other and worthier impulses urging to return. The religious life of the time seems to have sunk low. The Friars were torn by disputes, and many of them were now the eager champions of Imperial claims. But the religious life of Europe was not dead. The most attractive figure of the time is Saint Catherine of Siena, and she used all her influence to urge the return of the papacy to Rome. At last, in 1377, Pope Gregory XI. was induced to make the move. The abandonment of the luxuries of Avignon and the return to her ancient capital seemed a good omen for the future of the Church. But when Gregory XI. died in 1378 a worse danger and a graver scandal appeared.

End of the Babylonish captivity.

The papal election was held amidst great tumult. The crowds outside demanded "a Roman Pope, or at least an Italian." Urban VI., who was elected, was a Neapolitan, and was thought at first likely to return to Avignon. He did not do so; but he was a proud, headstrong, irascible man, and opposition soon grew up against him. The cardinals in the French interest met together and declared that the previous election was invalid owing to confusion and violence; and they chose another Pope who took the title of Clement VII. He was known as a man of determined temper, but he made little headway in Italy and retired to Avignon. There was clear schism in the Church.

A disputed election leads to "the Great Schism."

It was not the first time by any means that the Church had suffered from schism; but this was far the longest and the most important of all the schisms that the Church has known. There was a succession of Urbanist popes in Rome and a succession of Clementist popes in Avignon. Not until 1417 was Christendom reunited again. Moreover, the division in the Church was associated with and partly caused by violent divisions among the states of Europe; and the relation of the various powers to each of the two claimants was determined by political considerations. The Urbanists had the greater amount of support; England, Italy, and Germany stood for them. France and Scotland were the main supports of the Clementists, though they later secured the adhesion of most of Spain.

The rival popes and their supporters.

The scandal and the evil of the schism were very great. There was nothing to which the best intellects of Europe in the fourteenth century held so firmly as the need of unity in the Church. Upon that depended all assurance of the validity of the sacraments and consolations of the Church. Nor was the evil one that only concerned religion and theology. Two papal courts, intriguing against one another, rival claimants for money, rival diplomatists in every state, were a burden and a danger of the most serious kind. There was entire unanimity of feeling that this scandal should be brought to an end as soon as possible.

How to end the schism.

But how to bring it to an end? The simplest way was that one or both of the popes should be induced to abdicate. But they and their cardinals were in possession of posts of honour and wealth; and abdication would be a confession of wrong-doing. So, though popes before their election might declare themselves ready to abdicate, they one and all clung tightly to their office when they gained it. Pressure of some sort would have to be put upon them from the outside. The situation seemed to call for another Charlemagne or another Otto; but the empire was weak, and for a long time was itself perplexed by rival claimants. France had on hand the war with England. The schism was healed in the end by the action of the emperor, when the empire became, if not strong, at least stronger than in the time of its division. But first great efforts were made to close the rent in the Church by action from the inside.

The universities of Europe were rising in influence; but none was so powerful as the university of Paris. Its school of theology, especially, was one of the most powerful intellectual influences in the fourteenth century. The university of Paris was from the first concerned to end the schism, and through its Chancellor Gerson and others urged the advisability of summoning a council of the Church. The growth of the papal monarchy had gone far to efface the memory of councils as a means of governing the Church; but it seemed now that the instrument which had settled early heresies and divisions in the Church might be effective in dealing with this new scandal of a schism.

The University of Paris.

At last, in 1409, through the action of a large body of the cardinals, a council was called at Pisa. It was impressive by reason of its numbers and the eminence of its members, but it was difficult to say from whom it derived authority, and how it justified its claim to be regarded as the voice of Christendom. It proceeded without much hesitation to its work. The two reigning Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., were summoned to appear, and on their failure they were declared heretics and contumacious, and deposed. The cardinals of the

The Council of Pisa.

Conference now proceeded to the election of a new Pope, and chose an old man of Greek origin, who took the title of Alexander V.

The triple schism.

Was the scandal of the schism over? It quickly appeared that it had been increased. Three popes reigned instead of two. For neither Benedict nor Gregory accepted their deposition, and the council of Pisa had not sufficient control of force to make them resign. The new Pope lived only for a few months and died in 1410, urging the cardinals almost with his last breath to "seek peace and ensue it." The Pisan cardinals chose John XXIII. to succeed him, a man of restless ambition, great energy, and notoriously dissolute life. He was not likely to contribute to the pacification of the Church.

The Emperor Sigismund.

But the scandal was too great, and the practical evils flowing from it too obvious for the matter to rest there. All the abuses that have been mentioned in connection with "the Babylonish captivity" were increased during the schism. The divorce between religion and morality seemed complete. In Italy the disorder was very great; and the conflicts of cities and of factions, there and elsewhere, was carried on with a fierce ambition and a ferocious cruelty difficult to parallel in all history. All Europe cried for the restoration of Catholic unity. In Germany, meanwhile, political unity had at last been restored. For some time there had been three candidates for the Imperial power; but now (1410) Sigismund at last won the position and reigned without challenge. The empire was not by any means a powerful political and military force (more of this in the next chapter); but Sigismund ruled in Hungary and Bohemia, and there was not on the Continent at the moment any stronger power. Bohemia was harassed by the religious movement which had been founded by Huss, acting on the ideas of Wyclif. Sigismund was not a great or a strong man; he was possessed by an ambition that was often fantastic and absurd; but for the present his practical interests as well as his desire to play a great part in the eyes of men, urged him to attempt the task of restoring unity to the Church.

John XXIII. appealed to him to make the attempt and thought that he would find in the emperor a pliant tool. But Sigismund threw himself into the work with an independent energy which at once alarmed the Pope. He chose Constance as the seat of the council, which was to carry on to success the work of the council of Pisa, though the Pope would have preferred an Italian town which would have been more completely within his influence. He had to acquiesce in the choice of Constance, but he regarded it from the first as a "trap to catch foxes."

Sigismund summons the Council of Constance.

To Constance, then, there came great crowds of priests, bishops, cardinals, as well as of laymen, from all parts of Europe; though Italy sent far more representatives than any other single nation. The task to which they addressed themselves was threefold. They wished to restore unity to the Church; to repress heresy; and to effect a general reform of the abuses of the Church. John XXIII. had hoped that he would be taken as the symbol of Catholic unity, and that, while the rival popes would be deposed, he would be generally recognized. But he was quickly undeceived. The resignation of all three popes was insisted on, and John XXIII. struggled in vain against this demand which was supported by the emperor. "If the Good Shepherd would lay down His life for the sheep, much more ought the Pope to lay down his dignities." The Pope yielded or seemed to yield, and the reunion of Christendom seemed to be an accomplished fact. But John XXIII. was revolving schemes for escaping out of the trap. While a great tournament engrossed general attention, he fled in mean disguise from the city. But the council, under Sigismund's guidance, was resolute against him. It declared that it was "lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost," and that the Pope was bound to obey it. The Pope found himself without sufficient support, and was brought back, a prisoner, to Constance. The council drew up a long list of charges against him, which embraced every sort of offence, with the exception of heresy. "From the days of his youth he was

The task of the Council of Constance.

Flight of John XXIII.

The end of the schism.

steeped in vice, he was a vessel of every kind of sin." He was declared deposed, and all subjects were freed from allegiance to him. Catholic unity was now really within sight. One rival Pope abdicated, another was deposed. A new election then took place, and Pope Martin V. was chosen to rule over the united Catholic Church (1417).

Before this had taken place the council had taken questionable measures for the repression of heresy. The confusion in the Church had favoured the rise and expression of views hostile to the policy and doctrines of the rulers of the Church. Wyclif in England had found eager support when he urged the national rights of England against the extortions and oppressions of the Roman Court, and he had carried many with him when he criticized the morals of the clergy, and declared that sacraments celebrated by an immoral priesthood lost all validity, and appealed from the accepted doctrines of the Church to the authority of the Bible. The movement had produced a great influence in England, and had been treated on the whole with moderation and humanity. The ideas of Wyclif produced an even more dangerous ferment when they were transplanted to the distant soil of Bohemia. The Bohemians were a Slavonic people (Czechs they called, and still call themselves); but they were included within the limits of the empire. Their king was the childless and drunken Wenzel; but the Emperor Sigismund was Wenzel's heir, and he took, therefore, a direct and strong interest in Bohemian affairs. Bohemia was a flourishing and important state. Her great university at Prague was one of the three or four most influential universities in Europe. But there were dangerous elements of fermentation in the country. The Bohemian population regarded the considerable number of German residents with intense dislike, and there had been for some time widespread opposition to the Catholic Church in Bohemia, which seemed foreign in its origin and sympathies. Then came the teaching of Wyclif. It found ready acceptance in the university of Prague, and its chief exponent was the eloquent Huss, who held a high place at the university. He eagerly preached that "Bohemia existed for the Bohemians";

Wyclif and Huss.

Condition of Bohemia.

that the vices of the clergy were the ruin of the Church; that the individual conscience was in religious matters the court of appeal; that the doctrine of transubstantiation was false, and that the Bible alone was certainly true. His preaching found wide acceptance. He was denounced in Rome and excommunicated; but his hold on the public mind was not shaken.

The council of Constance was all the more anxious to prove its orthodoxy, because it was engaged in deposing popes; and Sigismund was ambitious to restore religious order to Bohemia as well as unity to the Church. He invited Huss to Constance, and gave him a safe conduct, declaring that he should be free "to come and stay and go at his pleasure." Huss accepted the challenge, and was eager to argue his case; but he found the council in no mood for argument. He was thrown into a foul prison and he nearly died there. When he came before the council his opinions were condemned. Sigismund was induced to allow his safe conduct to be violated, on the ground that promises made to heretics were not binding. Huss was burnt outside the walls of Constance (1415).

The martyrdom of Huss.

Little was done, or seriously attempted, towards the reformation of the abuses of the Church. The subject was a thorny one; all concerned were eager to leave Constance where they had been detained so long. The council broke up with a promise that another council should shortly be held, and that this should deal with the abuses of the Church.

The next important council did not come so soon as had been promised; for the popes disliked the principle of councils, which were a limitation on the powers of the papal monarchy; and perhaps the council of Basel would never have met at all had it not been for the critical condition of Bohemia. There the burning of Huss had had no pacifying effect; on the contrary, the flames from his pyre seemed to have set the whole country alight. The Hussites found very capable leaders, first the noble Ziska, and then the priest Prokop. The Bohemian war is one of the strangest chapters in military history. The rebels made great use of artillery, and their

Council of Basel.

The Hussite wars in Bohemia.

armies moved with a rapidity that baffled the lumbering Imperial armies that were brought against them. Bohemia was entirely in the possession of the rebel heretics, and they carried their victorious arms far into Germany.

The corruptions of the Church were one of the great causes of the Bohemian revolt. So in 1431 the new council was called at Basel to consider the reform of abuses. Its sessions were not ended until 1449. It was all through a more headstrong and revolutionary body than the council of Constance; but it produced little effect. For a time it created another schism in the Church; and when at last it ended it passed away unregretted. The Bohemian question was first dealt with. Representatives of the Hussites were received and great concessions made. But the Bohemian war came to an end through the violent divisions among the rebels themselves. They broke up into moderates and extremists. In 1434 the extremists, led by Prokop, were defeated with huge loss in the battle of Lipau, and the way was opened for a settlement on terms agreeable to the court of Rome. Sigismund, after much negotiation and many promises which he had no intention of keeping, made himself master of Bohemia. He died in 1437. None have ever called him a great emperor. There was always something flashy and fantastic in his actions. But he held a great position and pursued often high and worthy aims. He is connected with some of the greatest events of the fifteenth century, and his career provides us with a key to much of the history of Germany for a century after his death.

End of the Hussite war.

The relation of the council with the emperor had been varying, and never entirely friendly; but the relations of the council with the Pope were always hostile. The council of Basel, far more than the council of Constance, existed to limit, and almost to destroy the supreme authority of the papacy and to set up a kind of parliamentary government of the Church in its stead. The council of Constance had declared that councils were the supreme power in the Church, and the council of Basel reaffirmed this with still greater emphasis. "A general council has its power immediately from Christ, and all of every rank,

End of the council of Basel.

even the papal, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, the extirpation of heresy and the reformation of the Church in head and members." The attempt was made at Basel to erect this into a central doctrine of the Church, and to force all popes to swear to it before entering on their office. Against a council inspired by such a spirit the Pope was bound to fight. Pope Eugenius IV. twice attempted to dissolve the council at Basel and to call it for a later date to some Italian town, where it could be flooded by Italian clergy in the papal interest. But it was at first too strongly supported by the secular powers, and the attempt failed. At last the relations between Pope and council grew so strained that the council determined to depose the Pope, chiefly on the ground that he refused to accept the supremacy of councils, and they chose a new Pope, Felix V. They aimed now at vast ecclesiastical changes. They would destroy the financial abuses of the papal court; they would grant indulgences in their corporate capacity; they would by negotiation bring to an end the schism of the Eastern Church. But they were attempting tasks far beyond their power. The secular powers of Europe, in whose support lay most of their strength, had no confidence in them. They had contributed to the solution of the Bohemian question, but the Emperor and Pope concluded the pacification there without reference to them. The prospect of a new schism was regarded everywhere with alarm. No one believed in the council's power to effect the reforms of which they spoke so often. Germany and France both negotiated with the papacy for an alleviation of abuses without considering the council. So the council of Basel found its foundations undermined and gradually collapsed. The attendance dwindled there. Felix V. resigned. At last in 1449 the council was dissolved, and no one raised a hand in defence of a body, which had talked loudly and done little.

The high claims of the council.

Dissolution of the council.

The *prestige* of the papacy rose as that of the council fell. Pope Eugenius IV. had brought the negotiation with the Greeks to a conclusion which was a great nominal victory for the Latin Church. Disregarding the efforts of the council of Basel he had himself called a council at Florence, which

was subsequently moved to Ferrara. A large number of Greek prelates came, ready at last to make the concessions that the Latins demanded. It was not that they were convinced by argument or attracted by the charms of unity. But at Constantinople the end of the Christian Empire was clearly approaching. The fourth crusade had ruined the strength of the empire, and the restoration of a Greek line of emperors did not bring sufficient force to resist the constantly advancing inroad of the Turks. Help could only come from the Christian powers of the West, and the only chance of securing such help lay in the acceptance of the religious doctrines of the West. So the patriarch of Constantinople and many prelates came to Florence and Ferrara to debate on the use of unleavened or leavened bread in the Eucharist; on the question as to whether the Holy Ghost should be defined as "proceeding from the Father," or "from the Father and the Son;" above all, on the crucial question of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over the universal Church. The Greeks argued subtly and keenly, but the majority were, in the end, ready to drain the bitter draught. In July, 1439, the union of the Eastern and Western Churches was declared. It was a great triumph for the Pope, though experience was to prove it an empty one. The Greeks generally refused the decision of their prelates. "Better the turban of the Turks," they declared, "than the Pope's tiara;" and it was not until December, 1452, that at last, with the Turk at their gate, the festival of union was celebrated; it antedated by only a few months the world-shaking victory of the crescent over the cross at Constantinople (1453).

The council of Ferrara.

The condition of the Eastern Empire.

With the dissolution of the council of Basel, the conciliar movement was at an end. The effort to depose the papal monarchy, and to substitute an ecclesiastical parliament failed altogether, as parallel political movements in England and France failed; for in France the States-General failed to establish themselves firmly, and the absolute monarchy of Charles VII. and Louis XI. brings the century towards its end; whilst in

The increased strength of the papacy.

England the premature parliamentary experiments of the Lancastrians lead up to the strong monarchy of the Yorkists and the Tudors. So in the government of the Church the authority of the papacy found itself, at least in appearance, strengthened by the failure of the councils to reform and reorganize the Church. Nicholas V., who succeeded Eugenius, gained glory for the Roman Court by associating it with the Renaissance in Art and Letters which was the great preoccupation of the Italian mind. After him came Pius II., who, before his pontificate, was known as the scholar Æneas Silvius, and in that capacity had written and spoken in favour of councils. But in 1460 he issued the Bull "*Execrabilis*" in which any appeal to a council was denounced "as an execrable abuse unheard of in primitive times," and any one so appealing was declared *ipso facto* excommunicated. Further appeals were made in spite of this. But the Bull became one of the pillars of papal authority.

Pope Nicholas V.

The Bull "*Execrabilis*."

The papacy, then, had to all appearances weathered the storm; and Pius II. might think that he occupied the same position, and wielded the same power as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. That was far from being the case. The criticism of the doctrines and government of the Church which Wyclif and Huss had begun did not die out, and could not be crushed out; the revival of learning contributed to it new weapons. Erasmus was born in 1467; Luther in 1483. The spontaneous orthodoxy of the Middle Ages had passed away for ever. The schism and the councils, too, had awakened a dangerous feeling of national life in religious matters. England, France, Germany, even Spain, had dealt with their religious problem as nations, not as sections of the universal Catholic Church; and this national feeling was a spirit that the papacy would have to reckon with. Meanwhile, the papacy became more and more Italian. Its claims to govern Europe, in religious and political matters, were maintained, but they were silently neglected. But in Italy the Pope had a large power, and could play an important if not a domineering part. Until the storm of the Reformation broke the chief interest of the

Condition of the papacy at the end of the fifteenth century.

popes was to be found in the development of the resources of the papal states, and the winning for those states of a wider influence among the rival powers of Italy. In such a policy lay for a time their security; but half a century after the death of Pius II. their overthrow came from the same source.

In addition to the ordinary histories, Creighton's *History of the Papacy during the Reformation* is the great authority. Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages.* Lane-Poole, *Illustrations of Mediæval Thought.*

CHAPTER XVIII

Germany and Italy in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

GERMANY

THE history of Germany during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is particularly difficult for English readers to understand. It is, in all superficial respects, a great contrast to the history of England during the same period, and almost as widely separated in character from the history of France. National unity had been secured in England by monarchy and Parliament, and since the Norman conquest it had almost continuously advanced and strengthened. The anarchy of the reign of John and the private warfare at the beginning of the Wars of the Roses did not seriously threaten it. It was the nation united under its king which had annexed Wales and Ireland. We have seen what the process was in France. The crown there had extended its domain since the eleventh century, until nearly all France was enclosed within it, and the great nobles no longer ventured to claim an independent standing. The same tendency to concentration under the monarchy is observable in Spain, and is one of the general political characteristics of the period.

Contrast between the history of England and of Germany.

But in Germany the tendency was all in the opposite direction;

towards disruption, not towards unity; towards the emphasis of feudal claims, not towards their extinction. The German monarchy had suffered disastrous collapse when the Imperial claims of the Hohenstaufen were defeated in 1268. For a time there was no emperor, and when the interregnum was over the empire returned in name rather than in reality; no wise ruler ever tried again to make of it the universal European monarchy, of which Frederick Barbarossa had dreamed.

Nor was the empire more effective, regarded as the German monarchy. During the struggle with the papacy, the great nobles of Germany had risen into power and prominence, and it was with them that the future of Germany lay. The strength of the empire henceforth depended on the power of the noble house with which it was associated. Thus in Germany the fortunes of the great noble houses became a matter of first-rate importance. In England it is a matter of subordinate interest to trace the fortunes of the great houses of Norfolk, Warwick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, etc. But in Germany the political history of the state depended on the marriages, inheritances, quarrels, wills, annexations of a dozen great families, such as the Wittelsbachs, Wettins, Welfs, and above all of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. As they added house to house, province to province, and even kingdom to kingdom, the fortunes of modern Europe were being shaped.

Importance of the history of the great houses of Germany.

It was not only the struggle of the empire with the papacy which led to the ruin of the effectiveness of the empire. It was prevented from growth by the fact that it was elective. For elective monarchy, though it has procured the support of some theorists, has in practice usually worked badly. In Germany, the electors—the few great powers, ecclesiastical and secular, who had by tradition the right of making the choice—exacted from the candidates promises whereby the power of the crown were given away in order to secure the empty title of empire. These promises were known in Germany as capitulations. Moreover, the electors were usually careful to choose as emperor some noble who was not too powerful. They feared that a strong man would use his strength to beat down the powers

Influence of election on the empire.

and claims of the feudal aristocracy. They were anxious, too, to prevent the empire from becoming hereditary either in theory or fact; for the hereditary principle was a great source of strength to those governments which had adopted it.

Spread of monarchy in the German states.

Yet if we look more closely we shall find that even in Germany the tendency to monarchical concentration is observable. The empire availed nothing against the great nobles, but those great nobles asserted their claims successfully against the smaller nobles. The territories of the Wittelsbachs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns were real monarchies, though Germany was not.

The history of Germany, therefore, is not to be found in the history of the empire; but we will first glance at the chief figures in the list of emperors and then turn to the greater things that were happening away from the nominal government of Germany.

Rudolf of Hapsburg.

In 1273, after an interval of nineteen years, during which there was no emperor, Rudolf of Hapsburg was chosen as emperor. His house at the time of his election enjoyed no pre-eminence in Germany. The castle of Hapsburg (the word means ravens-castle) is situated in Swabia, and the fortune of the house seemed likely to develop there. But the great fact of Rudolf's reign—a fact important, not so much for Germany as for the house and dynasty which traces its greatness to him—was that he gained for it great possessions on the eastern frontiers of Germany.

The non-German neighbours of Germany.

Along the east of Germany ran a semi-circle of non-German states, all of them, with one notable exception, of Slavonic origin. There were the Prussians and Lithuanians to the north; then came Poland, then Bohemia, then Hungary. The Hungarians or Magyars—to give them the name by which they called themselves—were of Asiatic (Turanian) origin, and were the third swarm of kindred race which had forced itself into Europe up the Danube valley. Bohemia and Hungary were the two states with whom Germany had the most important relations. Hungary was admittedly outside the empire. Bohemia was regarded as lying within it (though its population

was quite alien in race and language from the Germans), and its king had sometimes acted as one of the electors when the Imperial throne was vacant. In Bohemia there now ruled the powerful King Ottokar. He had laid hands on the German lands adjacent to Bohemia—on Austria, Styria, and Carinthia; and had refused to do homage to Rudolf. Hence war came. Ottokar was defeated and killed in 1278 at the battle of Marchfeld. His German possessions passed into the hands of Rudolf, and a marriage alliance established the influence of the House of Hapsburg in Bohemia and prepared the way for their future annexation of that kingdom. The politics of Europe still show the influence of the battle of Marchfeld; it laid the foundation of the power of the present Austrian Empire.

The Hapsburgs in Eastern Germany.

The Imperial crown was destined to become an almost hereditary possession of the House of Hapsburg; but two centuries would pass before that. The success of Rudolf's reign made the electors look away from his house for the next emperor. But we may pass over the emperors who followed. They are interesting and they are important, but rather for the history of Italy than for that of Germany. But it was a great event from many points of view when, in 1347, Charles of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, was chosen emperor. He was not the first member of the Luxemburg house to win the title; but he was the most important for German history. He left a permanent mark both upon Germany and upon Bohemia. By a document which is known as "the Golden Bull" published in 1356, he gave to the empire, not exactly a definite constitution, but at least a set of definite regulations on many important points in the political life of Germany. It was very far from giving unity to Germany. It made no attempt to bring all the population under one law and one government. On the contrary, it recognized the practical independence of the great princes, and for this reason it has been said that Charles IV. "legalized anarchy and called it a constitution."* It declared that the choice of the emperor at every vacancy should rest with seven electors, and these were the Archbishops of (1) Mainz, (2) Treves (or Trier),

Charles of Luxemburg.

The Golden Bull.

and (3) Cologne, and (4) the Margrave of Brandenburg, (5) the Count Palatine of the Rhine, (6) the Duke of Saxony, and (7) the King of Bohemia. The permanence and independence of these last four states were guaranteed; their territories were to descend undiminished to the eldest heir, and were not to be partitioned, according to the old German fashion, among all the sons. These are the most important features of the Bull; but these important stipulations are embedded in a mass of pompous and trifling regulations as to etiquette and ceremony.

Charles IV. failed thus to give unity to the empire; but he achieved a greater success in his kingdom of Bohemia. The country was in a thoroughly flourishing state. There were a large number of German immigrants, but the majority were of the original race—the Czechs. The university of Prague became one of the most important universities in Europe; the strong national feeling and high education of the country prepared the way for the Hussite movement in religion which has already been noted. Charles IV. ruled over a wide extent of territory. In addition to the original territories of his house in Belgium he ruled in the East over Bohemia, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Moravia. Marriage connections prepared the way for a still greater destiny. We must not follow all of these here; but he connected himself with Hungary and with the House of Hapsburg. Hungary, Bohemia, and the possessions of the house of Hapsburg ultimately came together in the hands of his descendants. It was said of Austria, later, that her marriages were more successful than her wars; and Charles IV. in this way, and in many others, was unwittingly one of the chief authors of the greatness of the Hapsburgs.

The house of Luxemburg prepares the way for the Hapsburgs.

Charles IV.'s work was partly undone by his drunken son Wenzel; but the fortunes of the house were restored by Sigismund, of whom we have seen much in connection with the councils of Constance and of Basel. He left no son to succeed him, but his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Albert of Austria, who reigned as the Emperor Albert II. So the house of Hapsburg again

Wenzel and Sigismund.

enjoyed the Imperial title; and from this time onwards the empire was almost hereditary in this house. Only one emperor was ever chosen from any other stock until the time when the empire faded out of Europe before the victories of Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But though the empire thus became hereditary in all but name, heredity did not avail to give it strength. Too much ground had already been lost. We shall see how the Austrian house struggled again and again (especially during the Reformation and in the Thirty Years' War) to make the empire the dominant power in Germany. But the effort came too late. It was destined to remain the highest title, the most coveted decoration in Europe, and little more.

The Hapsburgs secure the empire.

If the history of the empire is not the true history of Germany where are we to look for it? In the life of the individual states; in the progress of the great towns; in the development of commerce; in the growth of the universities; in the condition of the people. We must touch on one or two of these topics.

The empire was powerless to defend the minor states of Germany. Spontaneously, therefore, they drew together to protect themselves. The fourteenth century was a period of leagues in Germany and the chief of these was the Hanseatic League.

The leagues of Germany.

The Hanseatic League was a spontaneous movement of the chief towns of the North German coast and the Rhine, to secure for themselves the protection which the empire in that time of anarchy was not able to afford them. For there was no thought of freedom of trade in those days. The seas were unsafe, the harbours of foreign countries were hostile, no single city was strong enough to protect its commerce against its rivals. So the great towns of North Germany—Hamburg, Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Thorn, and seventy others—joined together for mutual assistance in commerce and fishing. Their league was never a close-knit one, it never approached a true federal government. But it stimulated trade and increased the prosperity of North Germany, and modern Germany looks

The Hanseatic League.

back to it as proof that Germany can play a great part upon the seas. It was opposed by the Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, which were joined together in one state by the union of Kalmar in 1397; and against them the league fought fiercely with varying fortune. But the league suffered, too, through its own indefinite constitution, and the quarrels of its members. Lastly, the herring shoal, which provided the Hanseatic fishing fleet with its chief occupation, left the Baltic in the fifteenth century. So the league, without definitely coming to an end, dwindled into insignificance in the fifteenth century. Its fate would have been a very different one if there had been a strong German empire to support it.

Decline of the Hanseatic League.

At the same time in the south of Germany, another movement bore witness to the weakness of the empire, and created a league more permanent than the Hanseatic, which has bequeathed to modern Europe the Swiss Republic. The country, which is now the north-west of Switzerland, consisted then of cities and country districts owing allegiance to many different lords. But throughout the whole, there breathed a spirit of independence. Feudalism had not struck its roots deep there. The towns enjoyed practical independence, and the country districts were organized into free communities, managing their own affairs and setting feudal justice at defiance. The walls of the cities and the barrier of the mountains had made the land the chosen home of liberty. Here, as in the north, leagues for mutual protection and help had sprung into existence, and in 1291 the three Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, formed themselves into a perpetual league. Their action threatened the Austrian Hapsburgs in whose territories the Cantons lay. In 1315, Leopold of Austria led against the independent mountaineers an army chiefly consisting of mounted knights. For a century and more after this date feudal chivalry played a sorry part when brought face to face with troops of a different kind. We have seen the feudal array broken at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, at Courtrai, and in Bohemia during the Hussite wars. But nowhere was the failure of the armed and mail-clad knight

The Helvetic Confederation.

more conspicuous than in the battles which laid the foundations of Swiss freedom. In 1315, at Morgarten, the forces of Leopold were utterly beaten by the Swiss peasants. Victory swelled the numbers of the league. The great towns of the neighbourhood came in—Zurich, and Zug, and Bern. When in 1386 another Leopold of Austria led an army against the confederates he was utterly beaten at Sempach. The confederation was then founded in a more definite form, and it lies at the basis of the present Swiss Republic. But we must note that the Swiss Confederation, though it had defeated the Hapsburgs, had not broken away from the empire. Its connection was very slight; but it was technically within the borders of the empire until 1648.

Battles of Morgarten and Sempach.

If we cross from the south-west to the north-east of Germany we find there also important events taking place, which contribute to an even more important modern state than Switzerland, namely Prussia. We have seen how on the Vistula were settled the heathen Slavonic races—the Lithuanians and Prussians. These lay beyond the limits of the empire, and the mark of Brandenburg had been established to watch them. In the thirteenth century a new agency had been employed for their conversion or destruction; the words were nearly synonymous at the end of the crusading movement. The "Knights of the Teutonic Order" had been founded at the time of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade. The failure of the crusading movement left them with no obvious task to perform; and for some time they had their head-quarters in Venice. But in 1228 they were transferred to the Prussian frontier of Germany, for the conquest and conversion of the heathen there. Wide lands were allotted to them. They founded towns, churches, monasteries. Their courage and military skill was unquestioned, and the young nobles of all Europe came to hunt and to kill in what was regarded as a holy war. Christianity, German ideas of life and government, agriculture, and commerce were spread by their action far beyond the limits of Germany. But towards the end of the fourteenth century troubles gathered round them. They, like the Hanseatic

The rise of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Knights of the Teutonic Order.

league, were threatened by the consolidation of the Scandinavian kingdoms; worse still, in 1386 the Lithuanian Duke Jagello became Christian and was raised to the throne of the neighbouring kingdom of Poland. With this event the balance of military strength altogether changed, and in 1410 a Prussian-Polish army overwhelmed the army of the Teutonic Knights at the battle of Tannenberg. Their power passed away at once; the lands west of the Vistula were incorporated with Poland; the knights still ruled over those to the east of the Vistula on condition of doing homage to Poland. The influence of Germany east of the Oder was seriously threatened.

Battle of Tannenberg.

All the constructive activities of Germany that we have noted took place without the assistance of the empire. And there are many other instances which we might give to show that Germany was falling to pieces. There was a Swabian league in the south-west, and in the north and west many rich districts were being drawn together by the Duke of Burgundy, and in effect withdrawn from their allegiance to the empire. More of this action in the next chapter. We have said enough to justify the words of Pope Pius II. to the German people: "Ye might be masters of the world as heretofore, were it not for your division of sovereignty, to which wise men have for long traced all your disasters."

Division of sovereignty in Germany.

Italy

Italy at this time resembled Germany in its many divisions and in the vigorous life of its towns; but in other respects it was widely separated in character and development. Its history is full of noise, violence, and confusion. The personalities which emerge, and many of the incidents are full of dramatic interest. The history of Italy as a whole during this time is "full of sound and fury," and it signifies the failure of Italy to make herself an important force in European politics. The following general features of the time may be noted.

Characteristics of Italian history.

It was for Italy, even more than for Germany, a time of

disunion and "lack of governance." There was not even the theory of the empire to hold it together. Italy, from 1300 to 1500, offers a close analogy to Greece in the fourth century before Christ. There was the same eager city life, the same fierce rivalry of city against city, and of party against party in the same city, the same incapacity to form stable leagues or permanent alliances; there was the same menace of "barbarian" conquest from the north, which was fulfilled in the French invasions of the end of the fifteenth century; finally, there was the same glorious devotion to art and thought, to truth and beauty.

A further significant parallel may be noted in the employment of mercenary troops, and the importance of mercenary leaders (*condottieri*). In the thirteenth century the Italian towns had fought their battles with their own citizens, and it was on their resistance that the Italian plans of Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. had suffered shipwreck. But now the citizens—partly through love of ease and interest in commerce, and partly because the methods of war required careful and prolonged training—entrusted their defence to companies of professional soldiers, raised and commanded by leaders from whom they were hired by the states as occasion arose. These soldiers and their leaders were of every nationality (Sir John Hawkwood, the Englishman, was one of the earliest); but in the fifteenth century the most notable were Italians. They fought well and often with remarkable fidelity, but the hazard of entrusting the defence into the hands of men who had no personal interest in the state is obvious.

The Condottieri.

Sir John Hawkwood.

Of the morality of Italy during this age it is difficult to speak in general terms. We note at the beginning the names of Dante and St. Catherine of Siena, and there are no nobler or purer names in the history of religion. But after them the influence of religion on conduct seems very small, and we can discern no standard of morals which was even in theory regarded as obligatory. Ambition and a desire for notoriety urged men on to achieve their ends by every method of violence, cruelty, or deceit.

Morality.

The picture so far seems a grim and terrible one; but that is not the general impression we derive from a study of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for there is another side to it, which will be more fully treated in another chapter—the side of literature and art. Here it is enough to say that during the time of storm and stress, Italy was producing masterpieces of literature, painting, and sculpture which mark a new era in the life of man. The epoch of violence—the epoch of Sforza and Rienzi and the vile royal family of Naples—shines with a light borrowed from their contemporaries Dante and Petrarch, Giotto and Perugino, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

The development of art and thought.

It can hardly be said that there is any history of Italy during this time, but only of the different Italian states. The chapter must end with a few words on the most important.

The kingdom of Naples stood quite apart from the rest of Italy. Here only was there a monarchy resting on feudal institutions, like the monarchies to the north of the Alps. We have seen how at the end of the thirteenth century it fell into the hands of the French house of Anjou, and how at Easter time, in the year 1282, the population of Sicily rose and destroyed the French garrison in a massacre which is known as "the Sicilian Vespers." The crown was offered to the royal house of Aragon and accepted, and the fierce rivalry of the French and Spanish houses, thus inaugurated, lasted during the next two centuries. But no purpose would be served by following even the main features of the intrigues and the crimes of the royal house of Naples. It intermarried with the royal family of Hungary, and thus the affairs of these two wholly different states became intertwined in a perplexing manner. Another marriage with the royal family of Aragon resulted eventually in the reunion of Naples and Sicily under Alfonso, King of Naples and Sicily from 1435–1458. The land enjoyed peace and some measure of prosperity towards the end of the century, but fell far behind the rest of Italy in civilization and culture.

Naples.

The states of the Church gained during the reign of the Emperor Rudolf a recognition of their entire independence

from the empire. But they were tossed again and again on the waves of revolution. The residence of the popes at Avignon allowed an almost independent municipal government to arise in Rome. Men's eyes were turning again to the history of Ancient Rome, and they contrasted the present condition of the city with what she had been in the days of the Scipios and the Cæsars.

The states of the Church.

These ideas found their highest expression in the career of Rienzi. He was a man of the people, and the bitter opponent of the aristocracy. He had hoped at first to give Rome peace and unity and power by inducing the Popes to return. Failing in this purpose he turned to the people of Rome and by his eloquence and energy induced them to rise against their aristocratic rulers. The revolution succeeded with marvellous ease (1347), and it seemed for a time as if something of the greatness of Rome in her old days had returned. But Rienzi had not the practical knowledge and self-restraint, nor had the people the public spirit which would have been necessary to make the movement a success. What eloquence and enthusiasm and a theatrical instinct could do he did. But the Roman populace chafed when they found that taxes would be wanted under the new government as under the old. He was murdered in a great popular rising in 1354. Twenty years later the Popes returned to Rome, and the history of the city was again closely linked to the history of the papacy. Five and a half centuries would pass before she won a popular self-government for herself, and it came then in a very different shape from the Imperial dreams of Rienzi.

Rienzi in Rome.

The history of Florence is better known than that of any other Italian state, and it is so full of change and incident that it is particularly difficult to summarize. But in brief it presents us with the spectacle, well known in Greek history, of a state tossed between oligarchy and democracy, where democracy triumphs only to lead to the establishment of that type of personal government which the Greeks called a tyranny. The parties formed and broke with great rapidity, and the principles separating them are often difficult to make out. The names of Guelf and

Florence.

Ghibelline are merely labels which had been left behind by the struggle between the emperors and the popes, which were retained when the parties had ceased to be divided by their attitude to the empire and the papacy. In brief the following are the chief political phases through which the city passed.

First the city was governed by the landed nobles of the neighbourhood. Against them the traders and artisans of the town were strongly opposed. The people won a great victory in 1282 when it was conceded that the priors or leaders of the different industries should be the chief magistrates of Florence.

1282. The victory of the people.

But this government was neither popular nor stable. The nobles disliked it, and the poorer citizens found themselves ruled by the rich and powerful heads of the trades guilds. In 1378 there came a democratic rising, but this was suppressed, and the defeat of the revolutionary movement led to oligarchical reaction. The people were excluded from power, and Florence was for a time in the hands of an oligarchy of wealth and birth.

1378. Oligarchical reaction.

The oligarchical government thus established was vigorous and successful; but it was ruined by the spirit of faction which was the bane of the political life of Florence. Two families, the Albizzi and the Medici, were eager rivals; and the Medici in the contest appealed for the support of the people. The Albizzi triumphed at first and banished the Medici. But they were recalled, and their great leader, Cosimo de' Medici, established his power, and his family ruled in Florence for nearly 200 years. His rule was of the kind that Augustus once established in Rome; it was founded on the manipulation of the existing constitution not on its overthrow; he insinuated himself into power rather than seized it. He gave Florence peace, order, and security, and he made her glorious by his patronage of arts and letters. He and his successors (among whom the chief was Lorenzo the magnificent) ruled all the more firmly because their position was intangible and indefinite.

Rise of the Medici.

In Milan we see at the same time the triumph of naked military force. Two families, the Visconti and the Sforzas, ruled in succession, and ruled by the same weapons of perfidy

and cruelty. The first of the Visconti was appointed by the Emperor Henry VII. to represent him in Milan in 1312. His descendants maintained themselves by force and fraud. The mass of the citizens lived their lives undisturbed; but the political opponents of the ruling family were in constant dread of torture and death. When the family of the Visconti was without male heirs the heiress Bianca married a mercenary soldier of brutal energy, Sforza by name, whose father had been a peasant. Under the new dynasty Milan was governed as before. The history of Milan under these two families is an almost incredible record of crime and cruelty.

Milan.

Thus at the end of the fifteenth century we have in Naples a feudal monarchy; in Rome a theocracy; in Florence a popular dictatorship; in Milan a military tyranny. When we turn to Venice the series of typical constitutions is concluded by the most perfect example in history of a close oligarchy.

We have seen already something of the early history of Venice and of her unparalleled geographical position. Her social condition was also exceptional. She had for a long time no territory on the mainland, and so feudalism did not exist for her. Her citizens were all engaged in trade: her great men were successful and wealthy traders. The Crusaders had opened up new avenues of trade to her and had increased her wealth. We have seen how large a part she had played in the conquest of Constantinople in the fourth crusade (1204). She held from that time on a position of pre-eminence among all the other trading states of the East. But as she grew more wealthy her constitution changed and hardened, the people were gradually thrust out from all participation in the government; the prominent rich families of Venice monopolized power. They owed their power largely to their energy, ability, and public spirit; and almost to the end of her existence as a free republic the policy of Venice is one of the great examples of successful and subtle statecraft both in internal and external affairs. The charges of cruelty and dark intrigue that are sometimes brought against her government are undeserved. They are more conspicuous in

Venice.

The ruling class in Venice.

other Italian states; what distinguishes Venice is the order and stability of her government, and the prosperity of her people. The rulers of Venice declared that their aim was "so to rule that they might possess the hearts and love of the citizens and subjects," and there was some justification for their claim.

We may notice three steps as marking the hardening of her constitution into an oligarchy, which aimed on the one side at the reduction of the Doge to a mere figure head, and on the other, the exclusion of the people from power. First in 1172 the Great Council was created, consisting of the nobles of Venice, and acting as the electoral body of Venice to the exclusion of the people. Then in 1297 began the greatest change of all, what is known as the closing of the Great Council. The list of the families who had a claim to have members in the Great Council was drawn up, and it was declared that no new names should be added to it. Venice was now a close oligarchy; outside of a certain list, which contained in the end 1212 names, no one could vote in the election of the Doge or hold office. Against this new spirit and method in the constitution both the Doge and the people struggled, but they struggled in vain. Lastly in 1310, after a conspiracy had been defeated, which aimed at the restoration of the rights of the people, the famous Council of Ten was appointed. Its special mission was to strike swiftly and secretly at the enemies of the state, and it may be compared to the Ephors at Sparta or the Committee of Public Safety during the French Revolution. This council, annually appointed, watched specially against the encroachments of the Doge, and soon became the real government of Venice.

"The closing of the Great Council."

The Council of Ten.

The fourteenth century too saw the growth of Venetian possessions in the mainland of Italy. The rivalry of Genoa was beaten down in the great battle of Chioggia (1380). A little later, Padua was conquered, and Padua, Vicenza, and Verona came into the possession of Venice. She thus came into contact and conflict with Milan. But more dangerous than Milan was the progress of the Turkish power. When

Venetian possessions in the mainland.

in 1453 Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, that great event sounded the death knell of Venetian power in the Eastern Mediterranean; but we shall recur to this in the next chapter.

For Germany: Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and Henderson's *History of Germany*; Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*; Maurice's *Bohemia*; Zimmern's *Hansa Towns*. For Italy: Sismondi's *Italian Republics*; Horatio Brown, *Venice; an Historical Sketch*; Villari's *History of Florence*; Machiavelli's *Florentine History*.

CHAPTER XIX

The Outer Circle of European Culture

We have, in the past chapter, been chiefly concerned with the affairs of Italy, France, and Germany. In this chapter an attempt will be made to bring out the most important features in the history of the countries lying outside of these central states, in all of which events were happening destined to have a great influence on the future of Europe. The history of our own islands would naturally come within the scope of this chapter, but it is excluded by the plan of the book.

1. Spain

We have already seen something of the history of Spain. We have seen how deeply the culture and language of Rome had penetrated there; how the Visigothic kingdom had been established there, and how Justinian's efforts to reannex Spain to the Imperial dominions had been attended with only a transitory success. Then in 711 came the event which has coloured every part of Spanish history from that time to this. The Mahomedan army under Tarik passed from Morocco into Spain and defeated Roderic, the last king of the Visigoths, in a long battle on the banks of the Guadalete. After that the tide of Mahomedan

The Moorish conquest of Spain.

success flowed quickly over the peninsula. There was little unity or cohesion in the Visigothic Kingdom; the native population had not blended with the Visigoths and the Visigothic nobles were at feud among themselves. So the wave of Islam flowed up to the Pyrenees.

Nor did it seem likely to find its limit there. It invaded the South of France and occupied many cities and much fair country. But in the battle of Tours (732) Charles Martel inflicted on it a serious defeat, and his grandson, the great Charles, carried the arms of the Franks south of the Pyrenees, and began the work of the reconquest of Spain for Christendom and European culture. For six centuries after that the struggle against the Mahomedan power in Spain forms the central thread of Spanish history. The free Christian states were never completely wiped out. The Pyrenean chain of mountains always sheltered tribes or bands who refused to accept the foreign yoke. There was formed first the Asturias, then Leon, then Navarre, then Aragon. Later the Mahomedans were pushed out of the centre of Spain and the kingdom of Castile was formed. Aragon spread down to the rich territories on either side of the river Ebro. Lastly, in the fifteenth century, the union of Castile and Aragon brought about the destruction of what remained of the Moorish kingdom and the political union of the whole peninsula with the exception of Portugal.

The decline of Mahomedanism in Spain.

Thus the history of Spain down to the close of the Middle Ages is one long crusade. Yet the mutual hatred of the two races and faiths may easily be exaggerated. The Christian powers were usually at bitter feud with one another when they were not fighting against the Moors. The civilization of the Moors in Cordova, Granada, and elsewhere was for some time tolerant, cultured, and artistic; the population under their rule was prosperous, and the Christian powers did not by any means disdain to intermarry with them, to make alliance with them, and even to appeal to their help against Christian rivals. There is no greater tragedy in European history than the extinction of this civilization, which contributed so much to European culture, and might have contributed so much more.

Relations of Christians and Moors.

The Moorish dominion was never firmly rooted in the peninsula. Its strength soon began to decline, and it would have disappeared much sooner if it had not been supported by fresh swarms of Mahomedans from North Africa. At the end of the eleventh century, when the Seljukian Turks were alarming Europe by their advance in the East, there was an almost equally threatening movement in Spain. The Almoravides, a religious body inspired by intense zeal for Islam, invaded the land, drove back the forces of the Christians and defeated the armies of Castile and Navarre in the great battle of Zallaca near Badajoz (1086). The tide of battle flowed again strongly in favour of the Moors.

The Almoravides.

But the ebb soon came. The Moorish population was not really large, and its military efficiency soon decayed. The Christian armies soon resumed their superiority. This is the period of the exploits, real and imaginary, of the Cid, who fought against Christians as well as against Moors, and was sometimes even in alliance with the infidel; but who was on the whole an important agent in the advance of the Christian arms. Military orders, closely resembling the Templars and the Knights of St. John, were founded during the struggle, and contributed to the victory. The decisive victory came in 1212, when the Moors were defeated by Alfonso VIII. of Castile in the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The Moors were driven back into the south-east of the peninsula, and their power would have soon been destroyed if it had not been for the wars and feuds of the Christian powers.

1212. Las Navas de Tolosa.

We may pass over two centuries and a half, full of conflict and heroism and of interesting constitutional development. By the middle of the fifteenth century the three great powers in the peninsula were Portugal, Castile, and Aragon. In 1469 the union of Castile and Aragon was assured by the marriage of Isabella of Castile with Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1474 Isabella succeeded to the throne of Castile, and the golden period of Spanish history commenced. Spain developed with extraordinary rapidity. The anarchical power of the feudal nobles

Union of Castile and Aragon.

was suppressed, peace and order were established in the land. "The Knight and the Squire, who had formerly oppressed the labouring man, were intimidated by the fear of that justice which was certain to be executed on all. The roads were swept of robbers; the castles, the strongholds of violence, were thrown down; and the whole nation, restored to tranquillity and order, looked for no other redress than that afforded by the operation of the laws." So wrote a contemporary. Spain suddenly took her place—a leading place—among the great powers of Europe.

The Spanish Inquisition.

The new monarchy was before all things Catholic, and all its actions, which have left a mark on future history, are influenced by religious feeling. The Inquisition was introduced in the "Spanish" form in 1481. Its immediate object was the forcible conversion of the Jews, who were present in Spain in great numbers, and had acquired great influence in the state. It acted also on many occasions as a convenient weapon in the hands of the crown for the punishment of political opponents against whom religious charges could be brought. The Inquisition was popular, and it was in harmony with the ideas of the age; its greatest excesses belong to a later period; but it must be regarded as one of the forces which ultimately drove Spain from her high place in Europe to one of humiliation and decadence.

The conquest of Granada.

The new rulers from the first had intended to turn their arms against what remained of the Moorish power. Little but Granada now remained, and clearly Granada was unable to resist. Had the Mahomedan world been united, its arms, which had forty years before conquered Constantinople, might have defended the last stronghold of Islam in the West. But the Turks had no sympathy with the Moors, and when the attack came in 1489, the Moors could only rely upon their own resources. Queen Isabella herself, inspired with high religious enthusiasm, was present with the assailants. The siege of Granada began in 1491, and in January, 1492, the lovely city surrendered, and the silver cross, which had led the crusading host, was raised on the highest tower of the city.

Of the geographical discoveries of the age something will be said in the chapter on the Renaissance. It is only necessary here to recall that the large majority of the explorers who revealed to the wondering eyes of Europe new worlds in the East and in the West sailed from the Spanish peninsula under the patronage of the princes of Aragon, Castile, or Portugal. By reason of these discoveries Spain and Portugal rose to a dazzling height in the eyes of contemporaries. They had hardly ceased to struggle for existence at home when they appeared as the greatest of world-powers. The vast lands of which they claimed possession were believed to give them strength and wealth. It may be questioned whether they did not really contribute to the fall of the country. Spain fell under the burden of her empire.

Geographical discovery.

2. The Scandinavian States

The lands, which are now called Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were inhabited by a race remotely akin to the Germans of Central Europe. They were slow to enter the circle of European culture, and were the last of the races of Western Europe to adopt Christianity. Yet their influence upon Western Europe was great. We have seen how during the ninth and tenth centuries the invasions of the Northmen checked or altered the whole course of European development. Under Canute, well known to us as King of England, it seemed as though a vast Scandinavian state was to be founded embracing England, Denmark, Norway, and the south-western parts of Sweden. Under Canute's rule, too, Christianity became the faith of all his dominions, which made rapid progress in civilization. But upon his death in 1035 his dominions broke up and were never destined to form a political unity again. But in the fourteenth century Denmark had become a powerful state, and under Waldemar III. (1340–1375) entered into furious rivalry with the Hanseatic League. In the struggle that arose King Waldemar was defeated, but Denmark remained a strong power, and proved in the end

Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Denmark and the Hanseatic League.

a victorious rival to the great cities of the League. Upon the death of Waldemar his daughter Margaret, first as Regent and then as Queen, ruled with great skill and determination, and opened up for the Scandinavian lands a prospect as bright as that which they had possessed under King Canute. By good fortune, diplomacy, and successful war she became Queen over Sweden and Norway as well as over Denmark, and in 1397 the Edict of Kalmar declared that the three kingdoms should always have the same ruler, although each should keep its laws and constitution unchanged. Much in European history would have been different if this union had been permanent; but in the fifteenth century it broke down. Norway and Denmark remained united, but Sweden drifted away into independence, which later developed into fierce hostility.

1397. The Edict of Kalmar.

3. Poland and Russia

It is necessary to say something of the Slavonic peoples who lay beyond the eastern frontier of German civilization, in order to prepare the reader for the important part which they were to play in later centuries.

Rurik the Northman.

In early Russian history it will be enough to emphasize three points. (1) The history of Russia begins with the entry of the Norsemen into the country under Rurik in 862. This is described by the Russian historians as being, not a conquest, but a voluntary subordination of the Russians, who were weary of anarchy, to rulers of whose prowess they had heard. "Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it, come and rule over us," are the words of this famous invitation. With the arrival of Rurik the country emerged into definite form, and some approach to settled order. (2) In 988 the Czar Vladimir accepted Christian baptism, and the new faith rapidly mastered the country. The Czar had examined Judaism, Mahomedanism, Roman Catholicism, and the "orthodox" Christianity of Constantinople. For reasons both personal and political, he determined to accept Christianity in its Eastern form, and at the same time married Anna the sister of the reigning emperor.

Christianity in Russia.

The decision of Vladimir has been one of the great formative influences in Russian history. With the faith of Constantinople came also the despotic ideas of the Eastern empire, and the divergence between the creed and Church governments of East and West, kept Russia for long aloof from the culture of Western Europe. (3) In the thirteenth century the invasion of the Mongol Tartars swept over Russia. The native army was crushed by Zenghis Khan in 1223 at Kalka near the sea of Azov, and in successive invasions the Tartar rule spread victoriously over the whole country. The invasion caused a great decline in prosperity and civilization; but probably the Tartar conquest contributed ultimately to strengthen the unity of the race and the despotism of the government; for a common disaster at the hands of a foreign foe most quickly teaches a sense of nationality, and the people will readily submit to a despotic government, if only it prove strong enough to save them from the oppressor.

The Tartar invasions.

Poland, with a land of the same flat and monotonous description as that of Central Russia, with a race and language nearly identical to those of Russia, developed on almost exactly opposite lines. While Russia fell under the rule of an absolute monarchy, and by its monarchs was guided on a career of unexampled territorial expansion, Poland, on the contrary, almost from the first sacrificed the unity of the state to the dangerous independence of the nobles, and after a brief period of prosperity began to decline in strength, internally and externally, until at the end of the eighteenth century she disappeared from the state system of Europe, and her territories were divided among her more powerful rivals. It is difficult to account for the complete contrast between these two branches of the same race; but two prominent features of Russian history are absent in Polish. The Poles adopted Christianity in the Roman form, while Russia took hers from Constantinople, and they were never conquered by the Tartars, though they often suffered from them.

Contrast between Poland and Russia.

Next to the acceptance of Christianity the chief event in Polish history before the end of the fifteenth century was the

victory won at Tannenberg in 1410 over the Knights of the Teutonic order who had won for Christianity and German culture a long stretch along the Baltic coast. The king, whose name is associated with the victory was Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, who, as King of Poland, took the name of Ladislas. His dynasty reigned in Poland until 1572. Poland was thus brought up to the shores of the Baltic, and a possibility of commercial expansion opened out before her. But she was little fitted to take advantage of her chances. The Poles showed no gifts for commerce. There were towns in Poland, but they were inhabited by Germans and Jews. The characteristic social product of Poland was the noble landowner, resident on his large estate, and surrounded by his serfs, over whom he ruled with absolute power. The aim of these nobles (the szlachta, as they were called) was to cut down the power of the monarchy in the true spirit of feudalism, to reduce the central government to impotence, and to make of Poland an aristocratic republic. They succeeded in their aims, and the ruin of Poland was the result.

1410. Battle of Tannenberg.

The nobles of Poland.

4. Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks

In 1453 Western Europe was startled by the news that the Turks had stormed Constantinople. The end of the long tale had come. The city which Constantine had founded, which had carried on the traditions and the government of ancient Rome when the empire had fallen in the West, which had been century after century the chief defence of Christian Europe against Mahomedan invasion, was at last in the hands of the infidel.

The Eastern empire had never recovered from the effects of the fourth crusade. Its territories had sunk to insignificance. It was harassed by the never-ceasing conflict of the Eastern and Western Churches, and by political feuds and factions besides. No element of strength remained to it except the splendid city, with its unsurpassed situation for commerce, and its defences which

The weakness of Constantinople.

had never been forced by any enemy, except when treason gave assistance from inside. Wealth, troops, statesmanship, had all gone. Meanwhile its enemies were more dangerous than ever. The history of Islam is the history of periods of decay followed by revival under some new chieftain and some unexhausted race. The Ottoman Turks had risen into importance in the thirteenth century. They advanced rapidly under a series of warlike and energetic chiefs, and at the end of the fourteenth century they had won a firm footing on the European side of the Bosphorus.

Rise of the Turks.

They owed much of their success to their chiefs; they owed much also to the strange body of troops called the Janissaries. These were the children of Christian parents, who had been handed over as tribute or taken by violence, and then trained from childhood up for war. All possibility of discovering their parents was destroyed. Their camp was their home, military honour stood to them in the place of patriotism and religion. There is no other body of troops in history with which they can be compared, and the rise and decay of the Turkish power is closely connected with them.

The Janissaries.

Constantinople would probably have fallen half a century earlier if the Turks had not been diverted by the attacks of Timour the Tartar from the East. The great Turkish Sultan Bajazet was defeated and taken prisoner by the Tartars. But soon those wild conquerors passed, and the Turks returned to their great task. Individual crusaders came to fight against them. The Emperor Sigismund, John the Fearless of Burgundy, John Hunyadi of Hungary are names that deserve honourable mention for their efforts to stave off the doom that was threatening Constantinople. But in Europe generally religious unity and religious fervour were declining, and no serious attempt was made to save the great city.

Postponement of the fall of Constantinople.

Mahomet II. began the siege in the spring of 1453. The last Christian ruler of Constantinople was a Constantine, and he was not altogether unworthy of the name he bore. The Turks brought an army of 150,000 and the garrison of the city did

not rise to 10,000. The siege was full of memorable incidents. The huge though rude cannon of the Turks, fired with much difficulty and danger, were effective in hammering the walls. Mahomet brought his ships into the Golden Horn, the mouth of which was protected by a boom, by dragging them overland. May 29, 1453, was the date of the final assault. The emperor fell in the onrush of the Janissaries. The city was devoted to plunder, and the Muezzin called the faithful to worship according to Mahomedan rites in the cathedral of Santa Sophia.

The last siege.

The Turkish victory might have been prevented by a little resolution on the part of the Christian powers; and, if it had been prevented for a time, it might never have occurred. In little more than two centuries decline set in in the Turkish power, and Turkish armies would never have threatened Vienna if Constantinople had remained a fortress of European civilization. For four centuries and a half Europe has been paying dearly, in blood and treasure and confusion, for her failure to reinforce the scanty garrison of Constantinople in 1453.

The fault of the Christian powers of the West.

For Spain: Watt's *Spain* (to 1492), in the *Stories of the Nations*; Yonge, *Christians and Moors in Spain*; Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages*; Burke, *History of Spain*; Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain*. For the Slavonic Kingdoms: Morfill's *Poland*; Rappoport's *Russia*; Rambaud's *Histoire de Russie*. For the fall of Constantinople: Lane-Poole's *Turkey*; Oman's *Byzantine Empire*; Pears, *Destruction of the Greek Empire*; *Constantinople*, by W. H. Hutton.

CHAPTER XX

Louis XI. and Charles the Bold

The French monarchy is so much the most important force in the politics of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century that it will be well to examine its growth and development before we turn to "the Renaissance" and the intellectual movement of the time.

During the hundred years' war a new and strange power was growing up on the north and eastern frontiers of France—the power of the dukes of Burgundy. We have already seen the origin of that power. King John the Good, who in spite of his name brought endless woes to France, had not annexed the Duchy of Burgundy to France, when the old feudal line died out, but had given it instead to his son Philip. He hoped that family affection would be strong enough to keep Philip and his descendants faithful to the crown of France; but we have seen how Burgundy took the side of England during the great war, and, when the war ended, Burgundy was at first the rival and soon the determined enemy of the French crown.

Growth of the Burgundian power.

During the century that elapsed after the first grant of the Duchy to Philip the possessions of the ducal house had increased enormously. The first duke laid the foundation for the future destinies of his house when, through his wife, he inherited Flanders, Artois, and other districts in the Netherlands. From this time the dukes of Burgundy, though they remained feudally dependent on France for a part of their territories, possessed still greater territories upon which the kings of France had no claim, but which were in theory subordinate to the empire. Then in 1428 a richer inheritance still fell to the Burgundian house. Philip the Good, the third duke of the new line, made himself master of Holland, Friesland, Zeeland, and Hainault.

Burgundy and the empire.

Philip the Good thus ruled over a large extent of territory embracing most of what is now Belgium and Holland as well as the County and Duchy of Burgundy lying on either side of the river Saône. Its wealth and splendour were even more remarkable than its size. No part of Europe, not even the cities of North Italy, had a more vigorous commercial life than was to be found in the cities of the Low Countries. The woollen trade was the great source of their wealth, but they also engaged with profit in fishing and in general commerce. Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Tournai, and many other towns were the rivals of Venice and Florence in the beauty of their public

Prosperity of the Burgundian territories.

buildings and the products of their painters. But the government of these rich and widespread territories presented many problems. There was no geographical unity, and no political uniformity about them. Lorraine and Alsace were interposed between the County and Duchy of Burgundy and the duke's possessions in the Netherlands. Politically the territories of the duke were still more divided. They consisted of many separate provinces each with its own constitution, its own privileges, its own ambitions, and individual cities such as Ghent and Bruges were almost independent republics. The policy of the dukes was therefore clearly marked out by their position. They must try to join their southern provinces to their northern ones by the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine; they must try to give some common constitution or system of administration to the whole; and they must try to shake off the fetters of feudal dependence by which they were bound to the kings of France on one side and to the emperors on the other, and appear before Europe as an independent state.

Lack of unity.

Until the very eve of irretrievable disaster fortune smiled on the prospects of the dukes. By coming over to the side of France at the end of the hundred years' war they had gained certain concessions of territory from the kings of France, and especially had got the promise of the cession of the towns on the Somme, whereby their frontier would have been pushed far towards the heart of France. Later Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, laid his hands on the districts of Alsace and Lorraine whose possession he so ardently coveted. He got Alsace, or rather a part of it, as security for moneys which he had advanced to its needy overlord, Sigismund of Austria, and he assumed the protectorship of Lorraine during the minority of its duke. In neither district was he sovereign, but his grasp would not be easy to shake off in either. He was supported in his own territories by a wealthy, warlike, and on the whole a loyal population, and it seemed that he might set up again a middle kingdom between France and Germany such as had come into being for a time upon the disruption of the empire of Charles the Great. The establishment of such a state on a

The power of Charles the Bold.

permanent basis would have profoundly modified the history of Europe.

But it was not to be. The career of the last duke, Charles the Bold, brought him into constant rivalry and occasional collision with Louis XI., the astute king of France at whose career and policy we must look in a moment; for, though French soldiers had little to do with the overthrow of Charles, French diplomacy and intrigue had a great deal. It was the peasant mountaineers of Switzerland whose arms wrought his overthrow. They disliked his possession of upper Alsace, for they had their own eyes on that desirable land. When the cruelties of Charles' agent, Hagenbach, brought about a revolt in Alsace the Swiss came to the help of the rebels, and in 1476 first at Granson and then at Morat the feudal chivalry of Burgundy went down before the Swiss pikes, as the chivalry of Austria had gone down at Morgarten and at Sempach. The success of Alsace encouraged Lorraine also to rise. Charles flung himself fiercely upon the province and laid siege to Nancy. But in a battle fought against a relieving force, in which a Swiss force played an important part, the duke was beaten and slain. He had no son to succeed him. His only daughter Mary was unmarried. The future of these important territories was at stake in her marriage; but it will be well before we trace their fortunes to follow the contemporary history of France.

Battles of Granson and Morat.

Death of Charles the Bold.

King Charles VII. (the "victorious" and the "well served") saw the strength of France rapidly increasing during his last years, but in his family life he was troubled by intrigues and quarrels. Between him and his eldest son and heir, Louis, there was bitter antagonism; for Louis allied himself with the forces of aristocratic feudalism, and in the end fled from France. He found generous shelter at the court of the Duke of Burgundy, and formed a friendship, or what seemed such, with Charles the Bold, whose fortunes we have already glanced at. When in 1461 Charles VII. died, and Louis was called to the throne as Louis XI., he was conducted over the borders by a great display of the military forces of Burgundy.

Louis XI.

It was a strange man who thus ascended the throne of France. He had no kinship with the monarchs of the Middle Ages. There are some features in the character of the Emperor Frederick II. which resemble his, and a parallel may be found to much of his policy in the tyrants of Italy, in the Visconti or the Sforzas. Henry VII. of England would have understood him, and was probably influenced by his example. Courtly ceremonial and the splendours of royalty had no attraction for him; the ideals of feudalism and chivalry made no appeal to him; nor was he influenced by religion in his public life. His actions show that he held that in politics it is success alone which matters, and that all methods are justifiable which lead to success. He was ready to use cruelty, treachery, and fraud if they suited his purpose. "He who knows not how to deceive knows not how to reign," was a favourite motto of his, and certainly he had this qualification for reigning. Yet history cannot regard him as a mere superstitious and hypocritical tyrant. He worked and he sinned, not for himself, but for France, with which he identified himself entirely. He completed the settlement which had been begun by Charles VII., and he was one of the chief authors of the greatness of France in the sixteenth century. In character, method, and principles he is in direct and absolute antagonism with Saint Louis; but like him he worked for the unity of France, and for its efficient and uniform organization under the monarchy.

Character and aims of Louis XI.

Louis XI.'s services to France.

His reign is full of interesting incidents, and there is no wonder that writers of romance and drama have gone to it for plot and story. He found a worthy biographer in Philip de Commines, who was at first attached to his great rival, Charles of Burgundy. The history of Commines is one of the landmarks of the age. Like his master he had emerged completely from the characteristic influences of the Middle Ages. Neither Catholicism nor feudalism, nor chivalry, nor the crusading idea had any hold upon him. He admired chiefly subtlety and dexterity devoted to the service of the state.

Philip de Commines.

But though the reign is so rich in incidents it may be very

shortly summarized. Louis XI. struggled against the claims of the aristocracy as all kings of France had to do. Feudalism of the old and normal type was nearly done with. Creçy, Poitiers, and Agincourt had ruined the reputation of the nobles as well as destroyed many noble families. The peculiar characteristics of the opposition which Louis XI. encountered is to be found in the fact that nearly all of his chief opponents were men sprung from the royal family, descendants of Saint Louis and Princes of the Lilies, as the French called those who were descended from royalty. The Duke of Brittany was indeed a feudal noble of the old type confronting Louis XI. with the independent power which the dukes of Normandy or the counts of Provençe had once possessed; but the Duke of Berri, one of the worst enemies of the crown, was the king's own brother; the Duke of Bourbon was a descendant of Saint Louis, and was married to the king's sister; the Duke of Orleans was a near relation of the king, and was married to the king's daughter; Charles of Burgundy was a distant cousin, and was married to the king's sister. But neither relationship nor intermarriage availed to keep these men in loyal subordination to the crown. The kings of France constantly found that their worst enemies were those of their own household, and this was especially true of Louis XI. His enemies disguised their ambitions and their jealousies under a care for the "public weal," but they fought for privileges which, if granted to them, would have led to the dismemberment of France. Louis failed more than once when he met his enemies in the battlefield, but intrigue succeeded where force failed. The contemporary Wars of the Roses were mixed up with the struggle in France, for the house of Burgundy was connected with the Yorkists, while Louis XI. favoured the Lancastrians.

Resistance of the princes to the royal power.

We cannot follow the twists and turns of the long controversy, in which Louis XI. was never more dangerous than when he was apparently beaten. Enough that the crown triumphed over all its opponents and added very materially to the domains of the French crown. Brittany, indeed, still remained at the time of his death independent and defiant; but there was only a daughter to succeed

Brittany.

to the duchy, and it was already probable that Brittany too would soon be absorbed in the territories of the French king. In many instances what was won back had been once royal domain, and had then been unwisely ceded as an "appanage" to a French prince; but substantial gains were made of new territory. Anjou was brought into the royal domain; Provence which lay outside of the boundaries of the French kingdom fell to the French king by inheritance (1481). These were great gains; but greater still came as a result of the defeat and death of Charles the Bold of Burgundy at Nancy in 1477. Louis XI. hoped at first to make himself master of the whole of the rich Burgundian territories; for Charles had left but one daughter, and if she were married to the king's son, who afterwards reigned as Charles VIII., the gain to France would be as great as what came when the English were expelled. But Mary of Burgundy rejected the French overtures and regarded, rightly, Louis XI. as the worst enemy of her house. She married, instead of a French prince, Maximilian of Austria, already the probable heir of the Imperial crown. There is no more fateful marriage than this in all history, though its full significance could not be guessed at the time. The greater part of the territories of Burgundy were thus joined to those of the house of Hapsburg. That was a serious change in the balance of power in Europe. But in the next generation the results were still more serious, for Philip, the issue of this marriage, married Joanna, daughter and heiress of the royal house of Spain, and their son Charles (the grandson of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria) inherited all that Spain possessed and all that the House of Hapsburg possessed, which included most of what the house of Burgundy had once possessed; and added to all these real possessions the vague glories of the title of emperor. We shall have to revert to this in another chapter; but the sixteenth century and the history of the Reformation were influenced at almost every point by this fateful and romantic marriage which was carried out in 1477 in defiance of Louis XI.

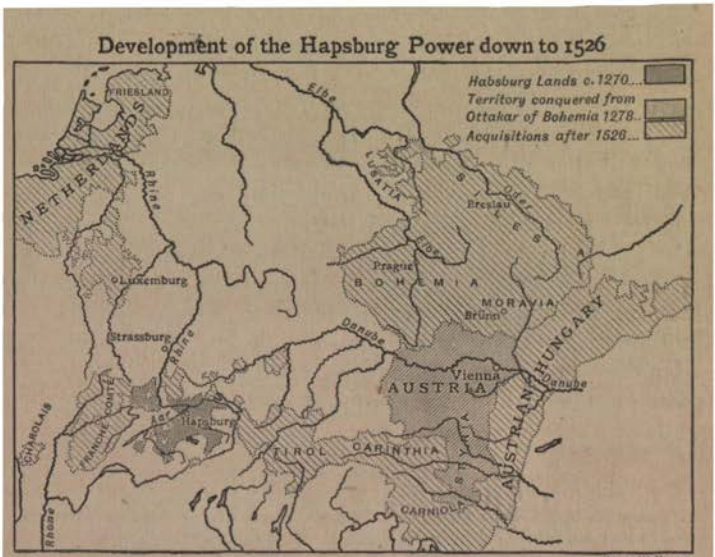
Louis XI. and Mary of Burgundy.

Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian of Austria.

Consequent accumulation of power on Charles V.

But though Louis XI. did not win all at which he aimed, he won much. He forced Mary and Maximilian to cede to him on the north the valley of the Somme, and a slice from the south of Flanders, and in the east the Duchy of Burgundy, which lay for the most part to the west of the Saône. Louis died in 1483, but it will be well to carry the story of the acquisitions of France

France gains part of Burgundy.



Rise of the Hapsburgs.

a few years further. Louis XI. was succeeded by Charles VIII., and five years after his accession an opportunity offered for making one last addition to the domains of the French crown. Brittany was inhabited by a Celtic race, separate from the rest of the country, neither speaking nor understanding the French tongue. The coasts possessed valuable harbours; its population was used to a seafaring life. It had played an important part in most of the risings against the French kings. But now the death of the duke in 1488, and the descent of

Charles VIII.

the duchy to his daughter Anne offered an opportunity, which French diplomacy was quick to seize. Already Louis XI. had tried to win the prize for his son in spite of an earlier betrothal. Now Charles VIII. made war upon the territories of the Duchess Anne, and at the same time offered marriage. She bowed perforce to her fate, and became Queen of France. There remained now only one great feudal state, the lands of the House of Bourbon. With that exception France was united under the rule of the monarchy. France was a national unity, as no country in Europe was with the exception of England.

Brittany added to the Crown.

The government of France remained what it had been under Charles VII. Louis XI. encouraged the growth of towns and industry, favoured the introduction of printing, was the ally of the middle class, and the protector of the peasantry. Parlements were established in the Provinces to do there what the Parlement of Paris had already done so efficiently, namely, to enlarge the royal power at the expense of all rival authorities. France was compact and efficiently governed. Her commerce and wealth were rapidly growing. A great part awaited her in the European drama which would next present itself.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Miss Putnam's *Charles the Bold*, and the introductory chapters of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*; Freeman's Essay on *Charles the Bold*.

CHAPTER XXI

The Renaissance and the End of the Middle Ages

We marked the beginning of the Middle Ages at the point where the Emperor Constantine raised the Christian Church from its despised and persecuted state, and made it a partner with the empire in the government of the civilized world. It was the strength and influence of the Church which gave

to the Middle Ages their most characteristic features. It was from this source that Europe derived such unity as it possessed from the third to the fifteenth century, amidst all the confusions that were caused by the invasions of the barbarians and the anarchy of the feudal world. It seems best, therefore, to mark the end of the Middle Ages at the point where the religious unity of Western Europe was broken by the rise of Protestantism. The influence of the Church indeed never recovered from the blows which it received in the struggle with Philip IV. of France, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were full of heresy and schism over which the Church triumphed in the end, but triumphed without regaining the position which she had held in the days of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The world was slipping from the control of the Church for better or for worse. But, in appearance, unity was preserved until Luther's challenge opened a struggle which led to a complete religious transformation of Europe, to the substitution in many countries of national churches for the one Catholic Church, and ultimately to the abandonment of the principle of coercion in matters of belief.

Where to mark the end of the Middle Ages.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century also another prominent feature of the mediæval world began to disappear. The Middle Ages knew little or nothing of the sentiment of nationality which is so powerful a factor in modern Europe. The peoples had not yet become conscious of their separateness, and nations were not divided from nations in the clear and rigid way in which they are to-day. Internationalism is a great mark of the Middle Ages. The governments were jealous of one another and often fought fiercely; but there were agencies, organizations, and ideas connecting the people of all nations indiscriminately, and giving to Western Europe a sense of unity which it now lacks. The Church took no heed of national boundaries. Men of all races and tongues entered the ranks of the priesthood or joined one of the many orders of monks or friars. Difference of language counted for little in the Church, for Latin was the universal speech of educated men. Feudalism, too, was not a national force.

Rise of National feeling.

The Church and empire international.

The career and position of Charles the Bold which we examined in the last chapter will show how, under feudalism, a great power might grow up which paid no regard to national frontiers or identity of race and language. The empire which stood at the head of the feudal system was essentially international, and in its claims as universal as the Church itself. Within its borders were to be found not only Germans, but Frenchmen, Italians, Slavonians; and this corresponded so closely to the ideas of the time that no one thought it strange. Further, the universities were only loosely connected with the nations in which they were situated. The teachers were drawn readily from alien peoples, and the scholars passed from Italy to Germany, or from France to England without difficulty. But by the end of the fifteenth century national feeling was growing strong. It was to be found in Germany in spite of the manifold divisions of the country, but it was seen at its strongest in France, England, and Spain. In France and England the long struggle of the Hundred Years' War had made the two nations conscious of their separate existence, and in Spain a similar result had been brought about by the long struggle against the Moors.

Universities.

These two great features of the Middle Ages then—the universal Church and internationalism in politics—were growing much dimmer by the end of the fifteenth century. But the sense of nationality was not the only new feeling that was emerging. New ideas had come and were controlling the thoughts, and through the thoughts the actions of men. The Renaissance reached its zenith by the end of the fifteenth century; printing had been invented, and had quickened the intellectual intercourse of Europe in an unprecedented way; explorers had seen a new world rise beyond the waves of the Atlantic. All ages are ages of transition, and the division of the continuous story of human life into periods produces often dangerous misconceptions; but at the end of the fifteenth century there were many powerful forces converging to drive the European world out of the course which it had followed for so long. This chapter will be occupied with a slight examination of some of these forces.

The Renaissance.

The Renaissance is a name generally used to describe the intellectual and artistic movement of this period. The word means a New Birth, and it refers more especially to the revived study of the Greek language and of classical antiquity which flourished vigorously at this time. But there are two misconceptions about the Renaissance which it will be well here to protest against. First the movement is often traced to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and it is assumed that the Greeks flying from the doomed city brought with them Greek manuscripts and a knowledge of the Greek tongue to Italy. But there is no historical basis for this widely held view. When Constantinople fell, Greek had already been taught in Italy for more than half a century, and it received no extra stimulus from that great disaster. And, next, the Renaissance is not to be restricted to the revival of Greek learning. That revival was a part and an important part of the movement; but it was not the cause of it by any means. Greater poetry was written in Italy before than after the revival of Greek. Europe was already awake and eager for new knowledge, and, because it was awake, turned to consider and to study the neglected, but never quite forgotten, treasures of classical antiquity.

Misconceptions as to the Renaissance.

The Renaissance is best understood when it is regarded as a stage in the development of the thought of Europe, comparable with the great intellectual and artistic movement of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ, or the change which passed over the ideas of men in the early Christian centuries. It was not due to any external event, but was a spontaneous growth arising out of the widening experiences and changing needs of the time.

The Renaissance a spontaneous growth.

The Middle Ages do not by any means deserve the name of the Dark Ages, which used to be ignorantly and vaguely given them. But after the fifth century there was little speculation or intellectual curiosity until the twelfth. It was then that the Renaissance may be said to have begun though the phrase is usually confined to a later period. The thirteenth century saw the

Revived knowledge of Aristotle.

revival of the influence of the great Greek philosopher, Aristotle. The earlier Middle Ages had hardly known his name, but in the thirteenth century an Arabic version of the Greek original was translated into Latin, and his thought, though often in a perverted form, was made accessible to Western Europe. Nor was Europe slow to recognize its importance, and the great scholars of the thirteenth century—the Schoolmen as they are called—were largely occupied with the interpretation of the new philosophy and its adaptation to the needs and ideas of the time. Their ideas and their phrases are separated by a very wide gap from those of the twentieth century; but they put forward a great mass of speculation on theology, politics, metaphysics, and morals, which acted as a great stimulus to the age. The greatest name is Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who taught in the University of Naples. But the writings of Dante show us the thought of the thirteenth century in a more attractive form than do the pages of the Schoolmen. His "Divine Comedy" especially (which belongs to the year 1300) is a mirror of all that the age knew and hoped and felt, presented through one of the greatest poems of all time. The poem tells us of the journey which the poet took under the guidance of Virgil through the realms of Hell and Purgatory, until he met his beloved Beatrice and was led by her through Paradise and introduced into the heart of all celestial mysteries. He who would understand the Middle Ages must read the "Divine Comedy." Dante was eager in pursuit of all knowledge, speculated boldly on questions of theology, morals, and natural science. Above all, we may note that, though he probably did not know a word of Greek, he was fully alive to the importance of Greek literature and generally of classical antiquity. Athens, he calls "the hearth from which all knowledge glows;" Homer is "the loftiest of all poets;" Aristotle is "the master of those who know." Thus Dante was the prophet of the Classical Revival. Other great names (though none so great as his) soon followed. Petrarch (1304–1374) exercised a profound influence over the thought of his time, and he saw the importance of acquiring a knowledge of Greek. At the end of the century there came an embassy

The Schoolmen.

Dante.

from Constantinople asking for help against the advancing power of the Turks. The embassy failed in its objects, for Europe had no longer any heart for a crusade. But one of the Greeks (Manuel Chrysoloras by name) was induced to remain behind and teach Greek in Florence (1399). Soon the learning of Greek became a passion and a fashion in Italy. Manuscripts were sought for in the monastic libraries. Soon the Aldine Printing Press at Venice began to produce copies of the great classics. The Medici of Florence vied with Pope Nicholas V. of Rome in the patronage of the new learning. It soon spread from university to university. Germany, France, and England were as much concerned with it as Italy. A knowledge of the literature and life of ancient Greece and Rome had become a permanent part of the intellectual life of Europe.

Greek taught in Italy, 1399.

This revival of classical learning had a profound effect upon the mind of Europe. It revealed societies full of beauty and nobleness before the rise and victory of Christianity; it introduced men to ideas on morality and philosophy widely different from those of orthodox Christianity; and it soon gave to the early Protestant controversialists an invaluable weapon in their power to interpret the original language of the New Testament. Further, it reopened to the world a vast treasure-house of truth and beauty, and there is no department of modern science or thought which has not been influenced by the revival. Fermenting, as it was, with the new thought, Europe could not be kept within the limitations of the medieval world.

Influence of the revival of learning.

But the Renaissance, as we have said, was much more than the revival of classical learning. It was also an artistic movement, the most important in the history of Europe since Pericles ruled in Athens. It produced great works in poetry, and buildings of great interest, while by the pictures and sculptures which it brought forth it gave to Europe a new sense for beauty. In poetry what came before the revival of Greek is much greater than what came after. There is no name in Italian literature, and only one or two in European literature, to be

The artistic movement of the Renaissance.

put in companion with Dante, who died in 1321. Petrarch and Boccaccio wrote before the new classical movement had set in in its fullness. The great Italian writers of the later Renaissance are Ariosto (1474–1533) and Tasso (1493–1569). In style both were much influenced by the revived knowledge of the classics, though Ariosto wrote, with much humour and some irony, stories that are connected with the characteristic medieval figure of Charlemagne; and Tasso's epic of the recovery of Jerusalem in the first crusade, if its form was influenced by Virgil, drew its sentiment and its ideas from the revival of Catholicism which came during the Reformation. And if the highest products of Italian poetry came before the classical revival, modern taste would assuredly say the same of architecture. The architecture of the Renaissance, though for a time it threw into shade the great buildings of the medieval architects, is now recognized as being in most respects inferior to them. The builders of the time went back to classical models, adopted the dome instead of the vault for the roofs of their churches, and in their secular buildings developed a style simpler and less romantic than that of Gothic architecture, and one more light and airy and better fitted for the ordinary life of man.

Architecture.

The gift of painting that Italy gave to the world requires no limitation or qualification of praise. The growth of Italian art owed little to classical influence, though in its later course its subjects and occasionally its style were modified by classical poetry and statues. The pictures which Italy knew at the end of the thirteenth century were for the most part the mosaics in her churches, the work of early artists, most of them from Constantinople and the East. These have interest and often great beauty; but, as they are made of fragments of coloured glass, there is naturally much stiffness about the figures and little that is lifelike in the expression of the face. The earliest Italian pictures show the same stiffness and formality. But from the end of the thirteenth century onwards for at least two centuries and a half a long series of great artists developed the art of painting, and almost enriched Europe with a new sense. All the early paintings are religious in subject and character, for the Church was the

Painting.

only great patron of art. But quickly the artists began to paint with a freedom hitherto unknown. Their figures became lifelike in pose and expression. The deepest feelings were expressed. Beauty of form, beauty of design, beauty of colour were achieved to an extent hitherto unknown. Siena and Florence were the earliest homes of the new art. Venice gave to it a magnificence and glow that the Florentines had not quite attained to. The city life of Italy assisted the new movement; for town vied with town in the patronage and purchase of the works that were produced in great numbers. Names and dates are here of little significance, but it may be well to note that Giotto (1276–1336) stood nearly at the beginning of the movement; and that it reached its zenith during the life of Michael Angelo (1474–1564), who was equally great as sculptor and as painter, and of Raphael (1483–1520). There was fine painting in Italy long after that, but it rapidly lost its old dignity and strength, and descended too often into mere prettiness and affectation.

Giotto, Michael Angelo, Raphael.

While Italy was thus giving to the world such priceless treasures, her own political and social life was far from healthy. Though it is hard to speak with confidence of the moral character of a whole age or people, it seems clear that in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the passions of men met with very little restraint from any moral code or from the influence of religion. The political life of Italy was full of fraud, violence, and cruelty. Success seemed to justify all means that led to it. There was much keen political thinking, which for the most part rejected traditional views and sought to find from experience the way to success. Among the political thinkers the greatest name is that of Machiavelli (1469–1527), and his treatise "The Prince" had a great influence on the politics of his own and the succeeding ages. There is in it much acute thought, but the point that has attracted most attention is that he boldly declared that the rules of morality are not binding on statesmen. "A Prince," he wrote, "in order to maintain the state must often act against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion."

Moral condition of Italy.

Machiavelli.

The sixteenth century quickly learnt the lesson and suffered bitterly from it.

The invention of printing and the first stages in its development came not from Italy, but from beyond the Alps. The precise authorship of the new invention is uncertain. In more than one quarter efforts had already been made. But the first considerable book printed with separate moveable types for each letter, the Bible in Latin, was the work of Gutenberg, of Mainz, and appeared in 1455.

Printing

The full significance of the invention was by no means apparent at first; and the printing press developed slowly. But it was at once clear how much more rapidly books could be produced by the new method than by the old method of copying, how much more accurate the copies were, how much easier to read than all but the best of medieval writing. It was not until the controversies of the Reformation period broke out that another value of the new invention was apparent: the printing press produced books so much more rapidly than the old method that it was almost impossible for authority to suppress them. The printing press was the greatest of all obstacles to the victory of the Inquisition. The printing press was set up in Italy in 1467, and a few years later the famous Aldine Press of Venice began to issue its copies of the Greek and Latin Classics. The first English printed book appeared in 1477.

While Europe was fermenting with new and dangerous stuff a new world had been discovered. The discovery of the islands of the West Indies by Columbus in 1492 was by far the most wonderful event in the age of discovery. It was the realization of a dream, that had haunted mankind for centuries, that rich and happy lands might be found beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the waters of the Atlantic. But it was only one among a vast number of voyages of discovery that took place during the century, the results of which were only a little less important. Since Greek times (and doubtless from an even earlier date) men's minds had been curious to discover what lay beyond the limits of the world they knew; what manner of people inhabited

Discovery of America.

the frozen lands of the North, and from what source the Nile came. But the particular force which brought Europe at last into touch with America was the desire to find a new route for commerce with the East. We have already seen how much the crusades were influenced by the desire of Western Europe to control the route by which the products of India, of China, and of those lands which were vaguely called Cathay, passed into Europe. At the beginning of the thirteenth century much new light had been thrown on these regions by the travels of Marco Polo, probably the most wonderful travels of which we have any record. The advance of the barbarous Turkish power, however, made all Asiatic routes difficult and dangerous. So European commerce looked for some other route. The Portuguese, under the guidance of Prince Henry "the Navigator," undertook a long series of voyages down the West Coast of Africa. Little by little the knowledge of the coast of the Dark Continent was extended in spite of baffling calms and fatal disease. At last, in 1487, Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope, and knew that there must be a great field for discovery beyond. In 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the Malabar coast of India.

The search for Cathay.

The sea route to India.

The success of Columbus was not like the discovery of Vasco da Gama, the culmination of a long series of efforts. Columbus was a Genoese by birth, and had cherished for long the dream of sailing straight across the Atlantic to find there the treasures of India and the fabled wealth of Cathay. What he needed, as the first condition of success, was a patron to support him. He found at last what he sought in the King of Spain. On October 12, 1492, after the most momentous voyage in history, during which hope and despair had been in constant struggle, he saw land. He disembarked in the Bahamas. He believed to his death that it was Asia which he had reached, and called the islands in consequence the West Indies.

Columbus.

For another century the work of discovery went eagerly on. It was still the wealth of Cathay that formed the chief inducement. Men sought to reach it by at least six routes; westward by the North of America and by the South of

America, and for a time by some opening which they hoped to discover near the isthmus of Panama, and eastward by the Cape of Good Hope and the northern shores of Asia, and by some route across Russia and Asia by which they might avoid the neighbourhood of the Turks. By the end of the sixteenth century most of the chief features of the Globe were known, though Australasia remained unguessed.

The many efforts to reach the wealth of Asia.

The discovery of the New World produced an immense effect on the Old. Its first effect was to divert trade from the Mediterranean into the great ocean routes, and so to ruin Venice and Genoa and to pour wealth into Antwerp and London. Later, as the New World was found to be peopled by races which could not resist European methods of warfare, the maritime states of Europe saw that there was a prize of enormous value to be gambled and fought for. The rivalries created by the struggle were one of the most potent causes of the European wars of the next centuries. In 1493 an effort was made by the Pope to avoid these struggles by drawing a line from north to south and giving all to the east of that line to Portugal, and all to the west to Spain. But this was too rough and ready a method of division, and the time was soon to come when the states of Europe would no longer regard the decision of a Pope with much respect.

Effect of the New World on the Old.

The influence of the New World upon the Old is a vast subject, one or two points only of which are here touched upon. The influence of the Old World upon the New is a subject which is rarely considered. But there is not a more terrible tragedy in all history than that. Beyond the Atlantic there were races with many noble characteristics, and some of them with a developed and even a beautiful civilization. Upon them all came utter ruin. The sword and the diseases of Europe swept them off by millions. Those that survived lived as a despised and subject race. At last the interest and the conscience of their conquerors were touched. Something was done to keep them alive. The Christian missionaries admitted them to the possibilities of European culture. In

The influence of the Old World on the New.

North America men of the old stock form an insignificant minority of the population. In South America the native race has been much better preserved, has mixed readily with the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and forms a large part of the foundation on which the life of the southern continent rests.

Hallam, *Europe in the Middle Ages;* Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages;* Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy;* Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy.*

PART III
MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

The Italian Wars

SINCE the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy had often been the prey of the stronger nations of Europe. We have seen the frequent invasions of the barbarians from the Visigoths to the Franks: we have seen how the Saracens and the Normans had made settlements upon the coasts of Italy, and how from the tenth to the thirteenth century the emperors again and again led their troops into the country from Germany. But since the end of the thirteenth century Italy had enjoyed peace from serious external invasion. We saw in the last chapter how her wealth and her splendour had developed during that time. But her military strength had by no means kept pace with her intellectual and artistic growth; her cities were at war with one another, and entrusted their defence, for the most part, to mercenary soldiers. Thus Italy was at once wealthy and defenceless; she formed the natural prey of the strong, united monarchy which had grown up during the last half century in France.

Renewal of the invasions of Italy.

When Louis XI. died, he bequeathed to Charles VIII. a monarchy which controlled the resources of the country more completely than any other monarchy of Europe. France possessed a warlike population and a large army, which was entirely at the disposal of the crown, and during the struggle with England and Burgundy she had developed the use of artillery beyond what was known in the rest of Europe. Charles VIII. did not possess the strange

Charles VIII. of France.

EUROPE
in the 15th. Century
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the Empire
Habsburg Dominions
Brandenburg (Prussia)
Venice
Turkey & Tributary States 1415
Hansa Towns underlined
Bremen
English Territory in France, 1429
Dominions of Charles The Bold
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Baltic Sea
Edinburgh
Dublin
London
Paris
Rome
Constantinople
Adrianople
Rhodes
Crete
Sicily
Sardinia (to Aragon)
Corsica (to Genoa)
Balearic Isles (to Aragon)
Tangier
Granada
Seville
Cordova
Toledo
Barcelona
Toulouse
Avignon
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Tours
Orleans
Rouen
Calais
Agincourt
Liege
Cologne
Frankfort
Paderborn
Munster
Hanover
Bremen
Lubeck
Stettin
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Augsburg
Vienna
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Florence
Genoa
Ragusa
Adrianople
Thorn
Warsaw
Danube
Rhine
Rhone
Pyrenees
Douro
Tagus
Guadiana
Lisbon
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Hamburg
Lubeck
Rügen
Konigsberg
Danzig
Kolberg
Hamburg
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Dresden
Schmalkalden
Frankfort
Prague
Augsburg
Vienna
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Florence
Genoa
Rome
Naples
Beneventum
Sardinia
Minorca
Bizerta
Tunis
Algiers
Bona
Malta
Chios
Rhodes
Crete
Constantinople
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Baltic Sea
North Sea
Amsterdam
Calais
Havre
Rouen
Ivry
Seine
Loire
Nantes
Bordeaux
Garonne
Lyons
Nimes
Marseilles
Pyrenees
Madrid
Tagus
Guadiana
Cadiz
Granada
Tangier
Lisbon
Douro
Rhone
Danube
Saxony
Bavaria
Tirol
Austria
Hungary
Poland
Bohemia
Lithuania
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bulgaria
Rumelia
Anatolia
Bosnia
Servia
Albania
Croatia
Saxony
Brittany
Aquitania
Guienne
Gascony
Pyrenees
Ebro
Rhone
Lorraine
Burgundy
Norway
Sweden
Denmark
Scandinavia
Ireland
Scotland
England
Portugal
Castile and Leon
Aragon
Granada
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco or Fez
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica (to Genoa)
Sardinia
Minorca
Balearic Isles (to Aragon)
Sicily (to Aragon)
Rome
Naples
Beneventum
Sicily
Crete
Rhodes
Knights of St. John
Chios (to Genoa)
Tunis
Malta
Bremen
Hamburg
Brandenburg
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Augsburg
Vienna
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Florence
Genoa
Rome
Naples
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica (to Genoa)
Minorca
Bizerta
Tunis
Algiers
Bona
Malta
Chios
Rhodes
Crete
Constantinople
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Baltic Sea
North Sea
Amsterdam
Calais
Havre
Rouen
Ivry
Seine
Loire
Nantes
Bordeaux
Garonne
Lyons
Nimes
Marseilles
Pyrenees
Madrid
Tagus
Guadiana
Cadiz
Granada
Tangier
Lisbon
Douro
Rhone
Danube
Saxony
Bavaria
Tirol
Austria
Hungary
Poland
Bohemia
Lithuania
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bulgaria
Rumelia
Anatolia
Bosnia
Servia
Albania
Croatia
Saxony
Brittany
Aquitania
Guienne
Gascony
Pyrenees
Ebro
Rhone
Lorraine
Burgundy
Norway
Sweden
Denmark
Scandinavia
Ireland
Scotland
England
Portugal
Castile
Aragon
Granada
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Morocco or Fez
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica (to Genoa)
Sardinia
Minorca
Rome
Naples
Beneventum
Sicily
Crete
Rhodes
Knights of St. John to 1552 after 1552 to Turkey
Emery Walker sc.

genius of his father, nor does he seem to have been a man beyond the average in any way. But he was conscious of the weapon that was in his hand. He was ambitious to signalize himself by some great deed, and Italy naturally attracted him. The royal house of France had certain claims upon Naples; these claims were indeed of little validity, but they were enough to furnish a diplomatic excuse for aggression. In 1494 the ruler of Milan, Lodovico the Moor, appealed to France for protection against a threatened attack from Florence, and Charles VIII. readily availed himself of the excuse to pass into Italy.

This first invasion of Italy by the French is in many respects the most interesting of the many expeditions which were conducted by French generals into that land. The French were amazed at the wealth and beauty of the cities of Italy, and the Italians, on their side, were astonished at the efficiency and the rapidity of the French army, and especially at the ease with which the French artillery was worked. No effective resistance was made to them. Florence, Pisa, Rome, and then Naples itself were entered without serious fighting, and France seemed to have made herself mistress of the whole peninsula.

Early victories of Charles VIII.

But then came a sudden change, characteristic of Italy in the sixteenth century, and indeed characteristic of Europe at the same epoch. The principle of what is called the European "balance of power" began to be talked of. It was an indefinite phrase, but it meant, in effect, that no great alteration in the comparative strength of the great states of Europe should be tolerated, and that all should combine against any power which seemed to be establishing itself in dangerous supremacy over the rest. We see, therefore, if we trace the intricate diplomacy of this time how a great victory won by any one power was almost inevitably the signal for an alliance against that power, and so the triumphant march of Charles VIII. through Italy at once brought into being a dangerous movement against him. The Italian powers took the leading part, but they did not stand alone. Along with Milan, Venice and the papacy, Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian joined

The balance of power.

in the movement. Charles VIII. saw that if he waited long it would not be so easy for him to get out of Italy as it had been to march through it. He left Naples and marched rapidly back. In July, 1495, he met at Fornovo the army of the allies. A sharp tussle ended in a French victory, and the army got home in safety. But with the withdrawal of the troops, all the conquests and the prestige of France melted away. When Charles VIII. died in 1498, there was nothing left to the French crown of all that he had won.

The loss of the French conquests.

Charles VIII. was succeeded by his cousin, Louis XII. His domestic government was humane and successful, and won for him the title of "Father of his Country." In his foreign policy he took up again the Italian schemes of Charles VIII., and like all French rulers, who have entertained ideas of Italian conquest, he met with some brilliant early successes, which soon were clouded over with failure. His first attack was directed in 1499 against Milan, upon which his house had some claim. It was occupied without difficulty, partly in consequence of the assistance which Venice gave to France out of jealousy for her neighbour. Then Louis turned his eyes upon Naples; but here a difficulty presented itself. Spain, as well as France, had claims upon Naples, and claims perhaps more strongly founded. The French advance upon Naples would probably be resisted by a Spanish army. The difficulty was for the time eluded by a treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Granada) for a common campaign against Naples and a joint partition of that unoffending and defenceless state. Naples could make no resistance against the combination of these two great powers. The city surrendered, and the King of Naples soon passed as a prisoner into France. But then the real difficulties began. The treaty of partition had been vaguely drawn. It was not easy to see what part of the stolen lands belonged to Spain and what part to France. War broke out between the two robber states, and in a series of campaigns the French were defeated and driven from all Neapolitan territory.

Louis XII. of France.

The treaty of Granada for the partition of Naples (1500).

At this juncture a new force came into Italian politics in

the person of Pope Julius II. Hitherto the French had had to deal with Alexander VI., probably the worst man who ever wore the papal crown. He had readily made himself the tool of French diplomacy, but Julius II. was a man of better character and a far more energetic statesman. The spiritual functions of the papacy received scant attention at his hands, but he was a judicious patron of the arts and especially of Michael Angelo; and he aspired to play a great and decisive part in the politics of Italy. The first movement in which he was concerned was little to his credit. We have noted the great wealth of Venice, the stability of her Government, the skill of her statesmen, and the large tract of territory which she had won upon the mainland of Italy. There was no cause for war against her. But her territories were coveted by many: by France, by the empire, by Spain, by Florence, and by the papacy, all of whom were her neighbours. The situation led to the infamous League of Cambrai, in which all these powers joined for the conquest and spoiling of Venice. She could make no headway against so vast an alliance; her troops were beaten and she was forced to abandon her possessions upon the mainland. But the victory of the allies led immediately to quarrels among them, and Julius II. was soon aware that even in the interest of the States of the Church he had made a mistake when he invited foreign powers to the plunder of Italian soil. The relations of the states of Italy changed during this time with bewildering rapidity, and the union of the weaker against the strongest was the usual principle of alliance. In 1511 Julius II. formed a Holy League for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Venice, Spain, and the emperor were induced to join against France; and a little later England also came in to this Holy League. France fought brilliantly, and for a time successfully, against her opponents, but by 1513, she had lost all that she had won in Italy, with the exception of the citadel of Milan, and had suffered reverses in France itself at the hands of the English. Then French diplomacy succeeded in breaking up the alliance, and peace was made just before Louis died in 1515.

Pope Julius II.

The League of Cambrai (1508).

The Holy League.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I., young, impetuous, and eager for military distinction. He at once determined that France should enter again upon the Italian adventure. He had no ally except Venice, while Spain, the empire, and the papacy joined to resist him. Francis I. effected a passage of the Alps, which was compared by his flatterers to the famous exploit of Hannibal, and falling upon the army of his enemies at Marignano, near Milan, he utterly defeated them in a battle which lasted for two days. It was thought especially glorious that the foot-soldiers of France had in this encounter fought down the famous Swiss mercenaries who fought on the other side. The battle was followed by important permanent results. For first Francis was able to make with the Swiss a treaty which ensured that their troops should not for the future be employed against France; and next he made with the Pope (Leo X.) a "*concordat*," or treaty, whereby certain payments which France had for nearly a century refused to the papacy were again to be made, while, on the other hand, the nomination of all high ecclesiastical officials was left in the hands of the King. The Pope thus got an increase of wealth, but the King of France a large accession of power. In essentials this concordat governed the relations of the Monarchy and Church in France to the papacy until the end of the eighteenth century.

Battle of Marignano, 1515.

But now the situation was entirely changed by the appearance of a new combatant and a new combination against France. In 1519 the death of the Emperor Maximilian removed that strange and interesting but wholly ineffective figure from the politics of Europe. The empire was elective, and the question of the succession was felt to be a difficult one. It was rendered all the more difficult by the religious fermentation which had begun to be great in Germany. The empire had for centuries been in the hands of men of German stock, but there was no constitutional reason why men of other races should be excluded, and Francis I. was encouraged to put himself forward as a candidate. The rival candidate was Charles, King of Spain, the grandson of Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, who inherited, therefore, not only the territories of Spain, but also the Burgundian lands

Accession of the Emperor Charles V.

and the vast possessions of the house of Hapsburg. The chances of Francis I. were increased by the fact that men felt that if Charles were elected the balance of power in Europe would be entirely upset by the rise of a power greater than any which Europe had known, at least since the days of Charlemagne. An eager campaign of bribery was conducted by the two candidates, but, when the matter came to a decision in 1519, Charles was elected without difficulty, and reigned as the Emperor Charles V.

It was generally anticipated that the rivalry between the two men would lead to war—for wars in the sixteenth century were fought more readily and with a smaller sense of responsibility than they are now. There was on both sides eager search for alliances, and England was induced to throw her weight upon the side of Charles V. Hostilities began in 1522, but the first decisive incident came in 1525. Francis then invaded Italy, hoping to repeat his triumphs of ten years earlier. He laid siege to Pavia, and victory seemed in sight. But then there came from Germany a fresh army which was commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, the last of the independent feudal nobles of France, who had at this juncture rebelled against his king. In the battle which followed, Francis I. was completely defeated, and in the end had to surrender his sword and his person to the enemy. He was taken as a prisoner to Spain, and in 1526 was forced to sign the treaty of Madrid, whereby much French territory was surrendered and the prestige of France seemed hopelessly ruined.

War between Francis I. and Charles V.

Battle of Pavia, 1525.

But the very magnitude of the victory of Charles again brought into existence a league of European powers against him, and financial difficulties prevented him from driving home the blow and completely prostrating his enemy. France repudiated the treaty of Madrid on the ground that it was obtained by compulsion, and that the King of France was not able to surrender French territory without the concurrence of the States-General. The war began again. There came, in 1527, a famous incident, though not one that had any direct influence upon the course of the war between Francis and Charles. The

army of Charles was in Italy victorious but unpaid ; it mutinied in consequence, as armies often did in the sixteenth century, and determined to pay itself by the plunder of one of the rich towns of Italy. An attempt upon Florence failed, and then the mutinous troops struck for Rome. They found the city weakly defended. The Pope (Clement VII.) fell into their hands, and the city was plundered with a ferocious thoroughness that it had never experienced at the hands of Visigoth, Vandal, Lombard, or Frank. The incident has a great importance for English history, for Clement VII. was now a prisoner in the hands of Charles V., and was not able therefore to deal with Henry VIII.'s petition for the annulling of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon in an independent spirit. Out from that incident came the Reformation in England. But upon the struggle between Francis and Charles, the sack of Rome had no decisive influence, and the war from this time dragged on with occasional intervals of peace and presents us with no incidents so striking as the battles of Fornovo, Marignano and Pavia. It will only be necessary to mark the chief stages. Let us note, however, that from this time onwards the Reformation in Germany became an important influence upon the fortunes of the war. Whenever Charles was free for a time from war with France, he usually turned to deal with his religious opponents in Germany, and Francis, on the other hand, again and again, Catholic though he was, entered into negotiations with the German Protestants in order to stir up difficulties for his great antagonist. Had it not been for the German troubles, France would probably have been overthrown, and had it not been for the French war, it is difficult to see how Protestantism could have survived in Germany.

The sack of Rome.

The war and its relation to the German Reformation.

A Peace was patched up at Cambrai in 1529, which lasted with difficulty for some seven years. But in 1536 the duchy of Milan fell vacant, and was claimed by both Charles and Francis. War came again, but it was not fought with anything like the old vigour and intensity, and in 1538 was brought to an end by the truce of Nice, whereby hostilities were to be suspended for ten years, and each of the combatants was to hold what he had won. This peace, however, lasted only for four years, and in

1542 war came again, and again a dispute as to the duchy of Milan which Charles had conferred upon his son Philip was the excuse if not the cause of the war. The French gained further victories upon Italian soil, but the interests of the great rivals elsewhere in Europe prevented the war from being pushed on in the peninsula, and in 1544 the peace of Crespy was made, by which each party was again left in possession of his conquests.

In 1547 Francis I. died and was succeeded by his son, Henry II., and the war between France and the Spanish-Austrian power was from this time ever more and more closely connected with the Protestant movement in Germany. It will, however, for the sake of clearness be well to follow it through its main stages until something like a permanent peace was reached. War came in 1550 as a result of German complications, and Henry II. of France, an eager Catholic and persecutor in his own country, readily joined hands with the Protestant leaders. Charles V. suffered a severe disaster in Germany to which we shall refer again in the next chapter, but it seemed for a time as though he would be able to compensate this loss by a great victory on the French frontier. He laid siege to the city of Metz which was in the hands of the French, and victory seemed assured. But partly the inclemency of the season, and still more the arrival of a new French army, changed his hopes into despair and forced him to draw off with heavy loss. It was the last military incident of his reign. Broken in health, weary and disappointed, he determined to abdicate the various crowns and governments which he held, and to retire for the repose of his soul into a Spanish monastery. He had hoped at one time to hand over the whole of his vast territories to his son Philip, but resistance in Germany made this impossible. His brother Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial title and the Austrian territories, while Philip inherited the vast possessions of Spain in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in the New World. It was Philip, therefore, who carried on the war after the withdrawal of his father into the monastery of Yuste, from which he watched with eager anxiety the course of the European war. Philip gained important victories: the French

Henry II., King of France.

Resignation of Charles V.

Succession of Philip II.

were beaten in Italy, and in 1557 they were crushed in the north of France in the great battle of Saint Quentin. So decisive was the victory that Charles V., from his retreat, eagerly looked for news that his son had arrived in Paris. This, however, was not to be, and the war closed with a French victory, for in 1558 Calais was captured from England, which, through the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip, had been brought into an alliance with Spain. In 1559 a really important peace was made, the peace of Cateau Cambrésis. By this the Spaniards retained their hold upon Italy: both Milan and Naples were recognized as belonging to them. Julius II. had said that the French in Italy were a weed that could easily be plucked up and thrown away, but that the Spanish power was a plant which struck deep and irremovable roots, and the issue showed that he was right. Italy passed under the dominion of foreigners. There were many who bitterly deplored the result. Machiavelli had written of her earlier in the century that she was "without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun," and that "she had endured every kind of desolation." "To all of us," he had said, "the barbarous dominion stinks." But three centuries would have to pass before there was sufficient unity and public spirit in Italy to achieve her liberation from the "barbarous" yoke. France had made some important gains. The three great bishoprics of the north-east, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were ceded to France, and these led, a couple of centuries later, to the occupation by France of the whole of Lorraine. Finally, it was arranged that Philip, whose wife, Mary of England, had just died, should marry Elizabeth of France, and it was hoped that the two great powers would now stand on relations of firm amity.

Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis.

The peace is a really important one: it did not indeed bring about the alliance between France and Spain that was hoped for, and for a century and a half yet the hostility of these two countries was a permanent and decisive influence in all the diplomacy of Europe. The struggles between France and Spain, from 1500 to 1700, deserve as well to be called the "Two Hundred Years' War," as the contest between England and

The Two Hundred Years' War between France and Spain.

France at an earlier time deserves the title of the "Hundred Years' War." France and Spain, then, were still to be enemies. But from this time on the religious struggle plays an ever more influential part in the relations of the great powers. The period of the Italian wars was over: the period of the religious wars was about to begin, and may be taken as lasting from the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis to the still more important treaty of Westphalia which came in the year 1648.

From this point onwards the *Cambridge Modern History* becomes a valuable book of reference. Dyer's *Modern Europe*, edited by Hassall. Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History* are always stimulating and picturesque. For the events of this chapter the great French historians all give a vigorous narrative: Michelet is particularly picturesque but partisan. Grant's *French Monarchy* (2 vols.). Armstrong's *Life of Charles the Fifth* (2 vols.) is an admirable guide through the intricate events dealt with in this and the next chapter. *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*, by Martin Hume, with valuable introductory chapters by Armstrong. Machiavelli's *Prince* may be read here, as an acute commentary on the subjugation of Italy by "barbarian" powers.

CHAPTER II

The Reformation in Germany

Two years after the battle of Marignano an obscure event in Germany marked the beginning of a movement which was destined to have greater consequences for Europe even than the Italian Wars. For it was in 1517 that Luther first threw down the gauntlet in his life-long struggle with papal claims and the power of the Catholic Church.

Luther was born of peasant stock, and had worked his way up through many trials to the professorship of Theology in the recently founded University of Wittenberg. He was a monk of the Augustinian order, and he had studied deeply the Bible in the Vulgate translation, and the writings of St. Augustine, which have often been so perilous to orthodox Catholicism. He had been for nine years professor

Luther.

at Wittenberg and nothing had hitherto occurred to show that he was likely to play any great part in controversy. But in 1517 there came into his neighbourhood a papal emissary named Tetzel, whose business it was to sell indulgences for the building of the new Cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome, the vast Renaissance temple which was to rise where the early-medieval church had stood. The theory of indulgences is an extremely intricate one, and a defence for the practice can perhaps be made out: but for the actions of Tetzel, no defence is possible. He told the ignorant peasants who gathered round him that for the money they paid him they would receive assurance of the escape of friends and relations from the fires of Purgatory. To many it must have seemed that he was selling the power to commit sin with impunity. There had been much criticism already of the moral abuses connected with the selling of indulgences. Luther's spirit burnt within him, until in October, 1517, he published, by fastening upon the Cathedral door at Wittenberg, ninety-five theses or contentions against indulgences, which he declared himself ready to support by argument.

Tetzel and indulgences.

Luther's challenge.

The incident did not seem at first a very remarkable one. From Huss and from Wycliffe there had come much more direct and fundamental challenges to the papal power than this, and yet the movement of Wycliffe and Huss had died away or had been crushed down, while the movement which Luther quite unconsciously was inaugurating was destined to win a large measure of victory and to become a permanent force in European society. To understand this, it will be necessary to cast a glance upon the condition of Germany and of Europe. For the religious movement which, to begin with, was a perfectly simple and straightforward matter, was soon complicated by connection with the social and political condition of Germany and the international relations of the great powers of Europe. The Lutheran movement fought its way to the measure of victory which it won through intrigue, political rivalries, diplomacy, civil and international wars, which fill up the course of the next century.

Forces working in favour of the Reformation.

To begin with we must repeat what we have said in the preceding chapter, that in 1519, Charles, King of Spain, and heir to the Burgundian possessions, was elected to be Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was not one of the world's great rulers, and neither as soldier nor as statesman does he rank along with the great formative forces of European history. He was, and even still is, regarded by some as one of the evil forces of the time—a bitter and subtle enemy of Protestantism and evangelical truth. But an unbiassed study of his character, position, and policy leads to a different conclusion. He ruled over an enormous empire, the greatest that had been known since the days of Charlemagne; and this empire was divided into a large number of units each independent of the other, each requiring a separate political and diplomatic treatment. The seventeen states of the Netherlands over which he ruled each had a constitution of its own. In Spain, Castille, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia had each separate constitutions and parliaments. His possessions in Italy were also independent of Spain and of one another. The problem that was always before him was how to bring these vast and varied possessions of his into some sort of unity, to maintain order and peace and to advance the prosperity of his different lands. His failure in Germany must not blind us to the fact that his reign was marked by many successes. He introduced a better and more humane system of government into the vast colonial possessions of Spain in America; he did much to weaken the power of the Mahomedans upon the north coast of Africa; he made some advance towards the unification of his possessions in the Netherlands. His failure in Germany was complete; but even there his aims cannot be altogether condemned. He was himself by temperament, conviction, and education, as well as by interest, a strong Catholic. For the religious issues at stake in the Lutheran movement he had no sympathy and little understanding, but he tried during the whole of his reign to prevent the Lutheran movement from leading to further disorder in Germany, and to give to Germany, in spite of its religious difficulties, the united and settled order which all German patriots desired. In religious matters he

Charles V.

His difficulties, failure, and success.

was very far from being a fanatic. He hoped that with time the Lutheran movement would die down. He trusted to reach some condition of peace by means of compromise, and he looked especially to some great Church council like the Councils of Constance or of Basel to find a way out from the fierce religious contests of the time.

If we ask ourselves what were the circumstances which favoured the victory of the Lutheran movement we may sum them up in the following way. We must, in the first place, lay stress upon the character and genius of Luther himself. He was possessed of invincible courage and great power of inspiring his followers with his own ardent faith. A large section of the people of Germany came to believe that under the guidance of Luther they had attained to a knowledge of the pure truth, which had so long been hidden beneath the corruptions and superstitions of the Catholic Church ; that if this truth were preached abroad, all the world would accept it, and that it could only be resisted by stupidity or greed. So there arose in Germany that vision of a better future, in religion, in politics, and social life, which is the greatest of revolutionary forces. In the attempts to attain that vision disappointments soon came, but the movement cannot be understood unless we realize the earnestness and strength of the hopes which were entertained by so many. But, further, we must note that the political conditions of Germany were favourable to the growth of the new movement. Germany had ceased to be a political unity. It was in name an empire, but in reality it was a federation of almost independent states, which allowed of no interference from any central authority. The emperor could not, without the permission of the leading German states, raise taxes, collect an army, or make war ; and this permission was extremely difficult to obtain. It is true that Charles V. ruled over many territories where he was not embarrassed by such constitutional difficulties. There was no other part of his vast territories, indeed, where his authority was so weak as in most of the states of Germany, and had he been free from other tasks he might have collected a large army from Spain, from Italy, from the Netherlands, from

The influence of Luther.

The divisions of Germany.

Austria, and with them he might have overwhelmed his Lutheran opponents. But the position of Charles V. allowed of no such direct action. We have seen how during a large part of his career he was engaged in wars with France. He had troubles in the Netherlands. Spain was not always passively loyal. He made great expeditions against the Mohamedan powers of Northern Africa. In Austria, which was ruled over by his brother Ferdinand as regent, he had to face a constant and terrible threat of Turkish invasion, and it was therefore very rarely and at long intervals that he found his hands free enough to undertake the coercion of his enemies in Germany. It is to be noted, too, that, apart from the religious attraction and force of the Lutheran movement, it appealed also strongly to large sections of Germany as a national movement against the foreigner. Germany was not indeed a nation as England, France, and Spain were nations; but there was a strong sense of dislike for foreign interference in German affairs. Charles was disliked as a Spaniard; the Pope as an Italian; and Luther gained a considerable part of his following because he claimed that Germany should be for the Germans. So Lutheranism was strong by reason of the strength of its own convictions; and at the same time it was protected, especially during its early stages, by the impossibility of bringing the lumbering constitution of the empire to any decisive action, and by the manifold engagements and difficulties in which Charles V. was involved. It is a striking fact that for thirty years the Protestant movement in Germany developed without having to face direct military opposition. There was constant talk of interference; the new movement was denounced by diets of the empire; but the sword was not definitely drawn from its sheath against the new faith until Luther's own eyes were closed in death.

The many tasks of Charles V.

Protestantism appealed to the national sentiment of Germany.

Luther's protest in 1517 was against the doctrine of indulgences only; but very soon, and almost in spite of himself, the struggle began to be fought out on wider issues. Luther found that his differences with Rome were more fundamental than he had at first believed: he found that his ideas had

close similarity to those of Huss and Wycliffe; that some part of them had been condemned by the Council of Constance; and yet he refused to retract. He thus became the leader of an assault upon the papal authority and the very basis of the organization of the Catholic Church. In 1520 the Pope, Leo X., issued against him a Bull of excommunication. But it failed to shake Luther's courage or to withdraw from him the support of the people, and the Elector of Saxony. He solemnly burnt it in the market square at Wittenberg, and burnt along with it the volumes of the Canon Law. In 1521 Charles V. came into Germany to preside over a Diet of the Empire at Worms. There was much other business, but the one point of real importance was the treatment of Luther. He was summoned to attend; and the emperor gave him a safe conduct. There were many who advised him not to go, and warned him that the safe conduct would be violated, as it had been in the case of Huss, but Luther faced the gathering of the potentates of Germany at Worms, confessed to the authorship of his works, and refused to retract. "Here I stand," he said, "I can do no otherwise, so help me God." He was thereupon put to the Ban of the Empire, but he was protected by his friend, the Elector of Saxony, and was taken in disguise to the great castle of the Wartburg and remained there in concealment for some time. He occupied himself with his translation of the Bible into German, a work which has played in the development of German language and literature as great a part as the Version of 1611 has played in the history of England.

The development of Lutheranism.

The Diet of Worms.

In 1522 another Diet was called at Nuremberg, and it was hoped now that the condemnation of Luther at Worms would lead to effective action. But the emperor was occupied by Italian and other troubles, and the Diet refused to act in the sense which he desired. Instead it drew up a statement of German grievances against the papacy, and the movement thus became almost a national one.

Soon after this, however, another and a very important force entered into the religious development of Germany. The political condition of the country favoured, as we have seen,

the development of Lutheranism; but it was not so with the social condition. The peasants, especially in the west and south-west of Germany, had their own bitter grievances. The country generally was in a high condition of prosperity, and the towns and the middle class were rapidly advancing in comfort and even in luxury. But the peasants, meanwhile, had remained stationary, or were actually worse off than they had been half a century before. Their condition was one of serfdom; they had to pay their feudal superiors forced labour of various kinds. It is possible that a great number of them were better off than wage earners under modern industrial conditions, but their condition was a very irritating one, and economic changes in Germany had of late made it rather worse than better. The religious movement encouraged by Luther excited them dangerously. The liberty of which Luther spoke seemed to them to promise some change in their own social conditions. They broke out into rebellion, especially in the south-west, in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg, and they put out their demands in twelve articles. They claimed, as Luther claimed for his religious changes, that their demands should be regarded in the light of scripture. They said that they should no longer be bondsmen, because Christ had made them free; and they demanded the immediate abolition of the many feudal burdens which pressed so heavily upon them. They demanded, too, the abolition of tithes, and asked for instruction in the real truths of the Gospel. These demands were accompanied by a wild agitation which broke out into civil war (1524). Atrocities were committed on both sides, though more cruelty was probably exercised in the repression of the rebellion than by the rebels themselves. Luther saw the rising with alarm. It seemed to him to complicate and to endanger the victory of his own religious movement, and he spoke and wrote against the peasants with vigour and even with ferocity. He called upon the nobles to repress the rising with the utmost energy, and seemed even to sanction measures of cruelty. The movement failed, as it was bound to do, and the subsequent similar outbreak in the north of Germany failed

Outbreak of the Peasants' War.

Influence of Lutheranism on the peasants.

Civil war.

also, but it was not without permanent influence upon the religious movement. The peasants had appealed to Luther, and they had got from him not help but opposition. From this time forward the Lutheran movement was no longer the widely popular thing that it had been at first. Luther lost his position as popular leader, and his movement lost its hold upon great masses of the poorest population. From this time on he had to rely more upon the middle classes and upon the established authorities, and thus Lutheranism began to adopt that policy of dependence upon the authority of the state, which characterized it and influenced it henceforth.

Meanwhile, the Imperial authority had done nothing for the suppression of Lutheranism. In 1526 a Diet was called at Speier, but no general result was reached. It was declared that the responsibility rested upon each of the various states of Germany. Each one, said the Diet, was so to live, rule, and conduct itself as he should be ready to answer to God and his Imperial Majesty. The strongest supporters of Lutheranism, especially Saxony and Hesse, interpreted this edict by setting up definite Protestant Churches within their own dominions. Three years later, in 1529, another Diet was called at Speier, and by a majority decided that the Edict of Worms was still binding, and that further innovations in religion should not be permitted. The minority thereupon issued a declaration in which these words occurred: "We hereby *protest* to you that we cannot and may not concur therein, but hold the resolution null and not binding." It is this protest which ultimately gave to the movement the name of Protestantism, which has clung to it in its various forms ever since. In 1530 the movement acquired greater solidity by the adoption of a definite Lutheran creed. This was the confession of Augsburg, in which Lutheran opinions were expressed in a definite, but at the same time, moderate and conciliatory form. But the emperor at once denounced this new creed, and threatened reprisals against all who would not return to the Catholic fold. Hence in 1531 there came the League of Schmalkalden in which all Protestant powers joined together for the defence of their common interests. The

Origin of the word Protestantism.

The League of Schmalkalden.

chief names in this league were Saxony, Hesse, and Brandenburg. But although the formation of the league was a very definite challenge to the Imperial authority, thirteen more years were to pass before the emperor found himself free enough to draw his sword against this avowed enemy. For during this time he was occupied with his Italian policy, and the Turks were again threatening a dangerous incursion into Germany along the line of the Danube. It was necessary, therefore, to abstain from war against his German opponents which would itself require all his energy, and he accepted for the time a system of compromise. It was not until 1544 that he felt his hands really free. He made in that year a peace with the King of France, and he was also for the moment free from any complications with the Turks. The spread of the new movement in Germany showed him that it was fully time to strike. Würtemberg and Baden had declared for Protestantism, and there was a great danger that even the Archbishop of Cologne would pass over to the same side. In 1546 Charles collected a large army and prepared for war. Luther died at the beginning of this year and did not therefore see the actual outbreak of the civil war that he had always feared and deprecated. The early religious enthusiasm was dying down, and in this hour of crisis the Protestant states by no means stood firmly by one another. At the first movement of the Imperial army various of the Protestant states of the south yielded to the emperor. He had already been joined by Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who was brought over to his side by jealousy of his cousin, the Elector of Saxony, and the hope of winning from the emperor the electoral title and power. The chief burden of resistance was borne by John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, and neither of them was a man of energy or military ability. The decisive battle came in 1547 at Mühlberg on the Elbe. Imperial troops under the direction of the emperor himself, his Spanish General, Alva, and Maurice of Saxony crossed the river, defeated their opponents, and captured both the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. It was a great victory, though not a great battle, and it seemed for the moment as though Europe

Battle of Mühlberg.

were at the emperor's feet. Neither in Germany nor out of Germany was there any power capable for the moment of making serious resistance to him. He attempted to settle the religious question in a manner which does credit to his moderation. A Diet was called at Augsburg, and there "the Interim" was issued. A general Church council had already been called at Trent, and it was hoped that its deliberations would be accepted by all Christendom. But meanwhile some arrangement must be made; and this was "the Interim" (1548). The document began by affirming the necessity of continuing the old Catholic practices—the frequent celebration of the Mass, prayers for the dead, the practice of fasting, the observation of the great holy days of the Church. But in its last clause it made considerable concessions to Protestantism: Priests who had taken to themselves wives were not to be compelled to put them away again; those who had grown accustomed to taking the communion "under two kinds" were not to be forced to change their practice, until the Ecumenical Council of Trent had given its verdict on these crucial questions. It was a well-meaning attempt, and Melancthon, the greatest of the Protestant leaders now that Luther was dead, accepted it: but it was not generally accepted in Germany. The Catholic states were not willing to give their Protestant subjects the toleration which it implied, and many Protestant states refused to allow the organization of the Catholic Church to be set up again within their bounds. The emperor might have forced his will through in the end, but there came a great change in the international situation, and Protestantism profited by the change.

The Interim.

In the first place, Maurice of Saxony, who had contributed so much to the victory of Mühlberg, was irritated with the emperor. He had not got all the territories that he had hoped, and his influence with the emperor was not so great as he had expected. He was a restless and ambitious character, and he began to think of other schemes for advancing his interests. Further, between Charles and his brother Ferdinand, who ruled over the Austrian territories, relations were at this moment rather strained.

Maurice of Saxony.

Ferdinand had gained in 1526 an immense accession of prestige, if not exactly of power. For in that year the Turks had poured into Hungary and had won the great battle of Mohacz. It was in its results one of the most important battles of the century. Hungary and Bohemia were overwhelmed by the Turkish power, and Vienna itself was in danger. The King of Bohemia and Hungary had been slain in the battle, and Ferdinand his brother-in-law now claimed the inheritance. It was an inheritance that had to be won before it could be enjoyed, but from this time on Bohemia and Hungary were claimed as possessions of the Hapsburgs, and they have proved to be among the most valuable of all the possessions of that family. The modern history of Austria depends upon this great battle and its results.

The Battle of Mohacz.

Charles V., after the Interim, was concerned with the succession of the Imperial throne. Ferdinand had been recognized already as his immediate successor, but Charles was anxious to procure for his son Philip—afterwards the famous Philip II. of Spain—the right to succeed to the empire upon the death of Ferdinand. He would by this means have prolonged indefinitely the vast power which his house had acquired in Europe. But Ferdinand in the interest of his own family resisted this plan and was not at this moment ready to co-operate heartily with the emperor. But more serious even than the defection of Maurice and the jealousy of Ferdinand was the interference of France. Henry II. was reigning there, and he was now eager to take up again the struggle against the Spanish-Austrian power. He entered into relations with Maurice and the Protestant leaders; he procured from them the promise that the three great frontier bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, should be ceded to France in return for French assistance to the Protestant movement. Charles V. was ill, and was no longer the astute and watchful statesman that he had at one time been. He was taken by surprise when, in 1552, Maurice of Saxony raised the standard against him. He lost the position that he had won in Germany almost without striking a blow. He fled to Innsbruck, and there very

Difficulties of Charles after the Interim.

nearly fell into the hands of his enemies. With difficulty he escaped over the snow-covered passes of the Tyrol into Italy (1552). Thus at a blow his whole position was lost, and Maurice seemed master of Germany. Historians have speculated as to the real end of the aims and ambitions of Maurice, and as to the part which he would have played if his life had been prolonged. But he fell in 1553 in an obscure combat, and Germany was left in confusion without any master or any predominant influence. Charles had some hopes of regaining the power he had lost. It was the King of France who had really humiliated him, and it was against France that he directed another blow. He laid siege to the town of Metz: he believed that he was certain to win it. If it had fallen his own strength would have been vastly increased, and a road would have been opened to the resumption of his German plans: but as he said, fortune loved the young rather than the old, and the city of Metz was unexpectedly saved by the Duke of Guise.

Flight of Charles from Germany.

Failure of Charles at Metz.

Charles was weary of the burden of government, and as we have already seen, determined to abdicate. He threw upon his brother Ferdinand, therefore, the settlement of the difficulties in Germany. A Diet was called at Augsburg which may be taken as marking the end of the first great stage of the Reformation struggle. Its chief terms were as follows: In the first place, all attempts were abandoned to force a uniform religious settlement upon Germany. Each state—and it must be remembered that there were over three hundred states in Germany—was made responsible for the religion of its own territory. There was thus no general system of toleration for the individual, but as emigration was allowed, it was possible for a man who professed a religion different from that of his state, to move across the frontiers into some more favourable locality. Next, only two forms of religion were to be recognized in Germany. The states upon which the responsibility was thrown must choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism: "All such as do not belong to these two religions shall not be included in the present peace,

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

but shall be totally excluded from it." For the moment the danger involved in this decision was not apparent, but already there had arisen another form of Protestantism in Germany—Calvinism, and this was gaining a hold in various parts of the country stronger than that which was possessed by Lutheranism, and according to this clause of the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinists and Calvinism had no place in Germany. Out from this clause were to come constant difficulties, and ultimately the great Thirty Years' War. The only other clause to which we need direct attention was that which was concerned with the condition of the ecclesiastical states of Germany which had accepted Protestantism. There was a great temptation to the heads of ecclesiastical states to accept the new faith, for by accepting it they became temporal sovereigns, capable of passing on their positions to their descendants, instead of life tenants for the Catholic Church. But the ecclesiastical states of Germany were so many and their territories so wide that it was a matter of the utmost importance to decide what exactly should be done with those ecclesiastical states which declared themselves Protestant. The Catholic demand was that all of them should be restored to the Church, and that no bishop or archbishop, by the changing of his own faith, should be allowed to alienate his territories from the Church. The Protestant view was that such changes as had taken place in the past should be accepted, and that similar changes should be possible in the future. In the Peace of Augsburg a compromise was effected. It was declared that all ecclesiastical states which had become Protestant before 1552 should remain in the hands of their Protestant rulers, but that no further secularization should be allowed, but that any which had declared for Protestantism since 1552 should be restored to the Catholic Church. Such are the chief clauses of the Peace of Augsburg. Germany was weary of the long controversy; religious enthusiasms were no longer so vivid as they had been a quarter of a century before; the new arrangements were accepted without any great protest. But for Germany as for Europe, the religious contest was far from having reached its end, and the very clauses of the well-meant Peace of

The Ecclesiastical states of Germany.

Augsburg themselves were destined to form the occasion of the fierce religious war which was to break out in Germany at the beginning of the next century.

Ranke, *German History in the Period of the Reformation.* Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation.* Köstlin, *Life of Luther.* Haüsser, *Era of the Reformation.* Armstrong, *Life of Charles V.* Seebohm, *The Protestant Revolution.* Kidd's *Documents of the Continental Revolution* are of the utmost value for the Reformation, both in Germany and other European states.

CHAPTER III

The Religious Movements of the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

WHEN Luther nailed his theses to the cathedral door of Wittemberg, the issue seemed to him at first a simple one. He protested against the abuses of the Roman Church ; he appealed from the practice and the tradition of Rome to the authority of the scriptures, in which he saw the final court of appeal, and it seemed to him that the conclusion at which he arrived would be reached by any one who considered the question candidly and with knowledge. But the Lutheran movement had not proceeded far before it was evident that the question was by no means so simple as it had seemed at first. Religion was so linked with every phase of the life of men that the disturbance in religion produced, in spite of Luther, corresponding disturbances in political and in social matters, which in their turn influenced and endangered the progress of Lutheranism itself. Moreover, before Luther's death it was plain that the conclusions which he had reached in theological matters would not necessarily be accepted even by those who, like himself, denounced the corruptions of the Roman Church and looked to the Bible for their beliefs.

In 1518 the reformer Zwingli began his work in Zurich in Switzerland. He began like Luther by denouncing the practice of indulgences. A large portion of Switzerland followed his lead,

and broke away from obedience to Rome. His movement was for a time in harmony with that of Luther, but when he began to define his opinions on theology and upon the government of the Church, serious differences soon showed themselves. In Church government his ideas were much more democratic than those of Luther, as the people among whom he lived were much more democratic in their political organization than the inhabitants of the German states. But the most important difference between Zwingli and Luther concerned the Communion. Luther had rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he asserted a doctrine which he called "consubstantiation." The Bread and Wine of the Communion service, he said, remained bread and wine still. But along with them there was, after the ceremony of consecration, a new element, which entered into them "as fire into iron when it was heated." But Zwingli protested against consubstantiation as well as against transubstantiation, and he regarded the Communion service as a commemorative ceremony only. Efforts were made to bring the two great reformers into harmony, but in vain. The words "This is my body" seemed to Luther absolutely to preclude Zwingli's interpretation. He denounced him as an enemy of the truth; and the followers of these two Protestant leaders were destined never to form any complete union.

Zwingli and Luther.

Before Luther's death another Protestant movement had begun in an obscure quarter of the empire, which was destined to much greater importance than that of Zwingli. Calvin was born in the north of France in the year 1509, and he was at first destined for the priesthood. He studied theology for a short time at Paris, but then, abandoning the idea of the priesthood, went to Orleans to study law. Here, in 1533, he tells us that his mind was turned by a sudden conversion to a new faith. He accepted Protestantism, though as yet in no definite form. Religious persecution was hot in France, and he therefore left it and lived for a time in the towns of the Rhine. At Basel he wrote his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and in 1536 he came to Geneva. Geneva was nominally a city of the empire, but authority in it was really disputed between its bishop and the

Calvin.

Duke of Savoy. The people of Geneva, in alliance with their neighbours of Bern and Freiburg, had risen up against both duke and bishop; they had declared themselves Protestant, and in 1536 had sworn to live "according to the holy evangelical law and the word of God." Shortly after this, Calvin arrived at Geneva. He was induced to remain there, and although expelled in 1538, he soon returned, and resided in Geneva to the time of his death. Because of his residence there, Geneva became one of the most important cities of Europe, and, by the authority which Calvin exercised over many countries, it seemed for a time almost to balance the authority of Rome.

The distinctive features of Calvinism.

Calvinism is distinguished from other Protestant movements of the time chiefly by three features: (1) According to Calvin's scheme, the Church and the State were to be separate; there was to be no such direction of the Church by the State, as was the case with the Lutheran Church of Germany during the latter part of Luther's life, or as was established in England by Henry VIII. (2) The government of the Church, according to Calvin's ideas, was to be in the hands of a body in which laymen and ministers were both to take a share. This governing body of the Church was called a Consistory, and it was composed of six ministers and of twelve lay elders, and in their hands lay the chief share of the government of the Church. (3) Calvinism was further distinguished by the insistence upon a strict moral discipline. The opponents of Lutheranism said of it that it led rather to looseness of life and conduct than to any improvement upon the morals of Catholicism. But looseness could certainly not be charged against Calvinism. The whole of Geneva, when his system had been adopted, was submitted to a strict moral censorship and direction emanating nominally from the Consistory, but, as a matter of fact, directed by Calvin himself; so that John Knox, perhaps the greatest of Calvin's disciples, wrote that though the Gospel of Christ was professed elsewhere, nowhere was the Christian life practised as it was in Geneva.

Calvinism stood apart both from Zwinglianism and from Lutheranism. Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion"

was the great basis upon which first the Church in Geneva and then other Presbyterian Churches in Europe were built up. It is a system of theology worked out with rigid, logical accuracy, and resting upon the doctrine of predestination. Though there was much in it that would have been accepted by the followers of Luther and of Zwingli, Calvin took upon the matter of the Communion a line different from either of the other reformers. He did not, like Zwingli, regard it as a merely commemorative ceremony, but he rejected entirely Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. He refused to recognize anything miraculous or supernatural in the elements themselves; but the ceremony, he held, was no mere commemoration, but a necessary means of grace. There were other differences, but this was sufficient to separate the Calvinists from the Lutherans, and when Calvinism had spread widely in Germany, to introduce into that unhappy land the schism in the Protestant camp which led subsequently to the Thirty Years' War. Calvin translated the Bible into French, and his translation, like that of Luther, had a powerful influence upon his own and upon the next generation. He was himself a man of wide classical learning, but he had little sympathy with the artistic and humanistic movements of the time. Geneva, while he lived and for some time afterwards, was controlled by a rigid discipline. There is hardly such another instance in modern times of the life of a people being prescribed and enforced by a higher authority. The pleasures of Geneva were submitted to a strict censorship. It was laid down by the authorities what dishes might be served at meals, what presents might be given at weddings, and on some few occasions the rigour of Calvin proceeded to terrible extremities. One of his religious opponents in Geneva was put to death, and when the Spanish Servetus came to Geneva, hoping to find there protection, because he had challenged the doctrines of the Church of Rome, he found, on the contrary, bitter opposition because his views were not the views of Calvin and his Church; and, after a trial in which Calvin personally took part, he was sentenced to death and burned outside the walls of the city.

Calvin's "Institutes."

Calvin on the Eucharist.

The martyrdom of Servetus.

This and other acts of cruelty must not blind us to the importance of Calvinism for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It gave to Protestantism a clear and rigidly defined theology; it inspired Protestants with a devotion and an enthusiasm greater than anything which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, could be found among the Lutherans; and even its social discipline, though it may seem to us exaggerated and sometimes absurd, served to steel the temper of its adherents, and to make of the Calvinists of Europe the great fighting force, the forlorn hope of Protestantism, the body which carried on resistance to its religious opponents when life had gone from Lutheranism. It was the Calvinists of France who nearly brought Protestantism to victory there; it was the Calvinists who created the free Dutch Republic in the Netherlands, and made Scotland a force in Europe; it was Calvinism which gave to Protestantism in England a great deal of its energy and went far to create the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century.

The historic services of Calvinism.

While Protestantism was thus changing its character, and developing a new organization, a vast change also was passing over the Roman Catholic Church. The popes of the first half of the sixteenth century had been immersed in the politics of Italy, and had been more concerned with the Renaissance and with the progress of art than with the spiritual tasks which were their proper province. The first stages of the Protestant movement were regarded with little concern. Pope Clement VII., indeed, was sometimes in half alliance with the Lutherans because he was in open hostility with the emperor, Charles V. But the rapid spread of Protestantism soon made this indifference impossible. When three-quarters of Germany had fallen away, when France and Holland were deeply infected with the new heresy, when England had snapped the bonds which connected her with Rome, when Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had accepted Lutheranism, when the new doctrine had secured crowds of adherents in Poland and Bohemia, and even Italy itself was not altogether free from it, then, indeed, the magnitude of the danger awakened the Church of Rome to the real urgency of

The Catholic revival.

action, and the second half of the century shows us popes of a very different character from those of the first half. They pursued a policy which sometimes contributed to the spread of literature or to the architectural decoration of Rome; but their chief interest lay in the defence of their faith against

The Revolt from Rome.

their Protestant opponents; and before the end of the century the tide of Protestantism had ceased to flow, and the leaders of Catholicism were able to carry their warfare into the enemies' camp. They won back large territories to the Roman obedience, and cherished the hope of winning back all. This is the

movement which is known as the Counter Reformation or the Roman Catholic Reaction.

The chief agency in this momentous change is to be found in the Jesuit order. We have seen how the Church almost from the beginning had owed some of its greatest victories to the various special orders which had arisen from time to time. The Benedictines, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans had all left their mark upon the history of the Church, but none of them are more important or have left more permanent traces than the Jesuits.

The Jesuit order.

Spain was the home of the new movement, and naturally so, for nowhere, so much as in Spain, was Catholicism an aggressive and missionary force. The long struggle with the Moors had made Catholicism in Spain not merely a faith, but a national bond, and the victories which had recently been won against the Moors inspired the Spaniards with a confident and exultant faith. Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde was a Spanish nobleman who had seen a good deal of service in the Spanish armies. He was wounded in the siege of Pampeluna, and upon his recovery was found to be crippled for life. He was an ardent Catholic, and his ideas turned from material to spiritual warfare. It was long, however, before he chose the path which he subsequently followed. He plunged into ascetic religious exercises; he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem; he fell even under suspicion of heresy. The turning-point in his career was his visit to Paris to study theology. He there attached to himself a few friends of like opinions; and it was at Paris that he and they took the vow that they would go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and would submit themselves absolutely to the guidance of the Pope. But the Turkish power was too strong, and though they reached Venice they could go no further. It was there that the idea of the formation of a new order seems to have suggested itself to Don Inigo, whom we will henceforward call by his later name, Ignatius Loyola. He desired to gather a body of men together who would fight for the Catholic Church with all the courage and all the discipline to which he was accustomed in the army which he had been forced to leave.

Ignatius Loyola.

The Pope regarded this new order at first with some suspicion. It was not until 1540 that a papal Bull allowed of its definite formation. From that time onwards it was one of the most important religious forces of Europe. Those who joined this order or "company" (for the latter was the word that Ignatius chose) took the vows of poverty, of chastity, of obedience, and of special devotion to the Pope. At the head of the order was to be a General, and his authority within the order was supreme. The Jesuits found their closest analogy in the order of the Dominicans, and yet they differed from the Dominicans in many important particulars. They were not to distinguish themselves by any special dress; they were not to weaken themselves by an extreme asceticism; they were to remain in the world, but they were always to fight for the Church. Ignatius took special care to eradicate from the members of his order any national feeling. The order was to be before all things cosmopolitan; and Germans, English, or French were to serve the Church only, without any regard for the nation from which they had sprung. They looked as the chief means for influencing the world to preaching and to teaching. From the first their schools were important and influential. They offered their teaching freely, and their teaching was in many respects the best which was at that time to be found in Europe. They secured, therefore, in all countries into which they gained admission, a great hold upon the rising generations, and at the beginning of the next century they were found practically in control of the schools and the Universities of Catholic Europe. They were a body inspired by the most devout enthusiasm; possessed of an unflinching courage; ready to serve the Pope in any way that was suggested to them. They were, it has been said, a sword held over Europe, the hilt of which was always in the Pope's hand, while the point could strike anywhere. It was largely due to their exertions that in France, Germany, and Poland the tide of Protestantism was turned back, and notable assaults were made upon Protestantism in England, Scotland, and elsewhere.

Foundation of the Jesuit order.

Distinctive features of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits and Education.

Another agency in the Counter Reformation is to be found in the Council of Trent. It had been from the first the idea of Charles V. that the Protestant controversy should be settled by the calling together of a great world-wide council of the Church. The popes had resisted the idea, for the summoning of a council was in itself an attack upon the papal monarchy; but the danger was so great, and the influence of Charles V. so strong, that in December, 1545, a council was called. The city of Trent was chosen because, though within the political bounds of the German Empire, it was geographically in Italy, and could easily be reached by the Italian bishops, upon whom the Pope counted for the defence of his views in the council. The last sessions were not reached until the year 1563, but before then it had undergone various vicissitudes; it had been moved to Bologna in 1547; it had been suspended in 1549; called together again in 1551; it was suspended in 1552; it was summoned for the last time in 1552, and closed its sessions in 1563.

The Council of Trent.

Charles V. had designed the council as a means whereby the secular powers of Europe might force reforms upon the Church. But the result was almost the opposite of that. It was presided over by the legates of the Pope, and nothing could be proposed to the council unless the legates agreed. It was hoped that the council would find some basis of compromise between Lutheranism and Catholicism, so that the Church might be united once more; but this hope was entirely falsified. The Latin translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, was declared to be authoritative; and not scripture alone, but also the tradition of the Church, was declared to be the final authority in matters theological. The doctrine of justification by faith upon which Luther laid such stress and which had been accepted by many prominent Catholics, was criticized and rejected, with little consideration of the arguments or the wishes of Protestants—who were not represented except for a very short period in the council. It proceeded to define in orderly fashion the doctrine and to improve the discipline of the Church. In its last sessions the authority

Papal control of the Council of Trent.

of the Pope in the Church was definitely reaffirmed, and the council, which had seemed at first to be so dangerous a force in the eyes of all papal politicians, ended by strengthening the control of the papacy over every department of the Church.

The council certainly contributed much to the cause of Catholic reaction. It gave to Catholics a definite body of doctrine; it brought to an end the theological disputes which had gone on in their midst. Further, it removed many abuses among the secular and monastic clergy, and it improved and strengthened the government and organization of the Church. It opened up no road to the reunion of Christendom, but it gave Catholicism a much more defensible position and a more effective organization for the struggle.

The results of the Council of Trent.

Another factor in the Counter Reformation must be mentioned—the Inquisition—and of this it is extremely difficult to speak. There had always been some machinery in the Church for the repression of heresy. In the earlier Middle Ages it had been attached to the bishops. In the year 1483 a special Spanish Inquisition had been organized for the suppression of Moorish and Jewish heretics in the Spanish peninsula. Now, in 1542, on the suggestion of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., a general papal inquisition was set up. By this measure machinery was erected, in all Catholic lands that were willing to receive it, for the examination and for the punishment of heresy. The procedure of the Inquisition has become a by-word for cruelty and injustice, and it can by no means be defended. It can only be said in palliation of it that many of the features of the Inquisition, which are to us most repellent, were at that time common to most of the tribunals of Europe. It used torture for the extraction of evidence; it did not confront the prisoner with the witnesses against him; the very names of the witnesses were usually not communicated to him. If the prisoner was found guilty, he was handed over to the secular arm, that is, to the State, for such punishment as should be agreed upon. In the instructions of the Inquisition in the year 1542 it was specially laid down that there must be no hesitation or delay; that no consideration was to be shown to any prince or prelate, but

special severity was to be shown to those who sheltered themselves behind any high dignitary; and that while there was to be no toleration for heretics, Calvinists were to be singled out for special research and punishment. The Inquisition was entrusted also with the censorship of the press. In some parts of Europe no book could be published without its permission. In 1555 there was drawn up the famous index of forbidden books which no Catholic was allowed to read.

Influence of the Inquisition.

It is certain that the Jesuits and the Council of Trent contributed immensely to the large measure of victory that was won by Catholicism at the end of the sixteenth century. It is not so certain that the Inquisition contributed to that victory at all. It was often perverted to purposes different from its original intention, and in Spain especially it was used almost as much in the interests of the monarchy as in those of the Church. Where it worked with the greatest severity—as in the Netherlands—it exasperated opposition beyond all possibility of compromise or surrender, and by its severities has done much to damage the fair fame of the Church that used it.

Ranke, *History of the Popes.* Lindsay, *History of the Reformation.* Froude, *Lectures on the Council of Trent.* Haüsser, *Era of the Reformation.* Dyer, *Life of Calvin.* Lea, *History of the Inquisition.* Mark Pattison, *Essay on Calvin* (in his collected Essays).

CHAPTER IV

Spain and the Netherlands

Geographical isolation of Spain.

THE barrier of the Pyrenees isolated Spain from the rest of Europe, and she might have pursued her course with little connection with the rest of the Continent. Her history presents characteristics very different from those of the other European states. We have seen that the struggle with the Mahomedan power of the Moors is the one great influence on her development. Various

Christian states had formed themselves as the Moors were driven back, and for a long time the only unity which these states possessed was to be found in their common devotion to Catholicism. But in the fifteenth century there had arisen in Spain a great movement towards unification and centralization. The two chief kingdoms had been united through the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and their grandson, Charles I., King of Spain, better known as the Emperor Charles V., ruled over all the peninsula except Portugal. By the end of the fifteenth century Spain had lost her old isolation. She had acquired a claim on Sicily and Naples, and she had linked her fate with that of the Netherlands, when Joanna of Spain married Philip, the son of Mary of Burgundy and of Maximilian of Austria. Spain became the head of a world-wide empire. Her ambition was gratified, and her pride increased; but the vast responsibilities that she thus undertook are among the chief causes of her subsequent downfall.

Spain as the head of a world-wide empire.

But we must beware of placing her decline and decay at too early a date. All through the sixteenth and far into the seventeenth century she was a splendid and a powerful state, and the statesmen of Europe thought her even more powerful than she really was. She was supposed to derive endless wealth from "the Indies," as her American possessions were called; the population was kept in real unity by the ardent Catholicism which was the faith of the vast majority; her soldiers counted for a century as the best in Europe; it was a Spanish fleet that had discovered the new world, and Spain had thus the opportunity of establishing a wide commerce. Later experience was to show that there was a drawback to each of these advantages. Her American possessions entailed great cost, and, because of their unwise government, yielded little surplus when the necessary charges were paid; the religious ardour of the people gave free scope to the Inquisition, which crushed freedom of thought, and kept from Spain the free movement of thought, which was fertilizing the rest of Europe; the vast empire of which she formed a part landed her in endless

The strength of Spain in the Sixteenth Century.

wars, which crippled her resources beyond possibility of recovery.

The reign of Charles V. had been, as we have seen, a failure in Germany, but it was glorious for Spain. The forces of the monarchy had been asserted with success against all rival powers; the Mahomedan and pirate power of Tunis had been crushed; a better system of government had been introduced into the American colonies. In Europe great additions had been made to the Spanish power in Italy, and in the Netherlands Charles had ruled with success and usually with popularity. At Charles V.'s abdication his son Philip II. inherited an immense power. It was no loss to Spain, but rather a gain, that the empire and the Hapsburg possessions to the east of Germany passed to Ferdinand and not to Philip. With vast possessions in the old world and the new, a warlike population, great reputed wealth, and the support of the Roman Catholic Church, everything seemed possible to him.

The successes of Charles V.

Philip II.

Philip II.'s reign is usually counted a great failure. He seemed constantly on the eve of some epoch-making achievement, and there were moments when it seemed possible that he would add England and France to the possessions of his crown. But no final success crowned his efforts. The heretic Elizabeth still sat at the end of his reign upon an unshaken throne; France lay contentedly in the grasp of his great antagonist, Henry of Navarre. But the worst blow of all was that a large part of the Netherlands had torn itself away and had become an independent and a Protestant state.

The failures of Philip II.'s reign.

Yet the reign was not without its triumphs. In 1571 a Spanish admiral, Don John of Austria, the half-brother of the king, commanding a great fleet drawn from the chief Catholic powers, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish navy at Lepanto, in the Gulf of Corinth, from which the Turkish naval power never recovered. Greatest triumph of all, in 1580, upon the death of the King of Portugal, Philip II. asserted with success his claims upon the Portuguese throne, and thus not only ruled over the whole peninsula, but annexed also the vast Portuguese

His successes: 1. Lepanto.

2. Portugal.

dominions in America and India. Nor was the glory of Spain limited to war and conquest. This was her great age also in art and literature. Cervantes fought at the battle of Lepanto, and in 1605 wrote "Don Quixote," which soon came to be recognized as one of the few masterpieces of European literature. The romantic Spanish drama of Calderon (1601–1687) claims its place along with the best that England and France have done. Painting flourished as well as literature, though the work of Velasquez, the greatest name in Spanish art, belongs to the succeeding reigns.

3. Art and Literature.

But we must turn to the Netherlands, whose revolt was the gravest blow that Spain received during the reign of Philip II. Not only was Spain weakened by the revolt, but it also gave to Europe a new state, protestant, progressive, and free, which for at least a century led the van of Europe in everything which made for liberty and enlightenment.

Revolt of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands were seventeen separate states which had come into the possession of Philip II. as part of the inheritance from Charles of Burgundy. Each state had its own constitution, and they did not in any sense form a unity, though Charles V. had tried, and not altogether without success, to give them a common system of administration. They nominally formed part of the empire, but the connection was as weak as in the case of the Swiss Confederation. They were a busy hive of commerce and industry, and their great cities and harbours, of which Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Amsterdam were the chief, gave to the King of Spain a far larger revenue than that which he derived from the Indies. They were not easy to govern, and Charles V. had had some serious troubles with them; but they had, for the most part, supported him loyally.

Condition of the Netherlands.

Philip II. had none of his father's cosmopolitan interest and experience. He lived nearly all his life in Spain, and directed from Madrid by means of a vast correspondence the affairs of his world-wide empire. He had great industry, patience, and a sense of duty, and his devotion to religion was genuine and profound. But

Character of Philip II.

hardly a ruler in the annals of Europe has been so hated by contemporaries and posterity, for he came in conflict with every cause that represented freedom and progress, and he strove to suppress them cruelly and unscrupulously.

Policy in the Netherlands.

His policy with regard to the Netherlands was plain, and was in many respects in harmony with the general trend of the time. He desired to give to the seventeen states of the Netherlands a real unity under the Crown. He wished to efface much of their local and separate liberties, and to rule in the Netherlands with the same unquestioned authority with which he ruled in Spain, and Elizabeth and Henry IV. ruled respectively in England and in France. He believed, moreover, as most men in that age believed, that political unity was impossible without religious unity; and from motives both of policy and religion, he determined to crush the Protestant movement, which had already struck strong roots especially in the northern states.

Beginning of the struggle.

The conflict with the states began almost immediately after Philip's accession. They had hoped that he would appoint one of their own great nobles to be Regent, and public opinion named either Count Egmont, or William, Prince of Orange. The latter was of German origin, though his title came from the little principality of Orange in France, and he owned much property in the Netherlands and identified himself with them. Philip passed them over, and appointed his half-sister Margaret of Parma, who relied chiefly on the advice of Spanish councillors. Then came friction in religious matters. Philip wished to establish new bishoprics and to crush down Protestantism by the relentless use of coercive measures. The States declared that this encroached upon their privileges, and there was much negotiation, but no result was reached. Philip determined to cut the knot with the sword, and in 1567 he despatched the Duke of Alva with a large and well-equipped army.

Despatch of the Duke of Alva.

On his arrival he struck hard and irresistibly. Egmont was executed. William of Orange saved himself by flight. A council—called by the people of the Netherlands the Council of Blood—was set up for the summary punishment of the allied crimes of treason and heresy. All

efforts at insurrection were defeated. In 1569 the country seemed absolutely in Alva's power, and yet three years later there came a fierce insurrection which Spain could never quell.

The ignorance and oppressiveness of Alva's financial policy were the chief cause of the new movement. He imposed taxes, which, even more by the method of their collection than by their actual weight, would have destroyed the vigorous commerce of the Netherlands. The taxes were postponed for a time, but they were to be collected in 1572. Foreign help, or the prospect of it, encouraged the oppressed people to risk all on a rising. Queen Elizabeth was friendly to them, and France saw, with bitter jealousy, the triumph which Spain had won on her northern frontier. In April, 1572, the "sea-beggars"—men half-patriots and half-pirates, who had been driven from the land by the action of Alva—captured Brill and Flushing in the province of Zeeland. The two provinces of Holland and Zeeland declared war upon Alva, and summoned William of Orange, better known as William the Silent, to take their government. The real war of independence thus began, and it lasted forty years. It proved a bottomless gulf into which Spain poured her armies and her navies and her treasure. Nothing contributed so much to her ruin as this long and profitless effort to subdue the Netherlands.

The rising of 1572. The command of William the Silent.

We shall see in the next chapter how the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day dispelled the hope of French assistance; but the northern provinces carried on by themselves their heroic struggle until victory crowned their efforts. It was a wonderful struggle, but the causes of the failure of Spain can be seen. She was distracted in her efforts by her numerous enterprises, and suffered from a lack of funds, which in the end amounted to absolute bankruptcy. She made, moreover, no real effort to crush the Netherlands on the sea, and while the sea was theirs they could never be quite reduced to extremities. They were no match for the Spanish in the open field, but they fought stubbornly behind the walls of their cities, and on several critical occasions cut their dykes and let in the sea in order

Characteristics of the struggle.

to drive off the enemy. We must recognize, too, the vast services of William the Silent. He was not a great soldier: but he breathed his own resolute courage into the hearts of his countrymen, and his patient diplomacy and unruffled temper succeeded in keeping the many jarring elements of the rebellion in some sort of alliance. No state owes more to any ruler than Holland owes to William the Silent.

Alva retired in 1573. His successor gained victories and pushed the Dutch hard, but there seemed no end to the struggle. Then in 1576 came an event which gave to William hope of a far greater triumph than he was destined to achieve. Upon the sudden death of the Spanish governor, the Spanish troops, whose pay was much in arrears, broke out in mutiny. They chose their own leaders, and spread over the land to plunder and destroy. Now, hitherto, the chief resistance to the Spaniards had come from the northern states, which differed in many ways from the south; they were more Protestant and more democratic, and they spoke a German dialect, while in the south the language was French, or some form of it. But the common danger from the violence of the Spanish mutineers brought north and south together, and in 1576 William negotiated the Pacification of Ghent, by which all the seventeen provinces bound themselves together for the expulsion of the Spanish and the winning of a common national government, while they promised to exercise towards one another a spirit of forbearance in matters of religion.

The Spanish fury.

The Pacification of Ghent.

So strong was the new movement that Spain had to yield for a time. Could the union have been permanent it would have been an incalculable gain for European civilization. But it was not to be. Religious fanaticism was too strong to be repressed by any treaty, and the Protestants were no whit behind the Catholics in their intolerance. Catholicism, too, was gathering fresh energies from the preaching of the Jesuits. If the newly formed government had been successful, it might perhaps have been permanent, but the patriot troops were defeated by Don John of Austria at Gembloux in 1578, and soon the league broke up. With keen regret

William found himself reduced to the support of the Northern and Protestant states. In 1579 these formed the Union of Utrecht, whereby they bound themselves together in a loose federal government and continued the war against Spain. The southern states gained concessions from Spain, and henceforth counted as her allies.

Union of Utrecht.

The cause of the rebel states seemed hopeless, and the contest was conducted with ever-increasing bitterness. In 1580 Philip, who saw in William the chief cause of his failure to conquer the rebellious states, issued a "ban" declaring him the enemy of the human race, and offering a large reward to any one who would "deliver him quick or dead or deprive him at once of life." Hitherto the states had kept up the pretence of loyalty to Philip, but now they formally abjured him, and declared that "when a king, instead of being a shepherd of his flock, grinds down his people and treats them as slaves, the estates of the land may legally renounce him and put another in his place." It was an important statement of principle, which was later echoed by the revolutions of England, America, and France.

The abjuration of Philip by the States.

William now negotiated eagerly for foreign assistance, and the Duke of Anjou, brother of the reigning French king, consented to become the ally and protector of the states. But there was no sincerity in his action. He aimed at absolute sovereignty in the land, and was discontented with the limited power which was granted him. He basely attempted to seize the city of Antwerp, and upon his failure withdrew to France, where he soon after died. England was friendly, and Englishmen served as volunteers in the Dutch armies, but no open assistance came from that side while William lived. Soon after this the states were deprived of William's invaluable help. The reward offered by Philip had induced many assassins to lie in wait for his life. He had been dangerously wounded in 1582, and was killed at Delft in 1584. His patience, courage, and diplomatic skill, his humanity and unselfish patriotism made him the first statesman of his time. Modern Holland owes to him her existence. He was the first of

The Duke of Anjou.

European statesmen to try to found a state upon religious toleration.

It seemed as if his death would ruin the cause of the Netherlands. The great Spanish soldier, Parma, took Antwerp, and the alliance of the Protestant states was in the greatest danger. Some help was afforded by Queen Elizabeth, who sent over the Earl of Leicester with an ill-equipped army; but more efficient help came from the change in the European situation. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 shook the prestige of Spain as nothing had done yet. Soon afterwards, Henry of Navarre, hitherto a Protestant and always the bitter enemy of Spain, won the crown of France. England, Holland, and France joined in an alliance against Spain, and all prospect of a Spanish triumph disappeared. Maurice, the son of William the Silent, commanded the Dutch armies with far greater military skill than his father had ever shown. At last, in 1597, at Turnhout, the Dutch army defeated the Spanish in the open field. The war dragged on still for years—years of great exhaustion for both parties; but while the Dutch pushed on their commerce, and their trade prospered in spite of the war, Spain suffered without compensation or relief. At last in 1609 a truce for twelve years was signed.

Parma's victories.

The Spanish accept defeat.

This was really the end of the Dutch War of Independence. An heroic struggle had produced a state which during the next century gave much of priceless value to Europe. Agriculture and shipbuilding owed much to the Dutch. International law received a great impetus from the writings of Grotius. The University of Leyden was the centre for a vigorous movement of physical science. Of literature the Dutch produced little that was really of high quality, but they gave a new and original impulse to the art of painting. The Protestant sentiment of Holland did not encourage the Dutch painters to represent scenes from the life of Christ or from the stories of the saints. But they turned with passionate love to the land which they had won after such a struggle from the sword of Spain. They made the dull scenes of their flat country into glorious

The services of the Dutch Republic to Europe.

landscapes by the magic of their brush, and showed that prosaic incidents from the common life of ordinary men might be treated with an art as consummate as that of Raphael or Titian. In landscape, portraiture, and *genre* painting the greatest of the Dutch artists, Rembrandt, Hals, Teniers, Gerard Dou, have had no superiors.

But though the foreign danger had passed away, the new state had grave internal difficulties. The Union of Utrecht supplied the basis of the constitution, and it is interesting as the first instance of a federal government in modern times; but it was extremely difficult to work. There was as yet no Dutch state or nation. The seven provinces each claimed almost complete independence, and the central government could only act when all the provinces were unanimous. Two parties began to develop. On the one side the Orange party, under their leader Prince Maurice, desired to make the states into a real unity under the leadership of the House of Orange, and Maurice desired the power if not the title of a king. A party on the other side led by Oldenbarneveldt was anxious to maintain the republic in the spirit and the letter, and to resist the ambitions of the House of Orange. The situation was complicated by a fierce religious controversy in the Protestant ranks. The more rigid Calvinists under Gomarus were confronted by the more liberal school of Arminius. Maurice joined himself to the Gomarists and the opinions of their opponents were condemned at the Synod of Dort (1619), and those who persisted in them were punished by exclusion from office and by exile. This was a great victory for Maurice, and his triumph was further secured by the odious trial and criminal execution of his great opponent, Oldenbarneveldt.

The difficulties of the new state.

Prince Maurice.

The republican party, however, was by no means annihilated. Maurice died in 1625, but the contest was carried on by his successors, Frederick Henry and William II. But upon the death of the latter in 1650 there was no heir but a young child (afterwards King William III. of England), and the republican leader, John de Witt, struck what seemed likely to be a final blow against the Orangist ambitions. The young prince was

Defeat of the House of Orange.

excluded from the governorship and from military and naval command in the Province of Holland, which was by far the wealthiest and most powerful of all the seven and equal in influence to all the rest. But the fate of the Netherlands was to be again closely united to the House of Orange, and the young prince lived to rule in the Netherlands and to reign in Great Britain, and to exercise on the destinies of Europe as great an influence as that of his great ancestor, William the Silent. The Orangists had throughout been the military party, and had urged the maintenance of a large army and a watchful attitude towards European neighbours. Their opponents placed their faith in the navy, and distrusted the army because it was the chief support of the House of Orange. When, in 1672, the ambition of Louis XIV. of France brought on this state a military danger, as great as that which William the Silent had had to face, a spontaneous movement called his grandson to power.

William III.

For the sake of clearness we have traced Dutch history to the middle of the seventeenth century. We must now turn to the fortune of France in the sixteenth.

The books on this period are numerous and excellent. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and his *History of the United Netherlands*, are eloquent in praise of the Northern States. The *Life of William the Silent* has been excellently written by Frederic Harrison and by Ruth Putnam. Prescott's *Philip II.* gives the history of Spain during the same period. The articles by Mr. Edmundson in the *Cambridge Modern History* give the best summary of the history of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER V

France and the Reformation

THE Peace of Cateau Cambrésis in 1559 had left France in a strong position in Europe. She had gained important territories on her eastern frontier, and had torn the city of Calais from the possession of the English. During the festivities which celebrated the peace in Paris,

Death of Henry II.

the French king, Henry II., was killed by a chance blow in a tournament, and the situation was at once completely altered.

The movement of the Reformation had hitherto caused no serious disturbance in France. Repressive edicts had been passed, and many victims had been sacrificed, but the religious unity of France had not seemed threatened. But there was in France, as elsewhere, a great fermentation in men's minds. Calvinism, as we have seen, was the work of a Frenchman, and its books were written in French. It soon gained a strong hold upon large masses of the French people. Its devotees were to be found in all ranks of life, and were numerous among the workmen of the towns. But the striking feature of French Protestantism was that it counted in its ranks a large number of the aristocracy. In this respect the Protestant movement in France resembles the early period of the Reformation in Scotland; and the French nobles, like the Scottish nobles, were attracted to the new movement, not only by religious conviction, but also by the opportunity and excuse it afforded them of carrying on resistance to the Crown, and by the hope which it held out of the plunder of the estates of the Church. The south and the west of France were the districts most favourable to Protestantism; the city of Paris itself was throughout bitterly hostile to it, and it claimed few adherents in the centre or the east.

Spread of Calvinism in France.

Calvin watched the progress of the movement from Geneva, and at one time believed that, if freedom of preaching were allowed, the Catholic Church would be utterly overthrown in France. But at no time were the Protestants the majority of the French people. The rigidity and austerity of Calvinism repelled many who were attracted by the poetry and imagination of the Roman Catholic system and service; and as time went on the zeal and faith of the Protestants was confronted by a zeal and faith on the side of the Catholics as great as their own. It must be noted also that there was in France a current of opinion distinct from the two warring religious movements. From the first there had been in Europe men like Erasmus, the great Dutch

Humanism in France.

scholar, who felt uneasy in either camp, and refused altogether to join with Luther. In France the same middle position was held at the beginning by Rabelais, and at the end of the period by Montaigne. The first wrote with all the energy and enthusiasm of hope; the second was sceptical and despairing of any great change for the better. But both of them, though they belonged nominally to the Catholic camp, were as far as possible from the ideas of the Roman Catholic reaction. They preached toleration and appealed to reason, and the doctrines so eagerly put forward by the leaders on either side failed to convince them. For the next half century they had little influence on the course of public affairs, but the later centuries in France were as much influenced by the thought of Rabelais and Montaigne as by that of Calvin and Ignatius Loyola.

Catherine de' Medici.

At the death of King Henry II. there was no son old enough to rule in France. The Queen Mother was the famous —or infamous—Catherine de' Medici. She had been neglected by her husband and now saw her chance arrive of acquiring power. She has sometimes been represented as the champion of repressive Catholicism, and her actions have been traced to religious fanaticism. This is far from being the truth. Not religion but political ambition gives us the key to her character; and though as a Medici she could only be a Catholic, her religious beliefs sat very lightly upon her, and hardly influenced her actions. She was more guided by the superstitions of astrology than by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. She had a large family, but all of them were young, and none showed much vigour either of body or of mind. No one of them would be capable of really ruling in France for some years to come.

The Bourbons and the Guises.

Catherine desired to hold the position that was thus left vacant, but she was face to face with numerous noblemen who struggled for power and whose rivalry was connected with the religious controversies of the time. On the one side stood the family of the Bourbons, whose chief representatives were Anthony, the weak King of Navarre, and his brother the more vigorous Louis, Prince of Condé. They had espoused the Calvinist cause, but in their case it is not uncharitable to say that religion was only the cloak

for political designs. On the other side was the family of Guise. This family belonged originally to Lorraine, but had for some time been settled at the French Court, where it already exercised a great influence. By conviction and by interest the Guises were attached to the Roman Catholic cause. The Cardinal of Guise was one of the two or three most influential churchmen of the time, and Francis, Duke of Guise, was the most prominent and successful soldier in the country. The only man at Court upon whom Catherine could rely for loyal service to the Crown was the Chancellor, L'Hôpital. He was a religious man, but he was anxious to find some way to peace between the rival factions, and was one of the few men in Europe at this time who sincerely believed in the possibility of religious toleration.

L'Hôpital.

The short reign of Francis II., husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was full of religious strife. He died in December, 1560, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX. Efforts were made to keep the peace by instituting a conference between the representatives of the two faiths; but such movements were premature and vain. L'Hôpital issued upon the royal authority an edict, whereby Protestants were to be allowed to worship within certain restrictions. But both parties were eager for victory, and would not consent to a compromise. In March, 1562, the Duke of Guise passed through the little town of Vassy with a body of troops. A Calvinist service was in progress: it was interrupted by the soldiers, and in the confusion that followed a large number of those taking part in it were killed. This, which is usually known as the Massacre of Vassy, at once lit the flames of civil war in the land.

Charles IX. Outbreak of civil war.

From this time on for more than thirty years France enjoyed no settled peace. Her prestige in Europe diminished; her wealth and prosperity sank to a low ebb: in its social consequences the struggle was one of the worst that Europe has known. It was divided into seven or eight different wars containing battles that were none of them of decisive importance, and all terminated by some unreal treaty of toleration. The Catholics throughout held the advantage, and the Protestants, whilst they fought without

Character of the war.

allies, gained no important victory over their enemies. Had the crown been worn by an energetic ruler, the contest would probably have been ended by the complete triumph of Catholicism. But Catherine de' Medici was not anxious for a victory which would give dangerous influence to the Catholic leaders, and preferred rather to balance between the opposing parties. The strength of the Protestants was at the beginning to be found in the nobles, but before the end its most stubborn adherents were the great towns of the west and south. Anthony of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were its military leaders; but the greatest name was unquestionably that of the Admiral Coligny, who in military talents and still more in character deserves to rank among the greatest and purest names of the century.

Coligny.

In the first war, Queen Elizabeth gave the Protestants—or as they are more usually called the Huguenots [1] of France—some assistance. But the experiment was an unsuccessful one, and the English Queen was not willing to repeat it. Both sides looked to help from beyond the frontier. The Protestants sometimes got troops from Germany and from Switzerland, and the Catholics were indebted to Spanish support and help. The presence of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, which we saw in the last chapter, had throughout an important influence on the course of the wars in France. We will pass over the first three without any attempt to trace their course. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were both removed during their course, and the Duke of Guise was assassinated whilst he superintended the siege of Orleans. The third war was the most serious, and the Protestants fought and lost in it two important battles.

The Huguenots.

Then, in 1570, when many were expecting a serious assault upon the Protestant cause, a peace was accorded, the Peace of St. Germain. It is one of the best of the many Peaces granted during the war, and may be taken as characteristic of the rest. Freedom of

Peace of St. Germain.

[1] The origin of this famous name is uncertain. It is by some derived from the Protestant confederates (*eidgenossen*) of Switzerland; by others from *Hugues*, which was used locally to denote a hobgoblin.

conscience was to be allowed to all, and freedom of worship was to be permitted in the castles of the nobility and in two towns which were to be selected in each of the administrative areas of France. The Protestants, at the same time, were to be admitted on equal terms to the Universities and to all public services. It fell far short of complete toleration, but it might have been developed into that, and as it stood it gave the Protestants a position which was endurable.

The years from 1570 to 1572 are the most critical and debatable of the time; they led up to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day, and there are many questions concerning that massacre which are as yet by no means decided. The main features of the time seem to be these. The young King, Charles IX., was not without a sense of duty and of appreciation of the position in France. He saw that the country was being weakened by civil war, while the rival power of Spain, at least in appearance, was advancing by leaps and bounds. He drew near to Coligny, and was impressed by the energy and patriotism of the great Protestant leader. A new policy seemed on the point of being adopted. Protestants and Catholics were to live in France with mutual respect, and the whole force of the nation was to be thrown into war on behalf of the Netherlands against the King of Spain. It was a policy in its essential features very much like that which was carried to brilliant results by Henry of Navarre twenty years later, and by Richelieu in the next century. It was proposed to cement and emphasize the new policy, first by an alliance with the Queen of England, and possibly by a marriage between her and the King's brother Henry; and next by a marriage between Henry of Navarre, the heir to the Protestant leadership, and the King's sister, Margaret of Valois. It was thought that France would enter into the struggle early in the autumn of 1572. The marriage with Elizabeth fell through; but the alliance was made. Henry of Navarre was actually married to Margaret, and the great change in the foreign policy of France seemed likely to be carried out, when suddenly there came the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew (24th August, 1572). The idea

Charles IX. and Coligny.

The new policy of France.

Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day.

of solving the religious difficulty by a massacre of her opponents was already familiar to the mind of Catherine, but the actual massacre was not a long premeditated blow. It is to be traced rather to the jealousy with which the Queen saw the rising influence of Coligny and her fear that unless something were done she would find herself relegated to a subordinate position in the State. Her Italian experiences suggested a means of escape. Coligny must be killed. An assassin fired upon him and wounded him as he was entering his lodging; but his life was in no danger, and his fellow Protestants demanded full inquiry. The failure of the smaller crime made a much greater one necessary. Catherine joined with the King's brother Henry, with Henry, Duke of Guise, and with certain of the leading authorities in Paris, and it was determined to let loose the fanatical populace of Paris against the Huguenots. The King, in spite of his fondness for Coligny, was weakly persuaded to consent to the massacre by the representation that his own life was in danger. The Duke of Guise himself superintended the murder of Coligny; and elsewhere in Paris and in France the Huguenots were cut down in great numbers, which perhaps reached altogether as high as 10,000.[1]

The massacre a failure.

Hardly was the deed done when it was seen that it was a folly as well as a crime. The Huguenots were weakened by the loss of their great leader and so many from their ranks, but they flew to arms at once and prepared to defend their lives stubbornly. The deed, too, though it found some to apologize for it on the Catholic side, was condemned generally throughout Europe. England drew away from France for a time, and in the war that followed, the Huguenots received no very severe blow. Then, within a year after the massacre (1573) the Government accorded them a peace, which reproduced many of the features of the Peace of St. Germain.

Soon afterwards, Charles IX. died, and his brother reigned as Henry III. He had shown vigour in the early campaigns against the Protestants, and he had been elected to the crown of Poland. But on the news of the death of his brother he

[1] It is impossible to fix the number of victims with any certainty. The contemporary Sully says 70,000: Lord Acton's estimate was 8000.

left Poland and returned to France. He had been deeply concerned in the massacre, and his arrival was the signal for the outbreak of war once more. It was pursued without energy, for the king was now a self-indulgent and careless voluptuary, who occasionally took part in fanatical and ascetic religious exercises, but was not influenced by any serious religious aims. So a little obscure fighting was followed by a peace of the usual kind, and it seemed as though these wars and peaces might follow in endless succession without achieving any result but the ruin of France.

King Henry III.

And yet the situation was changing, and new forces were arising which made the personal action of Henry of less importance. On the one side there was growing up a new party called the Politiques, or the Politicians, by which name were designated those who placed the well-being of the country before the triumph of their particular religious opinions. With these aims a number of Roman Catholics now joined themselves to the Protestants, and their declared aim was a government based upon toleration. The leadership of this party—which of course included all the Huguenots—was for a time a difficult question. But when Henry of Navarre had abjured the Catholicism into which he had been forced at the time of the massacre, and had escaped from Paris to the Protestants in the south, he was welcomed as their leader. Neither the doctrine nor the discipline of Calvinism had ever much hold upon him. He was drawn to the Protestant side chiefly by family traditions, but he served it faithfully for years. He was, if not a great general, at any rate a splendidly daring leader in irregular warfare, and his presence on the Protestant side was all the more important because it grew more and more probable that he would be the heir to the French throne. For neither Francis II. nor Charles IX. had left male heirs; Henry III. was childless, and so was his brother the Duke of Alençon, who now took the title of Anjou: Henry of Navarre was the next male claimant.

The party of the Politiques.

Henry of Navarre as leader of the Huguenots.

Whilst the forces of Protestantism and toleration were thus receiving a new organization, a similar movement was visible

upon the Catholic side. There was there general disgust with the action and policy of the king, and most zealous Catholics looked rather to the splendid young Duke of Guise as their leader than to Henry III. The idea of a Catholic League had already been put forward, and had received much support from Rome and from Spain. But in 1584 the matter became much more urgent because the Duke of Anjou died, and it was certain that no male heir would now come from the children of Catherine de' Medici. If the ordinary rule of succession was to be followed, the Protestant Henry of Navarre would before long be King of France. It was to prevent this result at all costs that the Catholic League was formed. Its avowed objects were to extirpate heresy, and to secure the exclusion of all heretics and supporters of heretics from the throne of France. It chose as the candidate for the royal title, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry of Navarre. But this was only a postponement of the question, for the chosen candidate was old and childless, and the decision as to who should ultimately reign as the Catholic King of France was surrounded with insoluble difficulties. The title was coveted by Philip II. of Spain himself, who, if he were successful in his aims, would thus more than compensate for the checks which he had received in the Netherlands and in England. But the accession of Philip would offend the national sentiment of France, and there were many who desired to see Henry of Guise upon the throne. There can be no question that King Henry III. was more favourable to the party of the Politiques than to the Holy League, but he dared not challenge a contest with the League, and became its nominal champion. He had to declare war once more against the Protestants and their allies. The war now assumed a more important and decisive phase. The king played little part in it; his old military ardour had quite disappeared, and he left the command to his favourites. Against one of these Henry of Navarre gained a great victory at Coutras (1587). But almost immediately afterwards this was balanced by the defeat of the Swiss and Germans, who were coming to his help, by Henry of Guise.

The Catholic League.

Catholic claimants to the throne.

Duke Henry was more than ever now the hero of Catholic France. He came to Paris, which was more fiercely Catholic than any other part of the nation. Henry III. forbade him to enter the city. He entered notwithstanding, and was greeted with wild enthusiasm. **The Day of the Barricades.** The king plotted his death and called upon troops from outside Paris to blockade the city. Against this threat the citizens of Paris rose in fierce rebellion; barricades were erected, and the king had no means of repressing the movement. He had to humiliate himself before his rival, and at his request, Henry of Guise quieted the insurrection. The king could not bear to reside any longer in a city which had thus insulted him, and he fled in the night from the palace.

But to whom could he go for help? The Duke of Guise was the darling of the Catholic armies, and it was not possible for him yet to come to any agreement with Henry of Navarre and the Protestants. He had to go again through a form of reconciliation with the Duke of Guise, and once more he joined himself in name to the forces of the Holy League.

Henry III. very soon found that even outside of Paris his authority counted for very little, and that of the League for much. He had recourse to the expedient which we so often find in the great crises of French history. He called a meeting of the States-General at Blois, and he hoped to find support for his authority in the representatives of the people. He found, however, that the majority in each of the three orders was decidedly hostile to him. He still bore the crown, but it was Henry, Duke of Guise, who reigned. We must remember that the king had played a prominent part in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and that he was well versed in all the ideas of Italian statecraft. He saw in Henry of Guise his great enemy and the cause of his humiliation, and he determined to relieve himself by murder. The duke knew that he was in danger, but did not think that the king would have courage for the act. In December, 1588, he was murdered as he entered the apartments of the king. His brother, the Cardinal, was killed immediately afterwards, and the king in triumph announced the result to his mother, **The States-General at Blois.** **Assassination of the Guises.**

Catherine de' Medici, who lay ill and dying. She warned him that instead of making himself truly King of France as he had hoped, it would turn out that he had reduced his kingdom to nothing.

And so it turned out. The King of the League—as men called Henry of Guise—was dead; but the League still lived, and all who by interest or policy were attached to the Roman Catholic religion refused on any conditions to obey the murderer of its champion. So Henry III., reduced to complete despair, had to find allies where he could, and he found them in what seems the most impossible place. He turned to Henry of Navarre and to his combined following of Huguenots and Politiques. This party was now proclaiming that nothing could destroy the hereditary right to the throne, and in these monarchical principles there was a ground of union with Henry III. The two rivals and enemies met. Henry III. talked of the common bond of Christianity which ought not to be severed by small differences—words which sounded strangely in the mouth of one of the chief authors of the Saint Bartholomew Massacre—and made a close alliance with Henry of Navarre. Their combined forces seemed masters of the situation. The army of the League could not meet them in the open field, and they advanced on Paris. If Paris fell—and its fall seemed certain—Henry IV. would reign, Huguenot though he was. But in Paris fanaticism had risen to the boiling point, and a Dominican monk passed out from the besieged city, found admission to the presence of Henry III. and stabbed him with a mortal wound.

Alliance of Henry III. and Henry of Navarre.

Assassination of Henry III.

The death of Henry III. removed a very poor creature from the political arena; but it altered the situation. There were many Catholics who were willing to follow the Catholic Henry III., whose consciences would not permit them to support the Protestant Henry of Navarre. So, though he took at once the title of Henry IV. he found his army so diminished that it was impossible to prosecute the siege of Paris, and he became once more an adventurer fighting for the crown.

He gained notable victories. He marched to Dieppe in

order to get into touch with Queen Elizabeth, who, since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, was more able to render him assistance. Near Dieppe he gained a great victory at Arques, and a little after he overthrew the enemy in the still more important battle of Ivry. Victory seemed within his grasp, and stories were current of his gallantry and of his humanity which drew to him the hearts even of many of his opponents. After Ivry he advanced on Paris and began the siege. The place was reduced to the extremity of starvation, and, in spite of the Catholic enthusiasm which reigned within the city, it seemed certain that in a short time the capital of France must be in the hands of the Huguenot King. But the death of Henry III. had changed the situation on the side of the League, as well as on that of its opponents. Philip II. of Spain saw in the Holy League now, not merely an instrument which might be of service to him in preventing the French from joining with the enemies, but also a means whereby he might possibly win for himself the crown of France. For the Catholic League—especially in Paris, was so bitter against Henry IV. that it would shrink from no expedient. And there were many of its members who were eager to throw France wholly into the arms of its old enemy, Spain. There were others, it is true, who were bitterly opposed to this, and who supported the claims of the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, Mayenne. Cherishing as he did these vast hopes which, if realized, would more than compensate for his defeats in England and in the Netherlands, Philip could not afford to see the fall of Paris. He instructed his great general Parma, who was conducting the campaign in the Netherlands, to march to Paris and relieve it. Henry IV. dared not allow himself to be caught by the Spanish army while he was still blockading Paris: the city was therefore relieved, and Henry marched against the Spaniards, eager for battle. Parma, however, had accomplished his purpose and withdrew. A year later Henry blockaded Rouen, which was of the utmost importance as commanding the river route to Paris; and here, also, when success seemed within his grasp, the prize was torn from him by a successful movement of Parma. This was, however, the

Battle of Ivry, 1590.

Relief of Paris by Parma.

last feat of the great Spanish general, who died shortly after of a wound received in the campaign.

The end of the interminable war seemed as far off as ever. Henry could not beat down his enemies, nor was France willing to accept the rule of the Spanish king. The Catholic League had called together a meeting of the estates, but opinions were much divided, and no issue was apparent. For some time past a means of escape from this stalemate had suggested itself to Henry IV. France would not submit to him while he remained Protestant; but it was probable that it would welcome his rule if it could regard him as a Catholic. His religious opinions had always sat lightly upon him. He was as far as possible from the Puritan or Calvinist type, and the licence of his private life had for many years given great offence to the Calvinist ministers. The temptation to change his faith was great, and there were those even among his own Protestant councillors who advised him to take the step. On the one side was the peace and prosperity of France; and against it, fidelity to opinions which he held with a very loose grasp. He determined to take what he called the "great plunge." He went through the comedy of being instructed in the Catholic faith. He declared himself convinced, and went to Mass (1593).

The conversion of Henry of Navarre.

His change of opinions acted like a charm. One city after the other, even in districts most devoted to the Catholic League, opened their gates to one whose prowess and geniality they had admired for long. Paris for some time remained hostile, and it was in the hands of a Spanish garrison. But even in Paris the greater part of the population was turning decidedly against the bitter fanaticism of the League, and was eager to find the city reunited to France and under the rule of a king once more. As a result, therefore, of a sort of conspiracy the gates were thrown open and Henry rode in. He was received with immense enthusiasm. The people of Paris, as he said, were wild with joy to look once more upon the face of a king. For some time the Pope refused to recognize the change of faith; and until the Pope granted him absolution his hold upon

Surrender of France to Henry IV.

Henry reconciled with Rome.

Catholic France was not secure. In 1595, however, the desired end was reached, and, after the formula of penitence, King Henry IV. was recognized by the head of the Catholic Church.

The war with Spain still continued, and in this war Henry and the French armies received at first decisive checks. He had to throw himself with all his energy into the encounter, before the Spaniards were driven back from a dangerous raid into the neighbourhood of Paris. But Spain was exhausted. Her king had seen one after the other of the hopes that he so ardently entertained disappear, and in 1598 he accepted the treaty of Vervins, and France and Spain were at peace once more.

Treaty of Vervins.

Henry IV. thus reigned, without serious opposition within or without the kingdom, but the task of reorganization, to which he must now set his hand, was one of enormous difficulty. France seemed ruined by thirty years of civil war. We hear of large districts that had gone out of cultivation; of wolves invading villages and even towns; the habits of the people had retrograded towards barbarism. More difficult even than the defeat of the Spaniards was the redemption of the country from its misery and its re-establishment as one of the most advanced and prosperous of European states.

Reorganization of France.

There was first the religious settlement to be effected. The Catholics were now for the most part satisfied with their king, but his old Protestant supporters were jealous and resentful. During his last campaigns, many of the men, who had protected him in adversity, and through stubborn fighting had carried him to victory at Ivry, refused to join his armies. In 1598 he issued in their interest the famous Edict of Nantes. He declared this Edict to be perpetual and irrevocable, and it gave to the Protestants of France a far better position than was accorded to religious dissidents in any other European state. They were to have liberty of worship within the same limits as had been allowed by earlier treaties; they were to have an open career in the universities and in the service of the State; justice was to be guaranteed to them by the formation of special courts at Paris

Edict of Nantes.

and elsewhere for the trial of cases in which Protestants were concerned, and on these courts Protestant judges were to find a place. Lastly, certain towns and fortresses were practically handed over to their control. The garrisons were to be paid by the king, but the officers were to be appointed by the leaders of the Protestant party. They had thus in these towns cities of refuge and a means of making effective resistance to any policy which threatened their liberties. It was a splendid edict. Europe had not hitherto known any measure of such justice and wisdom with regard to religious differences; and, while it was observed, it was the source of great profit to France not only in economic questions but in religious matters as well. The danger and the drawback lay in the fact that it went beyond the general feeling of the age. The king, and one or two other of the enlightened statesmen of the time, may have believed in toleration, but it was not accepted as a principle either by the Protestants or the Catholics. Thus it came to pass that less than a hundred years later, when opportunity served, the edict was withdrawn by a successor of Henry IV.

It may be noted, too, that Henry had had trouble with the Jesuits who were, in France as elsewhere, the leaders of the more aggressive Catholic party. An attempt made upon his life was doubtfully connected with them, and they were expelled from the realm of France. They returned, however, shortly afterwards, and there was no real breach between Henry and the Pope.

Henry IV. and the Jesuits.

In constitutional matters the new monarchy was even more absolute than the old one. The long civil war resulted—as such periods of confusion have often done—in a notable strengthening of the authority of the Government. No new States-General were called. They had been too closely associated with resistance to the crown in the interest of the aristocracy and Catholicism. When the king desired the support of public opinion he called together a body of "Notables" chosen by himself, before whom he laid his needs and from whom he asked advice.

The monarchy grows more absolute.

The Parlement of Paris was changed in one important particular: its members were called upon to pay a tax known as the Paulette, and on this condition

The Paulette.

their tenure of office was secured to them and made hereditary. They were no longer subject, as they had been, to royal coercion; and this partly explains the part played by this body in the troubles of the next century.

The economic question was of the utmost urgency, and the king had in this matter the invaluable help of his great minister, Sully, who had remained a Protestant himself, but had recommended the king's change of faith. He was a man of great honesty, great force of character and patient attention to detail. He managed to bring some order into the inscrutable tangle of the finances. He did his utmost to encourage agriculture by the building of roads and canals, and the suggestion of new methods. The silkworm was introduced by him into France, and the silk industry became an important one. For industry in general he had little liking, but his royal master had more, and the beginnings of the industrial life in France, which reached so high a point in the middle of the next century, can be traced to the last years of Henry IV.

Sully.

The king had for a long time no legitimate issue, and the question of the succession was at one time a difficult one. But his marriage with Margaret of Valois was dissolved, and in the year 1600 he married Marie de' Medici a relative of the grand-duke of Tuscany. She bore him a child who was destined to succeed him as Louis XIII. In the last years of his reign the situation in Germany became critical. The principality of Juliers was vacant, and the place was so important because of its position upon the Rhine, and its command of the passage from Germany into the Netherlands, that all Europe was interested in the affair. The question was, whether it should fall into the hands of the Protestants, or should be absorbed by the Catholic House of the Hapsburgs. It seemed as though a great war would be lit by this question, for there was combustible material in Germany, as we shall see in the next chapter. Henry IV. threw himself upon the Protestant side, and was preparing to march with a considerable army to the defence of Juliers. The situation had aroused again the hostility of the extreme Catholics against him, and in 1610,

The affair of Juliers and the murder of Henry IV.

just as he was preparing to set out he was murdered by an assassin.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Willert's *Henry of Navarre;* Edith Sichel's *Catherine de' Medici and the French Reformation;* Armstrong's *French Wars of Religion; Lives of Coligny,* by Besant and by Whitehead.

CHAPTER VI

The Thirty Years' War

In 1617 Protestant Germany held a festival to commemorate the challenge which Luther had flung down at the feet of the papacy a century before, which had led to the breaking away of two-thirds of Germany from allegiance to Rome. Since the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the peace of Germany had not been seriously disturbed. Both towns and country districts were flourishing, and the wealth of Germany had wonderfully increased during the past half century. But next year there broke out the Thirty Years' War—the most terrible war perhaps that Europe has ever known, certainly the most terrible since the close of the Middle Ages. England has known nothing that can be compared to it, though Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries passed through something like the same catastrophe.

There was abundance of material long prepared for the great conflagration. The sixty years that had passed since the Peace of Augsburg had profoundly modified the religious situation. The heart seemed to have gone out of Lutheranism. Luther's teaching had been simple, reasonable and humane, but since his death Lutheranism had been plunged into bitter theological controversies. The Lutheran creed was defined amidst continual strife. In some of the states which had accepted the new faith a spiritual tyranny was set up greater than what Germany had known before the Reformation.

The decay of Lutheranism.

The control of religious matters had been placed by the Peace of Augsburg in the hands of the rulers of the different states, and in most instances these allowed neither freedom of worship nor freedom of thought. The outlook of Protestantism in Germany would have been hopeless if its fate had depended only on the energies of the Lutherans; but the Calvinist faith had spread widely, and it inspired those who accepted it with greater energy and devotion, while it was neither more obscure nor less humane than its rival. The supporters of the two creeds regarded one another with the bitterest hostility. No co-operation was possible except under pressure of extreme common danger. Saxony and Brandenburg, the most important states of Protestant Germany, remained Lutheran, though the Elector of Brandenburg passed over to the Calvinist camp before long. The chief support of the Calvinist cause (or the "evangelical" church as it was called, while the Lutherans were officially called the "reformed" church) was to be found in Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate and the son-in-law of James I. of England. He was not a great ruler, but he had energy and enterprise, while the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg were timid and vacillating.

Growth of Calvinism.

Frederick of the Palatinate.

While the Protestant forces were thus divided and lifeless, a fierce new energy had been infused into the Catholic cause by the Catholic reaction, whose chief forces we have analyzed in a previous chapter. The decisions of the Council of Trent had codified the Catholic faith. The Jesuits spread over the land, preaching and teaching with great ability, and urging on all the Catholic powers of Germany aggressive energy. The chief force among the German princes who sympathized with the Catholic reaction was Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants were expelled from his dominions, and many a state which was faltering in its allegiance to Rome was brought back to genuine loyalty. It had seemed for a moment as if Cologne were about to pass over to Protestantism, when the Archbishop had declared himself a Calvinist; but he had been quickly deposed and the movement repressed. So dangerous was the threatening attitude of

Maximilian of Bavaria.

Catholicism that in 1608 the Evangelical Union was formed. The Palatinate was the chief member and was followed by Hesse, Baden, and Wurtemburg; the most prominent of the Lutheran states, Saxony and Brandenburg, stood coldly aloof. In the next year (1609), the Evangelical Union was confronted with the Catholic League. Maximilian of Bavaria was the heart and soul of the new movement; the chief ecclesiastical states joined with him, and the League was supported by the emperor. Both organizations spoke only of defence; but the League was full of hope that Protestantism would be crushed in the land that had given it birth. Here was material enough for a great religious war.

The Evangelical Union, 1608.

The Catholic League.

The political causes of the war are equally clear. The House of Hapsburg had failed in its efforts to make the empire into a real government, and the Peace of Augsburg had given complete evidence of that failure. But the hope was not abandoned. Everywhere (except in England) there seemed a clear tendency towards concentration of power in the hands of the sovereign. The tendency was well marked in the different German states. Why should it fail in the Germanic body as a whole?

Political causes of the war.

The emperors of this period were not men of great ability; the House of Hapsburg had produced few such, and the standard of ability was generally low among the rulers of Germany at this epoch. Rudolf II. succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1576, and reigned until 1612. He had been brought up in Spain, and was a pupil of the Jesuits and an eager supporter of the Catholic reaction. But mental trouble, such as so often threatened the House of Hapsburg, showed itself before the end of the reign, and his brother, Matthias, ruled in effect before he succeeded to the throne. The possessions of the House of Hapsburg were very large, and the emperor was in close alliance with Spain, where another branch of the House of Hapsburg ruled. It seemed quite possible that the emperor might derive such strength from his personal possessions in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and elsewhere, and from the support of his Spanish ally, as would allow him to beat

Rudolf II.

Austria and Spain.

down all opposition in Germany, and make of the empire the true government which it had been in the days of Henry IV. and Frederick Barbarossa. They could count on the support of the Catholic League; for the Protestant powers were the chief enemies of the Imperial authority.

Thus the political and religious motives for the war were at first combined; but it will be well to notice here that they did not co-operate throughout, and that their divergence in the end proved fatal to the highest hopes of both. When Germany lay at the emperor's feet in 1629, the Elector of Bavaria, and other Roman Catholic powers felt at once how seriously their cherished independence was threatened, and it was their jealousy which gave the oppressed Protestants their chance of survival.

There were threatenings of war before the actual outbreak; and the sword was first drawn in Bohemia. That country was mainly Protestant and Lutheran, and the nobles were for the most part supporters of the new faith. The Bohemian monarchy had in the past been regarded as elective, but Matthias had been King of Bohemia as well as emperor, and in 1617 the Bohemians accepted as their future king, Ferdinand of Styria, a zealous Catholic and partisan of the League, whose accession to the Imperial title was already assured. But then there came at once a controversy on religious matters; the Bohemians protested against the demolition of Protestant churches, which had been carried out in spite of an Imperial promise to the contrary. A riot broke out in Prague. The Imperial representatives were thrown from the windows of the Castle (this is the famous "defenestation" of Prague), and thus the signal was given for thirty years of intense suffering in nearly all German lands. The Bohemians looked for support and offered their crown in vain to Lutheran princes. It was accepted at last by Frederick, the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate. And the war began.

The outbreak in Bohemia.

Election of Ferdinand to the throne of Bohemia.

Riot in Prague, 1618.

The prominent features of the war are the great and increasing brutality of the struggle; the interference of foreign powers in a war which chiefly concerned Germany

alone; its long duration; and the indescribable sufferings of the German people. The political condition of Germany largely accounted for these characteristics. The power of the empire was small, but it had prevented the different states from organizing themselves on a national basis. The armies that were engaged were mainly mercenary troops brought together by pay and the prospect of plunder. The Swedish army was the only exception to this, and after the death of the King of Sweden in 1632 even that army was soon indistinguishable in character from any of the others. Thus Germany was in the power of troops who had no interest in the cause for which they were fighting, nor in the welfare of the land. As the interminable war proceeded there grew up a vast body of soldiers who looked to the operations of war and the opportunities of plunder which it provided as their means of livelihood and regarded the non-combatants as game to be hunted down. Further, the German struggle drew the attention of all the powers of Europe, but especially of the neighbours of Germany. Denmark and Sweden joined in for the protection of Protestantism and the protection of their possessions in Germany: France interfered to check the dangerous growth of Austrian power. Had Germany been left to herself the struggle would have soon ended in the victory of Catholicism: foreign powers interfered and saved the Protestant cause, but the intervention plunged Germany into an abyss of ruin that is hardly credible.

Characteristics of the war.

Mercenary soldiers.

Foreign intervention.

The first phase of the war was soon over. Frederick of the Palatine, the new King of Bohemia, found no real support in Germany. The Imperial forces were slowly collected, but then under Tilly they advanced into Bohemia, and in 1620 overwhelmed the forces of Frederick in the Battle of the White Mountain, just outside Prague. In his distress Frederick found no one to help him. His own territories were invaded and he was soon a fugitive on Dutch soil, petitioning his father-in-law, the King of England, in vain for effective means of restoration. A terrible fate fell on Bohemia—a fit prelude to the later horrors of the war. Many of the emperor's opponents were executed:

The war in Bohemia.

huge tracts of land were confiscated and heavy fines exacted: great numbers were driven into exile. Bohemia was plunged into the direst distress, and it is estimated that during the thirty years of the war the population fell from more than four millions to less than one. The emperor's agents acted as a few years later Cromwell was to act in Ireland. The country was converted from a mainly Protestant to a Catholic country.

Soon the Bohemian war lit the flames of a greater struggle. The Imperial troops occupied the Palatinate. Their victorious presence threatened the Protestant states of the north, and the emperor had now to carry out the promises which he had made to the Catholic League. A portion of the territories of Frederick (the upper Palatinate) was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria who received at the same time the Electoral title. This gave the Roman Catholics in the Diet an increased majority. It was clear that the Protestants must bestir themselves, if they wished to retain anything of their independence and privileges.

The danger of Protestantism.

They found a champion in the King of Denmark, who, as Duke of Holstein, was also a German power. The Protestant armies had a capable leader in Mansfeld, and they were helped by a rising in the far east of the emperor's dominions, where Bethlen Gabor raised an insurrection in Transylvania. But all hopes of a successful Protestant resistance soon disappeared. There rose on the Imperial side a soldier greater even than Tilly. This was Wallenstein, a Bohemian noble, who, by origin a Protestant, had at an early date changed his faith and had transferred his services to the emperor. He was the one great military leader of talent who appeared among the Germans during the war; and he was a Bohemian not a German. He collected an army of the ordinary mercenary type, and, as his capacity was recognized and his liberality to the soldiers was known, his camp became the refuge of the most ambitious and daring of adventurers. The helpless peasantry were pillaged by Wallenstein as remorsely as by the other commanders, but more methodically, and his troops were kept in good order by lavish rewards and cruel punishments. His high powers as organizer and strategist are unquestioned; and his ambition

Intervention of Denmark.

Wallenstein.

was so great that he aimed at last at making himself the ruler of all Germany. His larger and better disciplined forces soon defeated the armies that gathered under Mansfield and the King of Denmark. Mansfeld died. The Danish king was defeated. Nearly all the towns and states of the north-west were in Wallenstein's power. He laid siege to Stralsund in 1628 and swore he would take it "though it were fastened by chains to heaven." But the heroism of the defence and the presence of a Swedish contingent in the garrison saved it. Here was an omen of future change in the balance of parties, but for the present Wallenstein had made the emperor master in Germany as no emperor had been since the beginning of the Reformation.

Edict of Restitution, 1629.

It is probable that this position might have been maintained and that a subtle policy might have found in it the basis of an enduring power. But Catholicism had triumphed as well as Imperialism, and the interests of the two were in conflict. The Catholic League had been the chief support of the emperor in Germany, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its head, was jealous of the power of Wallenstein and eager to see the Church reap its reward. So the emperor issued in 1629 the Edict of Restitution, whereby it was decreed that all ecclesiastical property which had come into lay hands since 1552 must be restored to ecclesiastical authorities. Doubtless the edict had legal warrant. It was but the execution of the Peace of Augsburg, and the Peace of Augsburg had been accepted by both parties. But the edict implied a vast revolution. Two Archbishoprics, twelve Bishoprics, and a great number of monastic establishments would be taken from occupants, who in many instances had had half a century of unchallenged possession. Yet what hope was there? The armies of Wallenstein were irresistible by any German power.

Hostility to Wallenstein.

The first sign of relief for the Protestant cause came in the growing hostility to Wallenstein's personal power among his own allies. Maximilian hated and feared him. The emperor had begun to entertain suspicions of him; he scarcely concealed his dislike of the Edict of Restitution. There was a meeting of the Diet at Ratisbon

in 1630. France sent thither Father Joseph, the trusted instrument of Richelieu. He stimulated the members of the Diet in their dislike of Wallenstein. They demanded of the emperor his dismissal, and he, jealous himself and hoping for other concessions from the Diet, gave the necessary orders. Men wondered whether Wallenstein would obey; but he yielded without resistance and retired to Bohemia. His talents were so great and his successes in the past had been so remarkable that this could not be the end of his career. When he reappeared he would pursue an even more egoistic policy, and show less consideration for the emperor.

Retirement of Wallenstein.

The emperor had lost his greatest general and his army had been decreased at the same time. And just at the moment a new combatant entered the arena. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden landed in Germany in July, 1630.

Sweden had been united with Norway and Denmark at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the rule of Christian II. Then came rebellion against his rule on religious and political grounds. He was deposed and imprisoned. Norway and Denmark chose for themselves a new king. Sweden fell into the power of Gustavus Vasa, who had led the revolt and established Protestantism. The crown was made hereditary in his family, but the acceptance of the Lutheran confession was made a condition of rule. Gustavus Adolphus had succeeded to the throne in 1611.

Gustavus Adolphus.

He was a most sincere and zealous Protestant, and the cry of despair from his co-religionists in Germany pierced to his heart. But there were other motives beside religious ones which brought him into Germany. Sweden aimed at the control of the Baltic, and saw with alarm the triumph of the Imperial troops on its shores. The royal house of Poland—a Catholic branch of the Vasas—were claimants to the throne of Sweden, and the victory of the Catholic reaction in Germany would vastly increase their chances. Religion, commerce, and the interest of the dynasty led Gustavus to Germany; but in him alone, of the prominent actors of the war, the influence of religion took precedence of other motives. He

Sweden's motives for interference.

led an army different from those which Germany had hitherto known. Sweden was very poor, and the Swedes became later as prominent among the mercenary soldiers of the north as the Swiss had been among those of the south. But in 1630 they were not mercenaries. They formed a national army inspired by national pride and religious zeal, and were held in strict discipline. Gustavus, too, was the great soldier of the age. He made more use of artillery than his predecessors, and constant drill had given to his troops a swiftness of movement which their opponents could not attain to.

The Swedish Army.

There was little to encourage him at his first entry into Germany. The success of the Imperial armies had been so great and the sufferings of their opponents so intense that there was no eagerness to rise. George William, the Elector of Brandenburg, and John George of Saxony, to whom Gustavus naturally looked for assistance, stood vacillating and selfish. Tilly advanced upon the great city of Magdeburg on the Elbe, which was included in the Edict of Restitution but refused to surrender. The co-operation of Saxony and Brandenburg would have allowed Gustavus to save the place. Their refusal was its doom. It fell to the assault of Tilly, and the inhabitants were subjected to pillage and slaughter in a way which sent a thrill of horror through Germany. Both Brandenburg and Saxony now joined, thoroughly alarmed at last by the emperor's threats, and Gustavus, the "Lion of the North" as he came to be called, could take aggressive action.

The fall of Magdeburg.

In September, 1631, he met Tilly at Breitenfeld in the neighbourhood of Leipzic. The greater tactical skill of Gustavus and the nimbler movement of his troops gave him a decisive victory. At a blow the supremacy of the emperor in Germany was wiped out, and Vienna seemed to lie at Gustavus' mercy. But instead of marching on Vienna he preferred to attack the ecclesiastical states on the Danube, the Main, and the Rhine. No effective resistance was made anywhere. Tilly was defeated on the river Lech, and died of his wounds. Bavaria and Munich, the headquarters of the Catholic League, fell into

Battle of Breitenfeld.

the hands of Gustavus. Protestantism, which but yesterday was trembling for its life, seemed now assured of triumph.

The emperor turned in his despair to Wallenstein. He and he alone seemed capable of meeting the Swedish king. He was already busied with vast and vague schemes, and it was by no means certain that he would come to the emperor's help. But the emperor treated him as an equal, promised him independent power over the armies, and he consented to buckle on his armour once more. The prestige of his name was enough to gather a large army, and he showed himself the equal of Gustavus in strategy. The fighting was first round Nürnberg, where certainly Gustavus won no advantage. Then in November, 1632, at Lützen, near to the battle-field where he had crushed Tilly, Gustavus met his great antagonist. A long and fierce encounter took place under a pall of heavy mist. Wallenstein was beaten and drew his troops off the field; but it was no real victory for the Protestants, for Gustavus had fallen in the heat of the battle; and there was no one to take his place as soldier or as statesman.

Death of Gustavus.

So the pendulum soon swung violently back, but first the strange tragedy of Wallenstein's life was played out. The death of Gustavus made Wallenstein much less necessary than he had been before, but at the same time it removed an antagonist who had stood in the way of his schemes. It is impossible to say exactly what was the goal of his ambitions after the battle of Lützen; but certainly they looked beyond the position of a subject. He turned a deaf ear to the emperor's commands; he negotiated with France, even with the Swedes. It is quite possible that he thought of displacing the Hapsburgs and ruling Germany in his own right.

The schemes of Wallenstein.

The emperor Ferdinand had no armed force to set against Wallenstein's army; but there were officers of his who were willing to serve the emperor's purposes. He entered into a conspiracy against his own general, and in February, 1634, Wallenstein was assassinated by his own officers. Their names were Devereux, Butler, and Gordon, Irish and Scotch adventurers who had sought and found their fortunes in Wallenstein's camp.

Death of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein's army was now the emperor's. The Swedish army after Gustavus' death soon sank to the level of the others, which spread a wide track of desolation behind them as they marched hither and thither, followed by camp followers more numerous than the combatants, and quite as greedy and cruel. The Protestant army was encountered at Nördlingen in July, 1634, and utterly beaten. The battle was nearly as important as Breitenfeld; for if that battle saved the existence of Protestantism, Nördlingen saved Catholicism from destruction.

Battle of Nördlingen.

There were yet fourteen years of warfare before the tortured land had peace. Again, if Protestantism were to find a helper it must be from beyond the frontiers of Germany. It was from a Roman Catholic Cardinal, from Richelieu the all-powerful minister of the French king, that help came. He had watched the course of the war with close attention; he had contributed to the dismissal of Wallenstein in 1630, and had helped Gustavus with money. He now took the shattered forces of the Protestant league into the pay of France, and under the command of Bernard of Weimar they held their own and gained victories. In 1635, France declared war against Spain, which had all through been the ally of the emperor, and thus became a direct combatant.

Interference of France.

Henceforth, amidst all the confusion of the war, this division may be noted. The Swedes under Torstenson, as a soldier no unworthy successor of Gustavus, were occupied in the east of Germany, and before the end they gained victories which recalled Breitenfeld and Lützen; while the French armies were usually engaged on the Rhine and the Belgian frontier. The French were at first unsuccessful, but soon great soldiers emerged, the impetuous Prince of Condé and Turenne, the great tactician. The diplomacy of Richelieu raised enemies against Spain in her own peninsula, where Catalonia rebelled in 1640. There had been negotiations for peace for a long time past, but each side hoped for a decisive issue, and the armies composed of professional soldiers, many of whom had never known peace, were ready enough to fight on: the suffering country

The end of the war.

Turenne and Condé.

found no voice. The decisive battles turned out to be victories for France. At Rocroi in 1643 the Spanish veteran infantry was broken for the first time by Condé, and the blow was driven home again at Lens. Richelieu died in 1642, but he found an able successor in Mazarin; and it was Mazarin who conducted the negotiations which led to the peace. Ferdinand III., who had succeeded Ferdinand II. in 1637, bowed at last to necessity, and the Peace of Westphalia was, after long negotiations, signed in 1648.

Europe has known no more important Treaty. It may be taken as marking the end of the Reformation era: and Europe still bears the traces of its decisions.

Religiously the war ended in a drawn battle. Gustavus, and Richelieu, and Mazarin had saved Protestantism from annihilation, but the work of the Catholic Reaction was not undone. The south and west of Germany remained Catholic; but the north was Protestant, whether in the Lutheran or the Calvinist form. The Edict of Restitution was withdrawn. All ecclesiastical property taken by Protestants before 1624 was to remain in their hands. Calvinism was given the same privileges as Lutheranism, but otherwise the conditions of the Peace of Augsburg were renewed. There was no religious freedom for the individual but only for the State. But slowly the principle of religious liberty developed as a consequence of the Peace. The time for religious coercion was soon to pass away.

Peace of Westphalia.

The religious struggle drawn.

Imperialism had been far more decisively beaten than Catholicism. It had gained nothing. Germany was more divided than ever. The great states, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, and some others, were entirely independent. They used phrases of loyalty to the empire; but neither in war nor in foreign policy, neither in administration nor in justice, did they admit of any interference. The extent of the subdivision of Germany is barely credible. There were now reckoned 343 sovereign states, made up of 158 secular states, 123 ecclesiastical and 62 Imperial cities. The Hapsburgs henceforth concentrated their attention on their

The defeat of the Imperial power.

The power of the Hapsburgs.

hereditary dominions, and as in these their non-German subjects far exceeded their German they ceased henceforth to be a truly German power. The empire had all but ended: what remained impeded the growth of healthy national life in Germany, but had little other result.

Among the German powers there were some changes of importance. Bavaria kept the upper Palatinate and the Electoral title. The lower Palatinate became an eighth Electorate, and was given to the son of the unfortunate "King of Bohemia," whose ambitions had opened the war. Brandenburg, where Frederick William, soon to be known as the great Elector, had succeeded in 1640, gained part of Pomerania and the important city of Magdeburg, which commanded the chief crossing of the Elbe. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were recognized at last as independent of the empire.

Bavaria.

The Palatinate.

Brandenburg.

The claim of France to the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun was recognized: and all Alsace (with the exception of Strassburg and certain districts) also became French. In both cases there was some vagueness as to the exact limit of the territories conceded. This ambiguity led to further French aggressions, in the reign of Louis XIV.

France.

Sweden made considerable gains. Western Pomerania remained in her hands as well as the district round the mouth of the Oder with Verden and Bremen and some other towns. The door seemed open for indefinite aggression on her part, and it seemed not impossible that she might establish a permanent dominion in north Germany. But it proved otherwise. Her population was small: her soil poor: and the enterprises of this and the next generation exhausted her resources. It was well for her that her career of conquest was stayed, and her efforts turned towards the peaceful development of her own lands, a task in which she has achieved a wonderful success.

Sweden.

But when we have summarized the results achieved by diplomacy in the Treaty of Westphalia we have by no means finished with the results of the war. The most important

was this, that Germany ceased for half a century to count as an important force in European politics, and quite a century had to pass before she quite recovered from the effects of the war. For thirty years the land had known no settled peace in any part. The country districts were almost deserted. Internal traffic was almost suspended. Serious historians estimate that the population of the whole land decreased by at least two-thirds. The population of Bohemia had fallen to less than a quarter; that of Berlin from 24,000 to 6000. Commerce, education, literature, art, had nearly disappeared. The people seemed brutalized in mind and manners. No high ideals were left in religion or high aims in statesmanship. No other European state, except Ireland, has ever passed through such a purgatory. The effacement of Germany gave France a clear path for her ambition, and accounts for some of the chief features of the Age of Louis XIV.

The exhaustion of Germany.

S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War.* C. R. Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus.* Schiller, *Thirty Years' War.* Bain's *Scandinavia.* Schiller's tragedies, *Piccolomini* and *Wallenstein*, may be read with profit.

CHAPTER VII

The Growth of the French Monarchy: Richelieu and Mazarin

THE death of Henry IV. in 1610, seemed to overthrow all the plans that he had formed both for domestic and for foreign affairs. The regency was placed in the hands of his queen, Marie de' Medici. She had not been well treated by her husband, and she entertained ideas on policy wholly different from his. Her aim was to unite the royal family of France with that of Spain, which had hitherto been its most decided antagonist. Opinion in France was opposed to her schemes, and there were rebellious movements among the

Reaction in France.

aristocracy and the Protestants, but she showed more energy than was usual with her, and in 1612 the marriage treaties were signed. Louis XIII., at this time eleven years old, was betrothed to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III., King of Spain, and the Spanish prince who was afterwards Philip IV., was at the same time betrothed to Elizabeth of France. There followed in French history a period of great confusion, which we must not attempt to disentangle. A meeting of the States-General was summoned in 1614, but no definite result came of it; and it is chiefly remembered in history because it is the last of these gatherings of the representatives of the kingdom which we meet with, until the States-General was called again in 1789 to usher in the great Revolution.

Confusion.

We reach a decisive and epoch-making event when, in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu entered the councils of the king. His first appearance in public life was as an advisor of the queen, and there had not been anything hitherto in his career to show the great destinies that awaited him. But from 1624, until his death in 1642, he was the most notable and influential figure in European history.

Cardinal Richelieu.

He was a bishop, a cardinal, and a devout Catholic; yet there was no statesman in Europe who was more disliked at Rome than he was. "Pope of the Huguenots," and "Patriarch of Atheists" were nicknames which were given to him. His position was, indeed, a curious one. A Catholic and the minister of a Catholic king, he was nevertheless found constantly in league with the Protestant powers of Europe, and at a moment when the Pope and the Emperor saw a good chance of overwhelming Protestantism in Germany—its first home, and the country which had given birth to Luther—it was Richelieu who crossed their path and saved the existence of Protestantism. His position is explained by the fact that the theological controversies of the Reformation period were no longer as influential as they had been, and that now political, national, and dynastic interests were taking precedence of religious motives. Richelieu worked for two objects, which in his eyes were two phases of the same object. He desired to establish the authority of the King of France in absolute supremacy within the borders

Position and policy of Richelieu.

of the country, and to do this he would beat down all rival authorities, nobles, Protestants, Parlements, provincial assemblies; and he desired, at the same time, to make France supreme in Europe, and with that end in view to overthrow the allied powers of Austria and of Spain. He was a man of poor physique and of weak health, yet so great was his strength of will, and so thorough his understanding of the political and domestic situation in France and in Europe, that he dominated a period which seemed to be ruled by physical force. He was one of the greatest statesmen, and probably the greatest diplomatist, that France has known.

His domestic and his foreign policy are closely united throughout. But for purposes of clearness it will be well to separate the two, and we will begin with his domestic policy.

The Protestants were the first enemy that attracted his attention. He seems to have had little or no hostility to their faith, and there was no statesman in Europe who was more ready to accept toleration of different creeds as the basis of the life of the state. But the powers which had been given to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes made them an obstacle to that unity under the monarchy which he had set before him as his aim. The Huguenots had a right to hold synods which were almost parliaments, and their control of the garrisons of certain towns made them a military power independent of the king. There was more than one war before the end came, but in 1627 he proceeded to attack the great harbour and fortress of La Rochelle, which was the chief stronghold of Protestantism in France. The Huguenots had taken up arms largely in reliance upon assistance from England; and they had hoped, too, that Richelieu would be attacked by the nobles, who saw in him the most determined enemy of the claims of their order. Richelieu, Cardinal though he was, superintended the siege, which was one of the most notable in the whole history of France. The English assistance was beaten off; aristocratic plots were unravelled, and defeated; and, although the Huguenots defended their city with unsurpassed heroism, starvation at last did its work upon them, and the city fell into the hands of Richelieu and the king. Only a

Domestic policy of Richelieu.

Siege of La Rochelle.

few more places still held out after this, and in August, 1629, all was over. Richelieu made a new treaty with the Huguenots, the Peace of Alais, by which he renewed to them all the promises of religious liberty contained in the Edict of Nantes, but he took from them their special military standing, and advised them for the future to trust to the honour and the word of the king. He was himself undoubtedly sincere in the promises that he gave, but in less than seventy years the Protestants were to find how weak a defence was the royal honour when undermined by the subtle influence of religious bigotry.

Peace of Alais.

The Protestants of France had looked to the nobles for assistance in resisting their common enemy, the Crown; and Richelieu, during the whole of his public life, waged incessant war against the pretensions and powers of the great nobles. The days of feudalism were over, and there was no noble who could any longer deal with the Government upon a footing of equality. But the nobles were still rich, powerful, and warlike, and full of a strong sense of the claims and privileges of their order. In spite of all the blows that they had received, they remained the most serious rival of the royal authority in France.

Richelieu and the nobility.

The strangest feature of the situation during Richelieu's administration was, that while he was upholding the authority of the Crown against the power of the nobles, the nobles found a constant ally in the members of the royal family. There was some part even of the king's nature which sympathized with them and with their aspirations. The queen gave them assistance, or at least opposed their great antagonist. The Queen Mother, Marie de' Medici, and the king's brother, Gaston of Orleans, were constantly conspiring with them for the overthrow of the Cardinal, though he was the king's chief minister and the main upholder of the royal power. Richelieu's life was passed in an endless series of plots and intrigues, which have provided material for many romances and dramas, and were a serious obstacle to the realization of his plans. He seemed often on the point of overthrow, but triumphed in the end. The Queen Mother was driven as an exile into England and into Belgium.

The plots against Richelieu.

Gaston of Orleans was defeated and pardoned again and again, and at last relapsed into sulky acquiescence in Richelieu's *régime*. Against the nobles he acted with less scruple than against princes of the blood. When in 1632 the Duke of Montmorency joined with Gaston and the Duke of Lorraine, he paid the penalty of rebellion with his life. In 1641 the Comte de Soissons was killed in an insurrection which he headed, and thus escaped the scaffold with which Richelieu menaced him. At the very end of his life Richelieu found Cinq Mars, a favourite of the king, plotting against him and intriguing with Spain. Neither his high rank nor the king's favour saved him from the scaffold to which Richelieu destined the king's chief enemies. But it was not only by battle and the headsman's axe that Richelieu struck down the opposition of the nobles: more subtle and permanent methods were also used. He forbade, under heavy penalties, the practice of duelling, which may be regarded as the last remnant of private warfare. The castles which were scattered over France, from which the great nobles had dominated and terrorized the country, were in many instances blown up with gunpowder. More seriously still, the authority of the nobles in the provinces was destroyed by the development of a new type of officials. As governors of the provinces the nobles had hitherto exercised great power, and had found sometimes in this office the means of resisting the king. But Richelieu now chose, as the chief agents of the Crown in all the provinces, men usually of middle class origin, who bore the title of Superintendants of Police and Finance. They are usually known as Intendants. The nobles still remained in many instances in nominal possession of the provincial governments, but they found that the reality of power rested with these men, who were supported by the whole force of the central government, and in whose hands lay the raising of troops and of taxes and the administration of law. From this time to the Revolution the Intendants remained, next to the king's ministers, the most important officials in France. They exercised within their districts an authority almost absolute, and were sometimes called the "provincial kings" of France. But their authority never encroached on

The plot of Cinq Mars.

Intendants.

that of the Crown; and their chief function was to support and develop the royal power.

Richelieu's aims excluded all idea of representative government. He had himself been a member of the States-General of 1614, but he always refused to summon a body of whose hostility to the ideas of his system he was well assured. Nor were the Parlements of France more favoured than the States-General. They remained important judicial corporations: they were not allowed to extend their function to interference in legislation or policy. The representative bodies in the provinces—the so-called "provincial estates"—also incurred his enmity. Where an excuse had been furnished by insurrection or dangerous discontent they were entirely destroyed, and the direct government of royal officials (*élus*) was substituted for them. But even where provincial estates were still allowed to subsist, they were treated with severity, and a great portion of their power passed to the royal officials. The only body which Richelieu ever willingly called into his counsels was an assembly of the great men of the realm who were chosen and invited by the king. They were known as the "Notables"; their function was to offer advice, which it was at the king's choice to accept or reject. They could not in any way, therefore, encroach on the royal authority; and this doubtless explains Richelieu's favour.

Attack on representative government.

The Provinces.

The Notables.

The machinery of the monarchy was organized and developed by him. It was from the council of the king that all authority proceeded; and the council was organized and divided into separate bodies dealing with special tasks. It was this carefully organized council which governed France throughout the coming age of Louis XIV., and controlled the fortunes of the country until the great Revolution overturned all.

The king's council.

But it was upon foreign, not upon domestic, policy that Richelieu's eyes were most constantly fixed, and his influence upon the great contest of the Thirty Years' War and the international relations of Europe generally was decisive. It may be questioned whether any other diplomatist, until the time of Bismarck, has ever

Richelieu as diplomatist.

exercised so far-reaching a power. The story of his diplomacy is intricate, and in its details most interesting; but here the results must be summarized in the shortest possible fashion.

He aimed at the defeat of the joint Hapsburg power of Austria and Spain, in which he saw the true rival of France, and the only impediment to the dominion of France in Europe. In order to make communication between Spain and Austria difficult, he secured the occupation by a hostile power of the Valtelline Pass, which led through the Alps from Milan into Austrian territory, and which was constantly used for the passage of the Spanish troops. He watched the struggle in Germany with the most anxious care, and on several occasions influenced it in moments of crisis. Gustavus Adolphus, as we have seen, relied largely upon French support, when he invaded Germany for the defence of the Protestant cause, and Richelieu made with him in 1630, a treaty by which the Swiss army was practically taken into French pay. He called the Swedish power "a poison useful as an antidote, but fatal if taken in excess," and the death of Gustavus at the Battle of Lützen was not altogether unwelcome to him. When the Protestants had suffered the disaster of Nördlingen, it was to Catholic France alone that they could look for effective support, and from this time onward the hand of France—which was the hand of Richelieu—was ever more clearly discernible in the closing scenes of the contest. Bernard of Weimar and his army were throughout in French pay, and upon Bernard's death his army was taken directly into the service of France. The closing scenes of the war were mainly occupied in a struggle between France and Spain upon the northern and eastern frontiers of France, while her Swedish allies pressed the Austrians in the east. The armies of France were not at first successful, but the diplomacy of Richelieu raised up enemies to Spain in her own peninsula. Portugal, which had been united with Spain, by the armies of Philip II., revolted in 1640, and the province of Catalonia broke into an insurrection which lasted for many years. The contest was not decided, but the balance was turning clearly to the side of France when Richelieu died in December of 1642. Louis XIII., the master whom he had

The Valtelline Pass.

Treaty with Gustavus Adolphus.

Death of Richelieu.

served so faithfully, died in the following May, and a new era seemed to open for France and for Europe.

Yet the change at first was not so great as had been anticipated. Richelieu had been assisted during the latter part of his life by Mazarin; and it was Mazarin whom he recommended as his successor. The new minister was of Italian origin, who never spoke perfectly the French language or understood the French character. He had none of Richelieu's decisive vigour in dealing with domestic affairs, but in foreign policy he proved himself a worthy successor of Richelieu, whose ideas he carried on in the same spirit to a complete success. Louis XIV. was a child less than five years old, and a long regency was clearly in prospect. The Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, held the position of regent without question, and she supported Mazarin continuously and unhesitatingly. It is believed by many that Mazarin, who, though a Cardinal, had not taken full orders, was actually though secretly married to her. His attention was at first occupied by the foreign war. Here the armies of France, after some early checks, were now winning great glory. Two great soldiers had appeared upon the French side: the Duke of Condé, a prince of the blood royal, and the Marquis of Turenne. Condé was the more daring and adventurous of the two, and attracted at first the greater attention in France. But Turenne was one of the ablest strategists and one of the most humane soldiers that Europe has known, and he unquestionably achieved greater triumphs, and certainly served France more faithfully than his brilliant colleague and rival. In 1643 Condé won the battle of Rocroi upon the Belgian frontier; a battle famous as being the first occasion since the days of Charles V., on which the genuine infantry of Spain had received a decisive defeat. Shortly after this, negotiations for peace were begun, but they were conducted slowly and indecisively, for Austria was unwilling to make the necessary concessions. But in 1648 another victory won by Condé in the same region, at Lens, brought the necessary pressure to bear, and the peace of Westphalia was concluded in the next year. We have seen its terms in the preceding chapter, and we have

Mazarin.

Condé and Turenne.

Battle of Rocroi.

Lens.

noted how it brought to France great increase of prestige, great gains in territory, and the promise of more.

The Peace of Westphalia was Mazarin's greatest triumph; but it did not succeed in winning to his side the support of French opinion. Rather, as soon as the greater part of the burden of the war had passed away (though it must be noted that the war with Spain still continued, and was not brought to an end for another eleven years), the various elements of discontent in France raised their heads in a last effort to resist the royal authority. The financial burdens that the war had entailed were very great—though France had suffered nothing approaching to the miseries of Germany—and there was a demand for the abolition of the heavy burden of taxation. The nobles, too, hoped that, though they had failed in their efforts against Richelieu, they might succeed against his weaker successor in winning for themselves a freer and more influential position in the State.

Rise of opposition to Mazarin.

We come, then, to one of the most puzzling episodes in French history, which is generally called the "Fronde." The word was a mere party nickname, and the movement was a general uprising against royal authority in France, springing from diverse and even opposite causes, and failing because of that diversity. It had two chief roots. It began with the action of the Parlement of Paris, which protested against taxes and demanded reform; and it led up to a general movement of aristocratic resistance, the chief part in which was played by the impetuous Prince of Condé.

The wars of the Fronde.

The Parlement of Paris was not well suited to play the part of constitutional reformer. It was a body whose chief—and usually whose only—function was to act as a Court of Justice. Its members held their positions by virtue of purchase and heredity, and were subject neither to popular election nor to royal appointment. It touched legislation and government on one point only: it had the right of registering the edicts of the king, which had not the force of laws until they were found upon the register of Parlement. It was never decided whether it could refuse registration,

Parlement of Paris.

though it was admitted that it could make a representation to the government if it wished to take objection to any points in the proposed laws. It used now this doubtful power and refused to register the edicts of finance which were sent down to it in 1648. Then, availing itself of the discontent which was felt with the financial administration both in Paris and in the country at large, it determined upon a bolder step. It drew near to other courts, which, like itself, had emanated from the royal council, such as the Chamber of Accounts, the Chamber of Customs, and the Grand Council, and in common session with them it demanded, in a spirit not wholly unlike that of the contemporary English Parliament, the reduction of taxes, the abolition of imprisonment by royal warrant without trial, and the removal of the Intendants who, as we have seen, had superseded royal authority in the provinces. The government hesitated at first, but was encouraged by the news of the battle of Lens to strike at its parliamentary opponents. The leaders of Parlement were seized, and a bitter contest seemed in store. But then for a moment the Crown gave way. The example of England had been a potent influence throughout, and the news of the execution of King Charles I. alarmed the court as to the consequences of resistance. But though Mazarin yielded for a moment, it was only to strike harder afterwards. The royal forces were gathered and entrusted to the command of Condé. Paris was loosely blockaded. It was already seen that there could be no real co-operation between the lawyers of the Parlement and the nobles who had been gratified by the attack on Intendants, and in 1649 peace was made. The government promised concessions in matters of finance, and the Parlement dropped the *rôle* of popular champion which it had for a moment held.

Refusal to register the king's edicts.

Demands of Parlement.

End of the first Fronde.

So ended what is known as the first Fronde, but it was soon followed by the second, a movement in which, indeed, there is very little in common with the first. The second had no constitutional aims, and was in no sense the champion of popular rights. It was a last rally of discontented aristocrats, and all turned upon the

The second Fronde.

action and ambition of the Prince of Condé. In January, 1650, Mazarin, who saw in him a dangerous spirit and a rival to the authority of the Crown, arrested him and certain other nobles. There was loud indignation, and even Turenne, usually so loyal a nature, was drawn over to the side of the nobles by the influence of Condé's sister. Paris joined with the rebels, and demanded the liberation of the prince and the banishment of Mazarin. The astute minister bowed for a moment to the storm, liberated Condé, and retired beyond the frontier. But his defeat was only apparent, and from his retirement he directed the action of the Queen Mother and of the government, as much as when he was in Paris.

Arrest of Condé.

A struggle of indescribable confusion followed. It has been recounted for us in many memoires, such as those of Cardinal de Retz and Madame de Longueville, who have painted for us, with great brilliancy, the details of the duels and the battles and the intrigues of the time. But the struggle was in truth a somewhat sordid one; and personal ambition was at the root of it all. Turenne was won back to the royal side, and he soon gave to the royal troops ascendancy over their opponents. Condé was defeated in 1652, outside the gates of Paris, and narrowly escaped capture. He soon afterwards withdrew from France, and joined the Spaniards, against whom he had in the past fought so brilliantly. Paris soon made her peace with the Crown; Mazarin returned; the Parlement was forbidden to interfere in public affairs; the Intendants were restored, and the system of Richelieu returned in its entirety. What remained was the war with Spain; and on both sides there was great financial exhaustion, great eagerness for peace, but unwillingness to make the sacrifices that would be necessary for peace. The war has been described as a race between tired horses; and though the French gained the advantage in most encounters, it seemed impossible to give to Spain the decisive blow. In 1657 a strange diplomatic step brought triumph at last to France. The career of Oliver Cromwell had attracted the attention of all Europe, and it was seen that England possessed in him and

Decisive influence of Turenne.

War with Spain.

his Ironsides a military force of the most efficient kind. The monarchs of both Spain and France regarded him with intense dislike as a republican and a regicide, and the Crown of France was closely united with the royal house of England, for the widowed queen of Charles I. was the sister of Louis XIII. But the military necessities of both countries were so great that they sued for the alliance of the detested English Protector. He hesitated long as to the course which he should pursue, but he had already cast his eyes upon the colonies of Spain, and he made at last an alliance with Cardinal Mazarin. A body of troops came over under the command of Lockhart, and in June, 1658, there was fought, not far from Dunkirk, the battle of the Dunes. Condé commanded the Spanish forces, and Turenne and Lockhart fought side by side against them. The result was an overwhelming victory for Mazarin and his ally. The English received Dunkirk as part of the payment for their help, and serious negotiations were at once begun. They resulted in November, 1659, in the important Peace of the Pyrenees, which is a complement to the Peace of Westphalia, and which may be taken as bringing to the very end the struggle of the Thirty Years' War. France gained territory in the north and in the south: Artois in the north, and Roussillon on the Pyrenean frontier. More important than these rather insignificant territorial gains was the vast prestige which France enjoyed as the power which had at first forced Germany to peace, and now dictated her will to Spain. Condé was pardoned, and allowed to return to France, which he henceforth loyally served. It was hoped also that the treaty might inaugurate a period of friendship and alliance between the two bitter and age-long rivals. A marriage was negotiated between Louis XIV. and the Spanish princess, Maria Teresa. In the marriage contract Louis XIV. definitely renounced all claims which might come to him through his wife to Spanish territory or to the Spanish Crown. But this renunciation was made conditional upon the payment of a large sum as dowry; and Spain never found herself in a position to pay. Louis XIV., therefore, regarded himself as free, and the Spanish claims,

Alliance of France with Cromwell.

Battle of the Dunes.

Peace of the Pyrenees.

which he made in his wife's name, cover a large portion of his reign.

The treaty was a great triumph for Mazarin, but he lived only a short time longer. He had amassed enormous wealth, which he had used for the accumulation of an immense library and for the encouragement of the fine arts. Before his death it was already plain that the young king was beginning to desire a more influential part in the direction of the policy of France than his great minister had hitherto allowed him. The passing away of Mazarin opened, as we shall see, a well-marked epoch for France and for Europe.

Death of Mazarin (1661).

In addition to the ordinary histories of France Hassall's *Louis XIV.* and *Mazarin*, and Lodge's *Richelieu. France under Richelieu and Colbert*, by J. H. Bridges.

CHAPTER VIII

The Age of Louis XIV

For some time past France had been ruled nominally by the kings, but really through the agency of first ministers; and upon the death of Mazarin it was assumed that he would have a successor. But the young king, Louis XIV., was determined to take the government into his own hands, and to the surprise of his court announced that he would be his own first minister. He persisted in this resolution, and through the whole of his reign—the longest in the annals of Europe—he was himself the chief guiding force in the policy of France, both domestic and foreign.

Louis XIV., who was only five years old when he ascended the throne, had hitherto had no chance to show his talents. His character and abilities have been variously judged, but he showed, during the long period during which he directed the destinies of France, while France was the most powerful state in Europe,

Character of Louis XIV.

great knowledge of the European situation and great diplomatic skill. He was not a great soldier, and took no prominent part in any campaign, but he was specially interested in the art of sieges, and was himself present on more than one occasion when great fortresses surrendered to the arms of France. But it is not as soldier, nor exactly as statesman, that he occupies his great place in the history of Europe: he is the great example of modern monarchy in its highest and most splendid form. He had great grace and dignity of bearing, and a handsome face and figure, and he was in every way, so far as manners were concerned, a worthy representative of the most splendid, if not of the most powerful, monarchy that Europe has ever known. He gathered round him a magnificent and an expensive court; his reign was made illustrious by architecture, painting, and the great development of literature; and nearly all European monarchs looked to him as the model of what a king should be, and regarded France as the best example of how a country should be governed.

Apparent decline of free institutions in Europe.

Parliamentary and representative institutions seemed on the decline nearly everywhere. They were strongest in England; but when Charles II. was restored to his throne in 1660 they were subjected to a severe and insidious attack even there. No one at that time could have prophesied that some form of representative institutions would triumph in every country of the civilized world. The future seemed to be with unlimited monarchy.

The king himself, as we have said, was the centre of government. The Parlements were coerced; the States-General were not called into being; provincial and municipal institutions were everywhere brought under the control of the king's government. The real machinery of government was to be found in the king's council, and in the smaller councils which emanated from it, dealing with the various departments of the state. These councils were composed for the most part, not of the high aristocracy, but of men of the middle class. This was a definite part of the king's policy. "I wanted, before all things, to let the public know," he wrote, "by the rank from

The king and the middle class.

which I chose my ministers that I had no intention of sharing power with them." It was in the king's council that all the great decisions of the reign were taken. The carrying out of those decisions was entrusted to the various agents of the Crown, and especially to the Intendants, of whom we spoke in the last chapter.

It was an era of great brilliance for France which produced men of the highest eminence in almost every department of life. A great part of the splendour of the reign is reflected from the great men of letters, who were many of them admitted to the society of the king himself. The three greatest names in the history of the French drama—Corneille, Racine, and Molière—all belong to this reign, though the first had done his most important work before Louis XIV. actually began to reign. The king was on terms of personal friendship with Molière, the great comedian, and supported him against the attacks of courtiers and of priests. The drama of the time, and especially the comedies of Molière, give us an attractive idea of the tone and intelligence of the court, which could enjoy plays of such high excellence. But every department of literature was represented by great names; philosophy by Descartes and Pascal; theology by Bossuet and Fenelon. A special feature of the reign is the number of memoirs that were produced during the course of it. The greatest of these is a book which was written, but not given to the world at the time, the Memoirs of Saint Simon. Its author was a man bitterly opposed to the royal absolutism, and a strong partisan of the pretensions and privileges of the aristocracy. He committed to his pages all the stories and the scandal of the time, especially those which reflected discredit upon the king and his court. They have to be received in many instances with great suspicion; but enough remains to show that the court of Louis XIV. had a side that was neither honest, moral, nor distinguished by good taste.

Artistic brilliance of the reign.

Molière.

Saint Simon.

In the sphere of active life the king was admirably served. He inherited great generals from the era that was just passed. Condé and Turenne were at the very height of their powers,

and Western Europe had no generals whose skill could be put in comparison with theirs. Along with them must be mentioned Vauban, the famous engineer, whose military services were as great as those of the two men already mentioned, and who also showed himself, before the end of the reign, an ardent and courageous patriot by resisting the fatal policy of the king himself. As valuable to the king as these men who commanded armies and conducted the operations of war, was his war minister, Louvois, a man of fierce and overbearing temper, whose influence on the reign was in many respects for evil, but who had no equal in Europe for equipping troops and doing all that falls to the duty of a minister of war.

Condé, Turenne, Vauban.

Louvois.

When Louis XIV. came to the throne France was almost at the height of her prestige. There was no country in Europe which alone could vie with her, and she was able to resist with success even large alliances; but her finances were in a confused and lamentable condition. The finance minister, Fouquet, had been skillful in finding means during the late war, but he was believed to have made his enormous fortune by dishonest means. His position was so strong, and his supporters so many, that it was difficult to overthrow him. The king had to intrigue against his own minister. Yet in the end Fouquet was overthrown and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the management of the finances was entrusted to Colbert. His is one of the very greatest names of the reign, and France never had a more capable or a more devoted minister. He had been the subordinate of Mazarin, who had recommended him as his successor. He was of middle-class origin, and without striking presence or social ambitions. He flung himself into the task of setting in order the finances of France with an energy which nothing could subdue. It was said of him that the only rest that he ever took was change of work; and before his day was over he had placed the finances of France on a far more favourable footing. His work was so important that it must be briefly summarized. He turned, in the first place, to the collection and management of the taxes. Here he introduced no radical

The supremacy of France.

Colbert.

reforms in principle. He was content with the same taxes, or nearly so, and he collected them much in the same way as formerly; but by rigid supervision, and by relentless punishment of those servants of the State who made dishonest gains, he reduced very greatly the burden which pressed upon the country, while at the same time the income from the taxation was much greater than it had been in previous years. But he was not content merely with a more rigid supervision of the machinery of taxation; he desired also to find for France new sources of wealth. France, up to the present time, was not an industrial State, and she imported manufactured articles from all the neighbouring countries. Colbert was determined to alter all this. He induced workmen to come from England, from Holland, and from Italy to teach the methods of stocking-making, weaving, lace-making, and glass-making; and then when these industries had thus been founded in France, he excluded the competition of foreign-made articles by a high protective tariff; and at the same time supervised the methods of production by his agents. It is this part of his work which is best known, and which has made the word "Colbertism" in some countries a synonym for "protection." Some of the industries thus established languished before long, but some also became a permanent source of wealth for France. He stimulated at the same time trade and commerce. The overseas trade of Europe was at this time chiefly in the hands of England and of Holland, and by them was carried on through the agency of chartered companies. Colbert was determined to see whether the same methods might not produce the same results for France. Companies were founded to trade in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Seas, and with America, and here, too, though few of these companies were destined to a long life, it is unquestionable that the volume of the commerce of France immensely increased during his administration. This was not all. Better roads were made, canals were built, the building of ships was pushed on at a great pace, and it seemed as though France were about to enter on a career in which, like England, she would

Supervision of taxation.

Industry encouraged and protected.

Trading companies.

Navy.

pursue industrial and commercial objects as her main aim. Colbert also eagerly urged the building of a navy which might hold its own with that of England or of Holland.

The wars of Louis XIV.

There was much in Louis XIV.'s early reign which was calculated to win popularity. He administered justice with an even hand, and showed that no nobleman was exempt from the punishments which the law prescribed; and there was no question that by the majority of the people of France his rule was regarded with genuine approval and enthusiasm. But the pacific period of his reign lasted only a short time, and soon he plunged into that series of wars which, though they were at first successful, provoked against him a constantly increasing body of European allies, until at last, under the strain of the resistance of Europe, the resources of France were exhausted, and the glories of the age of Louis XIV. ended in unpopularity and disaster.

The War of Devolution.

The first of these wars is the so-called War of Devolution, or the War of the Queen. We have seen how, when Louis XIV. married the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, he had promised that he would not claim either the crown of Spain or any portion of Spanish territory as belonging to his wife. But when, in 1665, the Spanish King, Philip IV., died, Louis XIV. at once claimed for his wife a portion of the Spanish Netherlands. He maintained that as the dowry which was stipulated for in the Peace of the Pyrenees had never been paid him, his promise was void. He declared, too, that the law of inheritance in the Netherlands was a peculiar one, and that the lands descended to a daughter by a first marriage rather than to a son by a second one: and that his wife took precedence, therefore, for those lands, over her half-brother, Charles II., King of Spain. These claims were, of course, refused, and war came at once. The Spaniards were utterly incapable of resisting the army of France, splendidly equipped and led, and it seemed that very shortly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands would be overrun and, perhaps, annexed to the French crown. Then there came a sudden change. The aggressions of France had aroused, as they always aroused, the fear and jealousy of Europe; and England,

The Triple Alliance.

Holland, and Sweden joined together to resist Louis XIV.'s further advance. A war of wider scope seemed inevitable, but to the surprise of all men, Louis XIV. yielded. A certain advance of the northern frontier of France was gained, but most of her conquests were handed back to Spain (1668).

After this France had peace for some years. Then in 1672 there came a much more serious war with Holland. The causes are easily found. The Dutch were the great commercial rivals of the French, and Colbert, who was usually pacific in his policy, welcomed a war which might sweep away a rival and an obstacle to the development of French trade. Moreover, Holland offered an example of a republic which was distasteful to the absolutism of the French king. It was the asylum, too, of exiles from France for religious or political reasons; and books attacking the character and policy of the French king had recently been published there. Nor could Louis XIV. overlook the part which had been played by Holland in the formation of the Triple Alliance of 1667. For many reasons, then, the small but prosperous and progressive State of Holland seemed a barrier in the path of the great monarch. The war was prepared for by Louis XIV.'s usual skilful diplomacy. By the secret treaty of Dover the English king had promised to take, when called upon, the side of Louis XIV. Sweden was also bought over, and thus, when war was declared in 1672, the Dutch found themselves without allies, and utterly unable to resist the attack of France. The French army passed the Rhine, captured towns and fortresses, and drew near to Amsterdam. In vain the Dutch humiliated themselves before the French; Louis would accept no terms short of a complete surrender; and it seemed that that surrender could not be far off. But then there came a great change. A revolution in Holland brought into power William of Orange, the great-grandson of that William the Silent, who, just a century before, had rendered such wonderful services to the Protestant Dutch. Military and diplomatic authority of an almost absolute kind was thrust into his hands, and he was called upon to save the State as his great-grandfather

War with the Dutch.

Secret Treaty of Dover.

Ruin and recovery of Holland.

had saved it under even harder conditions. William of Orange, later to be known as William III., King of England, was equal to the task. He was no great soldier, but he was one of the most skilful diplomatists that Europe has ever known. First the dykes were cut and the waters of the sea were let in upon the fertile plains of Holland, and then by skilful negotiations he called into existence an alliance against France. Spain joined hands with the Dutch, her old enemies; Brandenburg, though usually friendly to France, joined the alliance. The empire declared itself ready to resist the aggressions of France, and at last the English people forced upon their king a policy the exact opposite of what he had promised to Louis XIV. England withdrew from the attack upon Holland, and was soon found co-operating with her against the French. In the war which followed—no details of which can here be given—the French armies fully maintained their superiority over all others in Europe. And when, in 1678, the Peace of Nimeguen was made, France claimed considerable advantages. Certain further concessions of territory were made upon her northern frontier, but most important of all, the district of Franche-Comté, upon her eastern frontier, was ceded to her by Spain. She had not won all that she had desired, but her conquests were considerable and her prestige unabated.

Great Alliance against France.

The gains which she had made in the war, however, were soon eclipsed by further territorial gains made in time of peace. These are the famous "Reunions," and to understand them we must go back to the Peace of Westphalia. By that peace, certain districts in Alsace and Lorraine had been ceded to France "with the rights and territories belonging to them." There was some obscurity as to what these "rights" were, and now, in a moment of profound peace, when Europe was exhausted, weary of war, and anxious for repose, Louis determined to institute a one-sided inquiry into the meaning of these phrases. He established a court before which he brought his own claims, and he was thus himself both judge and plaintiff. By a procedure which only had the thinnest appearance of legality, great districts in Alsace were adjudged to him, including the thoroughly

The Reunions.

German city of Strassburg. By a somewhat similar procedure he gained also Luxemburg upon the north, and beyond the Alps Casale in Italy. These were places important in themselves; doubly important as opening the possibility of further invasion. Germany was indignant alike with the acquisitions and the procedure, and a German Diet was called at Ratisbon in 1684 to consider them. But the diet only brought into higher relief the pre-eminence which France had acquired in Europe. Louis despatched to the assembly an ultimatum demanding the cession of all that he had won for a term of twenty years on pain of the instant declaration of war. The assembly hesitated, feeling its honour compromised, but in the end it obeyed. This year, 1684, and the triumph thus insolently won at the Diet of Ratisbon, may be taken as marking the very zenith of the power of Louis XIV.

Annexation of Strasburg, Casale and Luxemburg.

From this time forward, however, the power of France changed only to diminish, and soon after Louis entered upon another series of wars in which at first victory only came after a desperate struggle, and by and by came not at all, but was replaced by defeat. The latter half of the great monarch's reign bears thus a very different character from its triumphant opening, and we must try to understand the causes of this change. It will be well, in the first place, to glance at the religious history of the reign. The king's early life was full of licence, and his religion exercised little influence upon his conduct. He was determined to be master in France not only in matters political, but in matters religious as well; and he asserted with success the power of the Crown against all religious authorities. Thus, in 1682, as a result of a quarrel with the Pope, he issued a declaration of what are known as Gallican Liberties, that is to say, the special rights of that part of the Roman Catholic Church that was to be found in France. In this famous declaration it was laid down that the authority of the Pope was limited to spiritual matters, that the royal authority was in no way dependent upon the papacy, and that the Popes had no right to depose kings or to turn subjects from their duty of obedience.

Religious history of the reign.

Declaration of Gallican Liberties.

In another part of the declaration, the Pope's authority over the Church was declared to be only final when ratified by a Council. The Pope protested, but in vain, and Louis XIV. carried the matter through with a high hand.

But if in this matter he seemed to be acting in opposition to the Pope, in the remainder of his religious policy, he upheld the rule of religious orthodoxy against all who opposed it in France. A religious movement had arisen within the limits of the Catholic Church which is known as Jansenism, from Jansen the Bishop of Ypres, from whose writings its chief representatives drew their ideas. Those who took part in it declared themselves loyal and devoted adherents to the Catholic Church, and protested that neither in doctrine nor in ceremony were they willing to depart from Catholicism. But they aimed at establishing a more rigid and puritanic method of life than that which was practised by most French Catholics, and they preferred the example of the early centuries of Catholicism and the authority of the Bible to that of later traditions or developments. The movement was rendered illustrious by several great names. Racine joined it; and under its influence wrote some of his most beautiful work. Pascal, great as a man of science, and great as a philosopher, was its chief intellectual exponent. The king came to regard it as an assault, not only upon the authority of the Pope, but upon his own. More than one papal bull was issued against the new movement, and the king used his power to stamp out a religious body which, if differently handled, might have added to the life and strength of France, without in any way threatening the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

Jansenism.

But it is more important to follow the dealings of the king with the Protestants; and here, too, we see absolutism destroying liberty, and in so doing undermining the foundations and ruining the vigour of its own power. The Protestants of France were no longer the great force that they had been in the days of Henry IV. and Richelieu. Their numbers had sunk; their social prestige had vanished; their connection with the aristocracy had almost entirely disappeared. They showed no signs of disloyalty, and they had not stirred a foot during all the struggles

The Huguenots.

of the Fronde. They were for the most part an energetic body of men engaged in commerce and kindred pursuits, and no section of Frenchmen had rendered to Colbert such valuable assistance as they had done. During the early years of Louis XIV. they had not been seriously interfered with; though there was always a tendency to curb and limit their privileges. But later on in his reign, the thoughts of the king turned more seriously to religion. He was influenced in this matter very much by Madame de Maintenon, who was at first the governess of his illegitimate children, and upon the death of Maria Theresa, became his wife. His devotion to religion was now sincere and engrossing, and he came to regard Protestantism, not only as an insult to royal authority, but also as a heresy which must be annihilated. He was encouraged in his designs by the leaders of the French Church, and Bossuet spoke of his atrocious deed as his chief title to fame. First, all the privileges of the Protestants were scrutinized and diminished. They were subjected to rigorous supervision; upon slight pretexts their temples were destroyed; their property and even their children were taken from them. They came to be like hunted beasts, round whom their pursuers drew an ever-narrowing circle. Bribes and cruel compulsion were used to drive them over to the side of Catholicism, and many certainly yielded to one or other form of pressure.

Madame de Maintenon.

Then at last, in 1685, it was declared that the greater body of the Protestants had come over to the Catholic Church, and that the Edict of Nantes, which had always been spoken of as a perpetual edict, was no longer binding upon the king. It was therefore withdrawn. Freedom of worship was entirely taken away; though the mockery of freedom of conscience was still maintained. No one was allowed to leave France. But this prohibition could not be enforced, and many thousands of Protestants found a refuge beyond the frontiers in Switzerland, in Prussia, in Holland, and in England. The consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes have, perhaps, sometimes been exaggerated by Protestant historians; but that they were great and evil, admits of no doubt.

The Edict of Nantes withdrawn.

Its effects.

France lost many thousands of her citizens, and some of the most capable, peaceful, and industrious; and these citizens carried over to foreign countries the arts and trades which they had exercised, and they carried, too, an abiding hatred of the government which had driven them out. Holland and England both profited by their arrival; but the case of Prussia is still more significant. Frederick William, the great Elector, gave them land and houses in and around Berlin, and that city owed the beginning of its greatness, which was ultimately to be so disastrous to France, to these emigrants who were driven out by the blind tyranny and religious fanaticism of a king in many respects really great.

The religious policy of the king, and the consequent weakening and deadening of the intellectual and commercial life of France must be rated among the causes of the decline of the country's powers; but there were other causes not so much within his own control. Between France and Turkey, there had been for a long time an informal but important alliance, and often the assaults or the threats of the Turks against Vienna had served to prevent the co-operation of the emperor in military operations against France. Now, in 1683, the Turks received one of the most decisive defeats of their history. They had pressed on to the siege of Vienna, and the city seemed certain to fall, but then it was relieved by the arrival of John Sobieski, King of Poland. The Turks withdrew in disorder, and suffered immense loss. The decline of the Turkish arms on land dates from this time. Most of Hungary was soon lost to them, and France henceforth looked in vain to the Sultan for effective help. In England, too, things were taking a turn which was ultimately almost fatal to France. The relations of the king with Charles II. had not been easy; but by various means he had usually managed to prevent the English government from interfering actively against him. When James II. came to the throne Louis XIV. hoped to establish better relations with him, for both kings were Catholics, and seemed bound to be drawn together by their common religious interests. But James II. was a stubborn and unwise ruler, and he had a national pride which made him

The defeat of the Turks.

Louis XIV. and England.

dislike to be helped by the French king: and so he blundered on into collision with the national and religious prejudices of his people, which in three years was to lead to the English Revolution of 1688, whereby not only Protestantism and representative government were saved for England, but also an enemy was raised up for France, the most tenacious and the most dangerous that Louis XIV. was ever destined to know.

The English Revolution of 1688.

The year 1688 brought a very acute crisis in the fortunes of Louis XIV. On the one side James II. was drifting rapidly towards revolution, and Louis XIV. was aware how much that revolution might imply for the fortunes of France. His offers of assistance, however, were repelled by the patriotism or the vanity of James II., and he gave in consequence his chief attention to his eastern frontier. There the electoral Archbishopric of Cologne was in the throes of an election, and the city was so important because of its command of a bridge over the Rhine and a road into the Netherlands, that the King of France was anxious, if possible, to secure, as archbishop and elector, some one friendly to France. It seemed at first as if he would be able to procure this without difficulty, but in the end it became clear that if Cologne was to be brought within the sphere of French influence, a French army would have to be used. His troops were accordingly mobilized and made ready to march upon Cologne.

The foreign crisis of 1688.

Cologne.

These events had a very close connection with the English Revolution. The heads of the discontent in England had already sent over their famous appeal to William the Statthalter of Holland to whom, as the nearest male relative of James II., who was not a Catholic, they naturally appealed. William was ready for the adventure, but the representative assembly of the United Provinces was unwilling to let him sail while the action of France was uncertain: for if the French army invaded Holland, all the resources of Holland, and all the energy of William would be required to repel it. The French attack upon Cologne relieved the Dutch of this pressing fear,

William III. in Holland.

and William was allowed to sail for England, where he soon, by great skill and by a large measure of good fortune, made himself the king of Protestant and parliamentary England without fighting a single battle. He valued the position he had won chiefly because France was thus deprived of an important ally, and England became at once a leading member of the coalition against Louis XIV.

The attack on Cologne and the English Revolution quickly produced a great European war. So great was the fear and jealousy felt for France that William III. succeeded in grouping together nearly all the powers of Europe in a grand alliance against the French king. First England joined with Holland and the emperor: then these were speedily reinforced by Spain and Brandenburg: and in the end even Denmark and Sweden gave assistance to the great coalition. The war was a long and a severe one, yet on the continent of Europe it was singularly devoid of incidents which strike the imagination. It was there chiefly a war of sieges; and, indeed, the frontier of France had been so splendidly fortified by Vauban, that the whole campaign was like a great siege. The details of the campaign may, therefore, be omitted, but a study of it reveals most clearly the immense military strength which France possessed, and the superiority of her generals and their tactics over all those against whom they were opposed. At the beginning of the war it had seemed as though France could claim supremacy not only by land but by sea as well. In the battle of Beachy Head (1690) the French navy gained a complete victory over the combined English and Dutch fleets, and it is strange that Louis XIV. did not make more use of this undoubted triumph. But in 1692 fortune deserted him upon the seas, and in the battle of La Hogue, the English navy reasserted once more its superiority, and removed for a long time all danger of a French invasion of the English coasts. The war was fought out not only in the Netherlands and upon the high seas, but also in Ireland, whither James II. had gone after his flight from England, and where he hoped to build up a power, by means of which he might ultimately reconquer England. A common

The Grand Alliance against France.

Character of the war.

religion and hatred of England made the great bulk of the Irish friendly to him, and his troops at first gained successes which seemed likely to bring the whole island within his power. Then, however, the instability of his position there became manifest. William III. came over with a motley army drawn from half a dozen different nationalities, and in the battle of the Boyne riveted again the English dominion upon the Irish people (1690). The war on the Continent was on a large scale, and demanded a huge expenditure of money; and although France, almost without exception, won the battles that she fought, and rarely undertook any siege without capturing the desired town, her financial condition grew so alarming that it was necessary for her to accept proposals of peace. After nine years of warfare the struggle came to an end at last in the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. By this peace France was compelled to cede something of the gains that she had made in former wars, and some of the places that she had won by the courts of Reunion. But Strassburg and Alsace still remained in her hands, and if she had lost a little territory in the war, her military prestige was hardly diminished, nor could any dispute her claim to be the first military power of Europe. For William III. it was a great thing that he had maintained himself on the throne of England, and that, by the terms of the peace, Louis XIV. was forced to promise never again to support the Stuart dynasty in any attempts that they might make upon the throne of England.

Battle of the Boyne.

Peace of Ryswick.

One reason why Louis XIV. was willing to accept the Peace of Ryswick was that another and an even more serious question than that involved in the war with William, was likely to come at once before the statesmen of Europe. The health of Charles II., King of Spain, had been precarious for a number of years, but now reports from Madrid showed that he was really sinking, and with his death there would be brought before European statesmen one of the greatest prizes that diplomacy ever gambled for.

The Spanish Question.

In the former chapter we have protested against the view which regards Spain at the end of the sixteenth century, or the

beginning of the seventeenth, as a hopelessly decadent power. She had shown down to the middle of the seventeenth century great tenacity and splendid military gifts, while her artists and her writers still made her one of the most distinguished of European states. But at the end of the seventeenth century there could be no doubt of her weakness, and no doubt that it was caused by some permanent features in her constitution and social system. There will always be differences of opinion as to the importance which is to be attached to one or other of these ; but none can fail to see several causes which were undermining the vitality of Spain. To begin with, her financial system was one of the worst in Europe. She suffered from all the abuses of the financial privileges of the Church and nobles from which France suffered down to the eve of the Revolution, and she had other peculiar abuses of her own. Her system of taxation was such that it ruined the industries of the country without bringing any large gain to the national exchequer. Then, too, the intellectual condition of Spain had some very serious features. In espousing the cause of the Catholic reaction in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Spain was taking a line in agreement with the character of the people. But by the complete victory which Catholicism had won within her borders, and by the oppression which the Catholic Church exercised by means of the Inquisition and in other ways, an intellectual tyranny was established of the most ruinous kind, and none the less ruinous because Spain was hardly conscious of it. When in Europe generally the scientific movement had fully begun, and was moving forward to victories which gave strength and wealth to the countries which accepted it, there was no possibility of such a movement in Spain, where no free thought was allowed on matters political, scientific, or religious. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the country had a magnificent outburst of literature and of art, which is hardly surpassed by any similar movement in any other European state : but by the middle of the seventeenth century that was all over, and Spain sank back into lethargy both political and intellectual. Further, it must be noted

Condition of Spain.

The finances of Spain.

Intellectual condition of Spain.

that Spain had for two hundred years past been concerned with vast enterprises in almost every part of the world. She had undertaken to conquer and to occupy the two American continents. She aspired to, and had almost gained the rule of Italy; she was as much concerned as Austria in the Thirty Years' War. How she had struggled for years to win back the Netherlands, and to conquer England, has been narrated in a previous chapter. These struggles had brought to her armies and to her diplomatists some great triumphs, but they had implied a terrible burden upon the finances and upon the energies of Spain. While her kings pursued these distant and fantastic imperial projects, the well-being of the Spaniards themselves was neglected, and the foundations, upon which the whole imperial fabric must rest, grew weak and rotten. Spain is one of the most striking examples of a country ruined by its own imperial schemes.

Exhausted by Imperial schemes.

Over this people, in many ways so great, Charles II. now ruled. In him the mental malady, which had so often threatened or attacked his ancestors, appeared in a severe form. He had never really been capable of ruling, or of understanding any of the problems which the ruler of Spain would have to solve; and at the end of his reign he had fallen into something very near complete idiocy. The chief influences upon him were those of his wife and of his confessor, and he made no attempt to perform his duties as king. He had no child, and for thirty years past Europe had been concerned with the question of what would happen to Spain when Charles II. died. It was by no means a simple question as a matter of right, and even if as a matter of right it had been simple, the jealousies of the European States would probably not have accepted a solution which did not satisfy their ambitions. Briefly, there were three possible claimants: Louis XIV. had married the daughter of King Philip IV. of Spain, and by right of his wife he could claim the whole of the inheritance for his son. The emperor, Leopold I., was the son of Maria, sister of Philip IV., and he claimed the Spanish inheritance through his mother. Both Louis XIV. and Leopold had

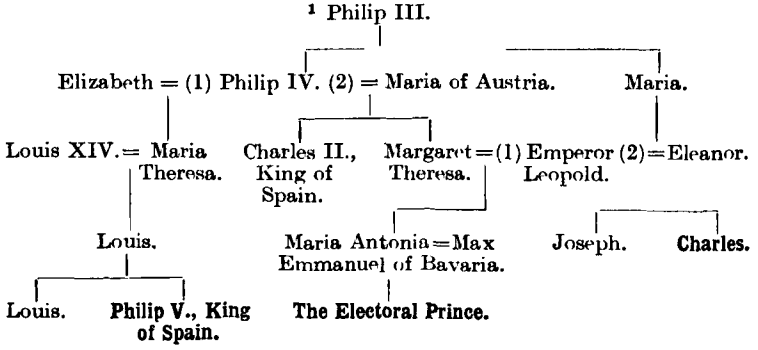
King Charles II.

The rival claimants.

renounced these claims, though on various grounds they held that these renunciations were not valid. A third claim was put forward by the Electoral House of Bavaria: Max Emmanuel had married the niece of Charles II., the grand-daughter of Philip IV., and could put forward a claim which was not, as was the case with the other claimants, barred by any renunciation.[1] How was the matter to be settled? There was no court in Europe before which its rival claims could be brought; nor would the claimants have been willing to accept the decision of any court. William III. of England took a lively interest in the question, which might result in a vast addition to the power of his great enemy Louis XIV., but the English people were in no mood to support him in a fresh war, and he had recourse, therefore, to diplomatic methods. He opened negotiations with Louis XIV., and drew up two treaties of partition. Neither the Spanish king nor the Spanish people were consulted in any way. It was arranged by the first treaty that, while the bulk of the Spanish inheritance should go to the Prince of Bavaria, whose accession to the Spanish throne would not upset in any way the balance of European power, both Austria and France were to take for themselves some outlying portions of the vast Spanish possessions. It is possible that this arrangement might have been carried through, for the Spanish king had made his will in favour of the Bavarian Prince; but the Prince died suddenly, and the whole work had to be gone over again. A new partition

The Partition Treaties.

[1] Philip III.


Elizabeth = (1) Philip IV. (2) = Maria of Austria.
Maria.
Louis XIV. = Maria Theresa.
Charles II., King of Spain.
Margaret Theresa. = (1) Emperor Leopold. (2) = Eleanor.
Louis.
Maria Antonia = Max Emmanuel of Bavaria.
Joseph.
Charles.
Louis.
Philip V., King of Spain.
The Electoral Prince.

treaty was drawn up: the bulk of the inheritance this time was to go to the Austrian Prince Charles, second son of the emperor, but France was to receive as her part of the booty the Spanish possessions in Italy.

While these negotiations were in process with William III., the French ambassador in Madrid had been labouring to influence the king and court in favour of France. It seemed for a time that his efforts were fruitless, but when Charles II. died, it was found that he had made his will in favour of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., to whom he had left his whole dominions, in the hope that the power of France might be strong enough to keep them undivided.

The will of Charles II.

Would Louis XIV. still go on with the Partition Treaty he had signed, or would he accept the will, news of which was at once brought to Versailles? The offer made by the will was a much more splendid one than the gains implied in the Partition Treaty. Moreover, Austria had denounced the Partition Treaty, and its stipulations could only be enforced by war. It seemed best for the French king to fight, since fight he must, for the larger prize. He recognized his grandson as Philip V., King of Spain, and prepared for a war which was likely to be a great one. But unwise actions of his own made the war greater than, perhaps, it need have been. Europe might have allowed Philip to succeed to the Spanish throne if it was made clear that Spain and France would still be separate nations, but Louis, from the first, seemed to regard Spain and France as one, and Spanish and French troops as interchangeable. French garrisons were introduced into the towns of the Spanish Netherlands. Louis offended the feelings of the English by an even more serious mistake. James II. died in his exile near Paris, and the widowed English queen implored Louis XIV. to grant at least the title of king to her young son, who was afterwards known as the Old Pretender. Louis had promised, by the Treaty of Ryswick, to give no help to the Stuart royal family, and this was regarded in England as a contravention of that promise. But in spite of this he

Louis XIV. accepts the Spanish inheritance.

Offence given to Holland, and England.

yielded to the queen's wishes, and saluted the prince as James, King of England. The result was that the English Parliament, which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of William III. to drag it into war, was now convinced of its necessity, and voted the men and money that were required. One of William III.'s last acts, and one of the most important of his life, was to re-organize the Grand Alliance to fight against France. He died before hostilities had actually broken out, but his place as soldier and diplomatist was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, who in both respects was more than the equal of his royal master, though in honesty of purpose and elevation of character far his inferior.

The War of Spanish Succession.

So the great war began. France, in alliance with Spain and Bavaria, might seem in a strong position. Bavaria undoubtedly gave her real help: but from Spain, in spite of the immense extent of the Spanish Empire and the fine military qualities of its people, she received no assistance at all. The organization of Spain was so bad, the efficiency of her government so low, that France bound to Spain was "like a living body bound to a dead one." On the other side were to be found nearly all the great powers of Europe: England, Holland, the Empire and the Electorate of Brandenburg, which took in 1700 the title of Kingdom of Prussia; and this alliance suffered far less than most alliances have done from diversity of aim and quarrels among the confederates. Between Marlborough, the representative of England, which country supplied not indeed most troops, but the greatest amount of money, and Prince Eugene, the representative of the emperor, there was a close friendship and a thorough understanding, and these two were able throughout the war to work in thorough harmony, with Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland. Unity was to be found, indeed, far more truly on the side of the Grand Alliance than on the side of France, although the King of Spain was the grandson of the King of France. The war which now began was of enormous scope. Europe had, perhaps, never known one that concerned so many states and lands. The War of the

Marlborough and Eugene.

Spanish Succession, as it is called, seemed at one time likely to connect itself with another war that was raging further east in Europe, in which the power of Sweden was attacked by Russia, by Poland, and by some of the German states. Of this northern war we shall speak in the next chapter, it will only be necessary here to summarize the results of the war in the west of Europe.

The Russo-Swedish War.

There were four main theatres of the war. First, in the Netherlands, the English and Dutch attacked the Spanish possessions. Secondly, in Italy the Austrians tried to drive the French and Spaniards from Milan. Thirdly, Bavaria was during the early stages of the war the most important centre of hostilities: while Bavarian and French troops could maintain themselves there it was impossible for the Austrians to come in sufficient numbers to the assistance of Marlborough, and on several occasions it seemed possible that France might win a decisive victory on this arena. The fourth theatre of the war was Spain itself, where, more than anywhere else, the fortunes of the war fluctuated, and reached at last an unexpected conclusion. A fifth theatre ought, perhaps, to be added, for while the armies of France were occupied with these many campaigns, the Protestants of the Cevennes rose in a fierce insurrection against their Catholic oppressors, and it seemed for a time as though France would be unable to suppress this dangerous rising.

The chief theatres of the war.

The scope of this book forbids us to try to follow any of the campaigns, or even to mention many battles which are famous in the annals of the armies of France and England. We must, however, notice the chief divisions of the war and the causes of its final issue. The battle of Blenheim in 1704 cut the war into two unequal parts. Up to that time fortune had by no means decided against France, but then Marlborough, in a march of wonderful skill, brought his victorious army to join that of Prince Eugene, and together they inflicted upon France one of the most crushing defeats known in her annals. From that time forward the war ceased in Bavaria, and it was only in the other theatres of the war which we have mentioned that hostilities were

Battle of Blenheim.

prosecuted. For a long time from this point the tide of war flowed wholly in favour of the allies. The Spanish Netherlands were completely overrun by troops under Marlborough's command, and the French were expelled wholly from Italy. In Spain equal disasters fell upon the French and their allies. Gibraltar had fallen into the hands of the English in 1704, and a little later the Austrian archduke was able to enter Madrid, where he was proclaimed King Charles III. of Spain.

France loses the Netherlands and Italy.

It seemed then as though the war could only end in the complete humiliation of France. Two causes made that humiliation at last far less than it seemed likely to be at one time. First the national spirit of Spain blazed up, as it had so often done in the hour of her extremest peril, and though the French were no longer able to give assistance, the Spaniards by themselves recovered their lost ground, and inflicted defeats upon the allies, brought Philip V. victoriously into Madrid, and expelled the enemy from all but Gibraltar on the south and Barcelona on the east. The other cause which worked ultimately in favour of France was the arrogance and self-confidence of the allies themselves. When, in 1709, Louis XIV. asked for conditions of peace, the conditions which were offered him were at once so ruinous and so dishonourable that in spite of the terrible exhaustion of the country, he determined to fight on again; and from that hour, though France had still to suffer more than one defeat the situation began to improve. Then in 1711 there came a change in England which more than anything else averted from France the extreme of disaster. The war had been from the first the policy of the Whig party, and the Tories were anxious for peace. The Whig party had been gradually undermined by the queen's own leaning to their opponents; by the expenses and losses of the war; and by religious controversies in which the Government was engaged. A personal quarrel between the queen and her favourite, Lady Marlborough, precipitated at last the overthrow of the Whig party, and no sooner were the Tories in power than they made eager overtures

The recovery of Spain.

Over-confidence of the Allies.

Victory of the Tories in England.

for peace, and offered to the King of France more than he could at one time have anticipated. Great Britain very soon retired from the war altogether, in spite of the efforts made by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough to go on with it. Upon Austria, thus isolated, the French inflicted a heavy defeat in the battle of Denain, and thus peace came at last. France made peace with Great Britain at Utrecht in 1713, and with Austria at Rastadt in 1714.

Peace of Utrecht.

Its chief conditions were as follows: Philip V. remained King of Spain, but a promise was given that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. The territories of Spain suffered much diminution; the Netherlands and Milan, Naples, and Sardinia went to Austria; England kept Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca; Sicily was added to the territories of Savoy; but Spanish national sentiment was gratified by the fact that by their own almost unaided efforts they had maintained the king of their own choice upon their throne. France lost far less than had at one time seemed probable. The Protestant succession was recognized in England and the Pretender was expelled from France. It was of immense ultimate importance, though it produced little impression at the time, that France ceded to England Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the territory of Hudson's Bay. The cessions of France to Holland and to Austria were of comparatively little importance, and the most important result of the war for France is not to be found in these territorial changes, though some of them are full of influence on the next generation, but in the fact that France emerged from the war terribly exhausted, with her finances in disorder and her debts enormously increased, with her prestige in Europe diminished if not destroyed, and the enthusiastic loyalty of the people to the Crown undermined and changed in many instances to distrust. During the course of the war opposition was for the first time openly expressed to the policy of the king. Chief among the critics were Fénélon, one of the best representatives of the Church in France, and Vauban, whom we have already noted as a great soldier and engineer. In different ways they openly criticized the action of the king. Vauban pointed to the frightful

The losses of Spain.

Change in the position of France.

impoverishment of the country, and suggested as remedies a more equal system of taxation and the restoration of the Protestants to their old rights as citizens. Fénélon had never been in sympathy with the absolutist policy of Louis XIV.; now he declared that "his policy had impoverished France, and that he had built his throne on the ruin of all classes in the state."

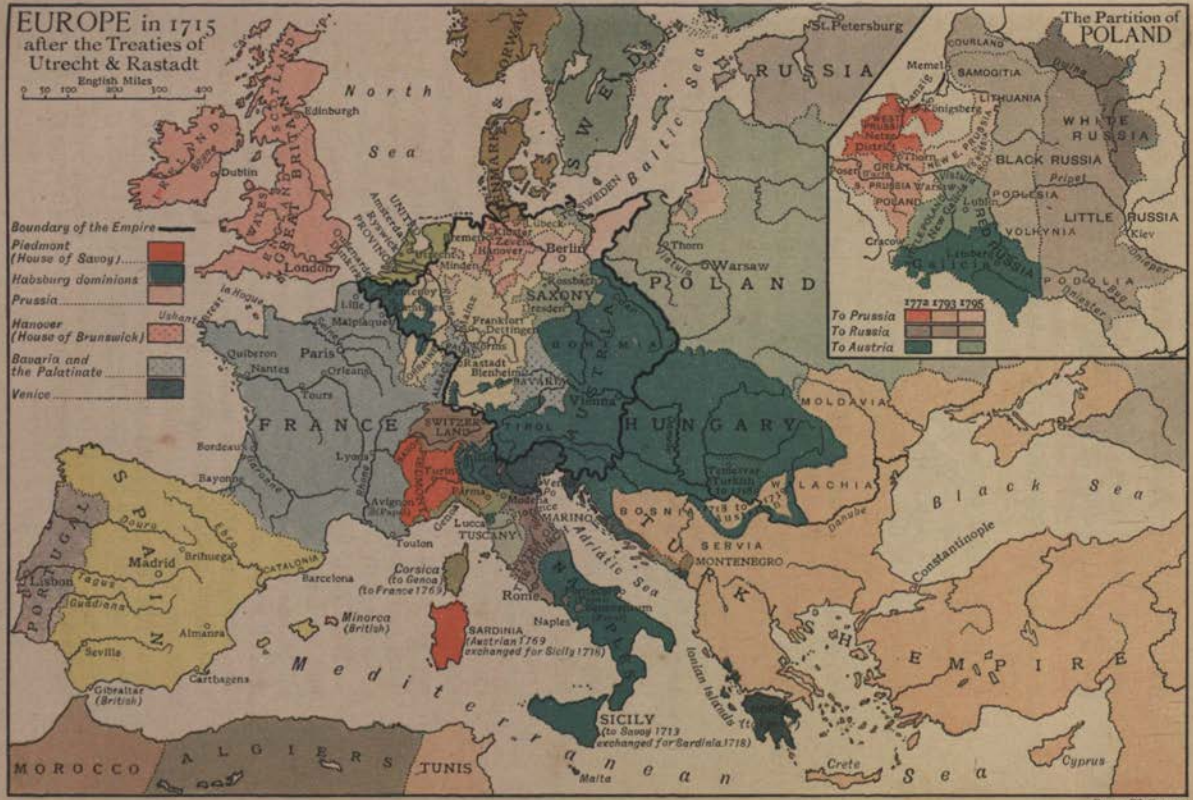
Louis XIV. was a very old man at the end of the war, and domestic as well as foreign disasters had fallen in rapid succession upon him. The succession to the crown had seemed assured, but now disease carried away first his eldest son, and then his eldest grandson, and then even his great-grandson, who was in the direct line of succession. The heir to the throne was now a child two years old. If he also were to die the succession of the crown would be a matter of grave difficulty, and, even if he were to live, France would have to face a long period of regency. The last efforts of Louis XIV. were devoted to arranging for a council of regency which should rule after his death. He wished above all things to avoid the rule of the Duke of Orleans, his cousin, whose political ideas he feared and whose religious opinions he detested. By his last will he instituted a Council of Regency in which his own illegitimate children were to have place, and in which the Duke of Orleans was to be nothing more than president. He hoped thus that his own system would in its main features be carried on after his death, which occurred in the year 1715.

The tragedies of Louis XIV.'s old age.

The Council of Regency.

His death marks an epoch in European history. France had led European civilization for nearly a century, and nearly all States looked up to her as their example, not only in the arts of peace and of war, but also in methods of government. The financial exhaustion caused by the last war, and the miserable government under which she was soon to fall, degraded her from that high position and left the European arena free for other combatants.

All French histories devote much attention to this, which is in many respects the most important period of French history. The


EUROPE in 1715
after the Treaties of
Utrecht & Rastadt
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Boundary of the Empire
Piedmont (House of Savoy)
Habsburg dominions
Prussia
Hanover (House of Brunswick)
Bavaria and the Palatinate
Venice
The Partition of POLAND
To Prussia
To Russia
To Austria
1772 1793 1795
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Islands
Aegean Sea
Sea of Azof
SWEDEN
NORWAY
DENMARK
RUSSIA
St. Petersburg
POLAND
Warsaw
Berlin
SAXONY
Dresden
Hanover
Brunswick
Lübeck
Bremen
Minden
Frankfort
Dettingen
Rastadt
Blenheim
Malplaquet
Lille
Paris
Versailles
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Quiberon
Bordeaux
Bayonne
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Zurich
Berne
Geneva
Turin
Savoy
Lyons
Avignon
Toulon
Corsica (to Genoa) (to France 1769)
Minorca (British)
SARDINIA (Austrian 1769 exchanged for Sicily 1718)
SICILY (to Savoy 1713 exchanged for Sardinia 1718)
Naples
Rome
TUSCANY
Lucca
MARINO
Modena
Parma
Milan
Mantua
Venice
Trent
Tyrol
Vienna
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
Ratisbon
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
Inspruck
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
Temesvar
Turkish 1718
Austrian 1718
BOSNIA
SERVIA
MONTENEGRO
Belgrade
Danube
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
Crete
Cyprus
Malta
Gibraltar (British)
Carthagena
Seville
Almanza
Madrid
Lisbon
Tagus
Guadiana
Ebro
Douro
Brihuega
Barcelona
CATALONIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Ushant
Isle of Wight
Dublin
Edinburgh
London
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
WALES
Courland
Memel
Samogitia
Lithuania
Königsberg
Polish Prussia
Netze District
Thorn
Posen
Great Poland
Prussia Warsaw
Lesser Poland
New Galicia
Cracow
Galicia
Lemberg
Podolia
Dniester
Pripet
Lublin
Podlesia
Volhynia
Kiev
White Russia
Black Russia
Little Russia
Dwina
Dnieper
Vistula
Niemen
Emery Walker sc.

best account is to be found in vols. 7 and 8 of the *Histoire de France*, edited by Lavisse. Saint Simon's *Memoires* are the chief authority for the life of the court. There is a useful abridged version in English in three vols. by Bayle St. John. Hassall's *Louis XIV.* Macaulay's brilliant essay on the War of Spanish Succession.

CHAPTER IX

The Baltic Lands and the Rise of Russia

THE lands adjoining the Baltic Sea are so much less fertile than those round the Mediterranean, and many of the harbours of the Baltic are blocked during so large a part of the year by ice that there is little wonder that it has played in history a much less important part than the Mediterranean, which it resembles in many important features. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great powers arose upon its shores, and we must trace in this chapter, in briefest outline, the destinies of the chief Baltic lands.

The Baltic and the Mediterranean.

It seemed quite possible at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the whole Baltic Sea might be dominated by a single Scandinavian power. Christian II. ruled in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and though the three countries were not by any means blended into one, it seemed possible that they might become so, for the three kingdoms had once been united, and might join together once more. Such a result would have made for the progress of Europe, for the Scandinavian races have shown their capacity to rank with the foremost of the nations of Europe in the arts of peace and war. But it was not to be. The storms of the Reformation era shattered the union : for Christian II., by his efforts to force on Sweden a Roman Catholic Government, provoked an insurrection which he was unable to suppress. Christian II. kept possession of Norway, and for a long time of the southern provinces of Sweden. but Denmark and Sweden, despite their kinship in

Temporary union of the three Scandinavian States.

language and character, were plunged into two centuries of intermittent warfare. Denmark, before the middle of the century, adopted Lutheranism; but the common religious interests thus established were not enough to bring about political union or common action.

Gustavus Vasa in Sweden.

In Sweden a nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, had taken the lead in the resistance to the King of Denmark and his religious policy; and he was soon rewarded by the throne of Sweden (1523), and with him there arose one of the most gifted of the royal houses of Europe. The Swedish kings of the house of Vasa were men of varied character, and some of their reigns were stained by acts of perfidy and cruelty; but not even the Prussian house of Hohenzollern produced a line of rulers more remarkable for patriotism and capacity. Under them Sweden played a part in the affairs of Europe out of all proportion to her wealth and population; for the country was poor, and the population of Sweden down to the end of the eighteenth century never exceeded a million and a half, nor with its dependencies did it exceed two millions and a half. But a large part of the population consisted of sturdy farmers and mountaineers, and these provided an unsurpassable material for military purposes. We have already glanced at their heroic exploits, a century later than we have reached at present, under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. Long after that they were reckoned the best fighting men in Europe, though they had degenerated from their old heroism and devotion and had become mercenaries, to whom pay was the chief inducement to service. There was, moreover, in Sweden a vigorous constitutional life, sometimes crushed, but never entirely destroyed by her powerful kings. Sweden and England were in the eighteenth century almost the only examples of a free political life when the general tendency was towards despotism.

The poverty and smallness of Sweden.

In 1587 the house of Vasa won another throne; for in that year Sigismund Vasa was elected to the throne of Poland. But this was no gain to Sweden, but rather the reverse. Sigismund was a Catholic, and between the two branches of the house of Vasa—the Swedish and the Polish—there

was soon the fiercest antagonism. The Polish branch would not altogether give up the idea of reigning in Sweden as well, and the kings of Sweden treated the Polish kings as dangerous pretenders. Fear of the Polish kings and their claim was one of the motives which impelled Gustavus Adolphus to plunge into the Thirty Years' War.

The House of Vasa in Poland.

Let us now glance at the southern shores of the Baltic. At the beginning of the Reformation a number of German states stretched from Denmark to the eastern limits of the Empire—Holstein, Mecklenberg, and the Duchies of Pomerania. The Hanseatic League from its centre at Lübeck exercised a control over the trade of the Baltic. But the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth saw great changes. The Hanseatic League fell before the rising power of Sweden and Holland. By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden became a power in Germany also. She became possessed of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, and thus controlled the mouths of both the Weser and the Elbe. She held also Western Pomerania, and thus held the lower reaches of the river Oder and the island of Rügen. The Electorate of Brandenburg (out of which the kingdom of Prussia was soon to grow) had secured Eastern Pomerania, and had thus got a great interest in all Baltic affairs.

Decline in the Hanseatic League.

Sweden after the Peace of Westphalia.

Eastern Pomerania was the limit of the Empire, and the lands that lay beyond that were none of them originally German. These lands had been the scene of the labours of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the Knights of the Sword. Through their efforts the country had been opened up to trade and commerce. The Slavonic inhabitants had been to a very large extent killed off; what remained of them had accepted Christianity. We have seen already how disaster had fallen upon these armed missionaries of German commerce and Christianity. East Prussia had become attached to the Electorate of Brandenburg, and was held until 1660 as a feudal dependency of Poland. Between East Prussia and the German lands Poland had pushed down her territories to the sea. To the

The south-eastern shores of the Baltic.

east of Prussia, Poland touched the Baltic again. Then came the lands which surround the gulf of Finland, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Kexholm, and Finland. These lands were the chief bone of contention between Sweden and Russia. Their early obscure history need not be traced. It is enough to say that in 1617, as the result of much hard fighting on the part of Gustavus Adolphus, they were all united to Sweden. Russia (or Moscovy, as she was called then) was shut out from the Baltic and from all that trade on the high seas brings with it. Sweden was decidedly the first of the Baltic lands, and her power had not yet reached its zenith; but she was already burdened with vast non-Swedish territory in Germany, Finland, and the newly won lands, and her scanty population, in spite of its military ardour, would in the long run be insufficient to maintain them.

The possessions of Sweden in the Eastern Baltic.

There have been great changes in the political geography of these lands. Not one of the frontiers of the seventeenth century is to be found on the modern map of Europe. Brandenburg, under its later title of Prussia, has swept along the north of Germany and has dispossessed all rivals. The territories of Denmark have shrunk to the northern part of the peninsula. Norway is an independent kingdom. Sweden has lost all lands but those where the Swedish tongue is spoken. Russia has hurled down all barriers that Swedish policy and valour tried to place in her westward path. And Poland, the other great Slavonic state, in the seventeenth century as populous as Russia and much more civilized, has disappeared entirely from the map; not even the name of a province recalls that vast state that once stretched from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

The general changes in the map of East Central Europe.

The contrast between the destinies of Poland and Russia is all the more striking because not only were the inhabitants akin in race and speech, but their institutions and social order were closely similar. But while the Government of Russia developed into an efficient despotism, Poland in pursuit of what she called liberty, allowed disorder of every kind to prevail,

Contrast between Poland and Russia.

until her anarchy made her a helpless prey to her neighbours.

The vast extent of Poland was caused by the union of Poland proper with Lithuania. It was the special glory of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland that it managed to carry out and perpetuate this union. The Lithuanians, for the most part, belonged to the Eastern (or Orthodox) Church, while the Poles were predominantly Catholic. The Protestant movement had made at first great progress in Poland, but was defeated by the force and the enthusiasm of the Catholic reaction and the Jesuits. But it is to the great credit of the Poles that, though Catholicism was predominant, it was not oppressive or persecuting; religious oppression is one of the few evils which may affect a state from which Poland did not suffer.

Religious history of Poland.

The Jagellon dynasty died out in 1572, and from that time on the crown of Poland was elective, and the nobles and the gentry were the electors. Poland displayed, in the most exaggerated form, all the evils which spring from elective monarchy; the bitter rivalry of the different candidates and of their supporters; the interference of foreign Powers; the dangerous concessions made by the candidates to secure election; and in the end the helpless weakness of the sovereignty that is thus won. But it was not only the sovereignty that was weak in Poland; all other institutions, even those that were the natural rivals of the crown, were weak also. There was a diet, but it was reduced to complete impotence by the *liberum veto*—the right, that is, of each member to veto and prevent any proposition by his single vote, and even at last to dissolve or "explode" the diet when he chose. Fifteen diets in succession at one period of Poland's history met without performing any business through the application of the *liberum veto*. For while feudalism in all other countries was giving way to a centralized and national State, in Poland the anarchical tendency which was always present in feudalism grew constantly stronger. The country squires (their number is estimated at 80,000) were like kings on their own estates, to the ruin of the State and the bitter oppression of the unfortunate

The Polish Crown elective.

The "liberum veto."

peasantry. Efforts were constantly made by the kings to strengthen the monarchy and give to the State the machinery of an efficient government; but they all failed, at first through the opposition of the Poles themselves, and later through the action of the neighbouring powers who did not wish Poland to be strong or united.

Polish anarchy.

Space forbids us to attempt to trace in detail the history of Poland. It is full of exciting incidents and not without military glory. John Sobieski (1674–1696) was the last of the great kings of Poland. He is remembered best by his march to Vienna when the Turks were besieging it. He was the chief author of the epoch-making defeat of the Turks which followed. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," was applied to him in the Cathedral of Vienna in the thanksgiving service. There are many other feats of arms to his credit, but Poland was not strengthened by them. He himself said to the Diet, "Posterity will be amazed to learn that the only result of so many victories and triumphs, shedding an eternal glory on the Polish name throughout the world, was irreparable ruin and damnation. Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." The words characterize most of Polish history. The forty days required for the destruction of Poland turned out to be a little less than a hundred years; but destruction crept nearer with every decade.

John Sobieski.

Far different was the development of Moscovy or Russia. There, too, was a monarchy, partly elective, as all early monarchies were; there, too, was a large noble class, the *boyars*, jealous of their privileges and hostile to the development of the power of the monarchy. But, except in the earliest stages, there was no resemblance between the development of Russia and that of Poland. Poland drove towards anarchy and dissolution; Russia was hammered by the blows of a cruel absolutism into a powerful State and embarked on a yet unended career of conquest north and south and east and west. It is difficult to determine the causes of this great contrast. Poland was Catholic, while Russia belonged to the "orthodox" Eastern Church; and the Eastern Church has often been a pliant instrument of

The development of Russia.

absolutism. Poland also had escaped the Tartar invasion, which had contributed much to the centralization of Russian power. But most seems due to the action of the remarkable rulers who at frequent intervals sat on the Russian throne since the sixteenth century.

Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584) stands at the beginning of modern Russian history, and is a most characteristic figure. He was barbarously cruel, and after the destruction of the great city of Novgorod seemed to delight in the spectacle of torture inflicted upon men, women, and children. But he favoured the middle and lower classes, opened his country to the commerce of Western Europe, and showed some interest in learning. It was upon the nobles that his blows fell with merciless severity; and at every point he was the precursor of Peter the Great. With him the Russian monarchy appeared as the rough protector of the commons and the bitter enemy of the aristocracy. **Ivan the Terrible.**

Troubles of many kinds fell on Russia after Ivan's death, famine and plague and foreign and civil war. The family of Ivan soon died out, and in 1613 Michael Romanof, a boy of sixteen, was chosen, and nearly all the rulers of Russia since that date have been descended from him. We may pass over the next seventy-five years, though they are full of interesting incidents, domestic and foreign. The great epoch in the history of Russia came when in 1689 Peter the Great mounted the throne, which he occupied until 1725. His *régime* is indeed a continuation of that of his predecessors and of Ivan the Terrible. But it gave definite victory to forces which hitherto had had to struggle for existence. The history of modern Russia seems logically to develop from the events of his reign. **Peter the Great.**

His childhood had been passed amid scenes of terror. He had seen his uncle murdered and his mother's chief minister cut to pieces as he clung to her grasp; and he knew that the aristocracy was the chief cause of these outrages. History presents us with no stranger character than his. He was capable of worse than bestial cruelty, and showed himself a true successor of Ivan the Terrible when he tortured his rebellious bodyguards **The contrasts in Peter the Great.**

to death by hundreds and permitted the cruel murder of his own son. But this ferocious tyrant was passionately interested in science and in industry, and anxious, above all things, to introduce the civilization of Europe into his own semi-barbarous land. There is a part of his career which recalls the worst side of Attila the Hun; but there is a part too which suggests resemblance to Louis XIV. and to Colbert.

Let us see first what he did for the inner life and organization of the State; and then turn to his struggles with foreign powers. The two may be treated separately, though they are throughout dependent on one another.

Domestic policy.

His aims are clearly written in his life. He wished to exalt the authority of the monarchy above all rivals; to introduce European ways of life and thought; and to promote the wealth of Russia by commerce and industry. The nobles were reduced to obedience; and education and service in the army were a surer road to the royal favour than high birth. Aristocratic privileges and financial corruption found in him a determined censor. But he found also in the *streltsi* a dangerous enemy to his schemes. These soldiers formed the old bodyguard of the King of Russia, and may be compared with the Janissaries of Turkey or the Prætorian Guards of the early Roman emperors. They were indolent, incapable, and excessively privileged, and resisted the efforts of Peter to introduce new methods. They rebelled and were defeated, but Peter was not satisfied with victory. The horrible death of a thousand of them bore witness to Peter's supreme authority within the army.

The Europeanization of Russia.

Throughout his life he laboured to Europeanize Russia, but he encountered a dogged resistance from the habits and traditions of the people supported by the Church. He declared that the Russian nobles should no longer wear the vast untrimmed beards which had become a symbol of old Russian ways, and though the patriarch had excommunicated all those who obeyed, the royal edict was executed, and Peter clipped the beards of some of the *boyars* with his own hands. A tax was later imposed on all who continued to wear beards of the old type. Peter also encouraged the wearing of European clothes, introduced

European dancing, and fought against the oriental seclusion in which Russian women were kept. Russians had hitherto begun the year on September 1, "the anniversary of the creation," but Peter adopted the Western practice of beginning the year on January 1. He eagerly promoted the teaching of science and mathematics, and reformed the whole machinery of administration, taking on this point the advice of the German philosopher, Leibnitz. From early youth he had been attracted by ships and the sea-faring life, and later experience confirmed him in his view that access to the sea was a matter of life or death for Russia. It was largely that he might know how to organize a fleet that he set out on his famous travels which took him to Holland, England, and France. He worked as a ship's carpenter in Holland, and laboured hard to understand the naval system of England during his residence at Deptford. On his return he built a considerable navy, and sailing with it down the river Don, appeared before Azov and took that strong Turkish fortress.

Russia as a sea-power.

With such views and such ambitions it was impossible for Peter to accept as permanent the actual frontiers of Russia. The open sea was always in his thoughts, and he was shut out from the sea entirely. In the south the Turkish power controlled the shores of the Black Sea; in the north access to the Baltic was barred by Poland, and, above all, by Sweden. There were good harbours within a short distance of the Russian frontiers, but they were inaccessible to Russian sailors. Only at Archangel did Russian territory touch the sea; and the Arctic Ocean afforded no channel for the expansion of Russian trade.

Russia without harbours.

To see how Russia reached the Baltic we must turn again to the history of Sweden. We must pass over the romantic reign of Christina, daughter and successor to Gustavus Adolphus. We must pass over the reigns of Charles X. and Charles XI., though Charles X. expelled the Danes from the southern provinces of Sweden, and Charles XI. made of the limited and constitutional monarchy of Sweden an absolutism in which the king was "a sovereign lord, responsible to God alone for his actions." But in 1697 Charles XII. succeeded to the throne at the age

Charles XII.

of fifteen, and before his death, in 1718, the balance of power among the Baltic states had profoundly altered. The young king grew up daring, ambitious, capable; as great a soldier as Gustavus Adolphus, a very thunderbolt of war, but without the sanity and statesmanship which belonged to Gustavus. But in the Northern War, which threw northern and eastern Europe into confusion, while Western Europe was occupied by the War of Spanish Succession, Charles XII. was acting on the defensive. The position of the Swedish territories provoked the jealousy or the greed of Denmark, Poland, and Russia; and the youth of the king and the poverty and scanty population of Sweden made the conquest and partition of the Swedish lands seem an easy task. So the three powers united for an attack on Sweden in 1699.

Attack on Sweden.

But they were soon aroused from their dream of easy victory by the exploits of their young antagonist. He turned first on Denmark. A great victory brought him up to the walls of Copenhagen, and in the peace that followed he forced Denmark to abandon her allies and pay a war indemnity. He then turned against Russia, and at Narva (in Ingria, close to the gulf of Finland) he destroyed, with an army of 8000 men, a Russian force five times as large. His next blows fell on Poland, whose King Augustus had been the first to suggest the idea of the partition of Swedish territories. A campaign of fabulous victory followed. The Poles were courageous but most undisciplined, and for military or any other purposes without organization. Nor were the people eager to fight for their king. So the Swedish force struck with irresistible might: numbers had no effect in checking the advance of Charles. Augustus was not only King of Poland, but also Elector of Saxony, but Saxon armies proved as frail as the Polish. Warsaw was taken, and the war might have ended if Charles had not insisted on the deposition of Augustus and the election of his own nominee, Stanislas Leczinski, in his place. But even this had to be conceded in the end. After Saxony had been overrun the King of Poland signed a peace and consented to abdicate (1704). It was Russia's turn now. The Czar,

Battle of Narva.

Overthrow of Poland.

Peter, had overrun the Baltic provinces of Sweden while Charles was in Saxony; but he was unable to hold them, and Charles determined to march on Moscow, and hoped to end the war by its capture. But the task proved beyond his powers. The resistance of the Russians grew fiercer as their own country was invaded. He abandoned the idea of seizing Moscow, and marched south to join hands with Mazeppa, the leader of a revolted band of Cossacks. He still could gain victories, often against overwhelming odds. But the Russian winter fell upon him, and not only carried off many of his men, but broke the spirit of the remainder. At Pultowa, a fortress lying near the southern frontier of Russia, the Swedes attacked the Russians, who were in vast numbers and strongly entrenched (1709). The Swedish force was defeated and driven to surrender. The king escaped into Turkey. He emerged later to engage in fresh intrigues and fight more battles before he died in an obscure conflict in Norway (1718).

Battle of Pultowa.

Sweden's power as a conquering military state was broken and not destined to revive. Her power of resistance had been strained to the breaking point. "Every artisan, and one out of every two peasants had been taken for soldiers." A series of treaties was arranged after the death of Charles XII. Eastern Pomerania went to Prussia, which henceforth became the most powerful Baltic state and the chief rival of Russia. Yet to Russia came the most important of all gains: she took from Sweden all the provinces lying round the gulf of Finland. There Peter founded the city of St. Petersburg to be the chief support for the commerce and the navy of Russia, and her chief connection with the west of Europe. In 1721 he was acclaimed as "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of all the Russias." Russia has hardly moved from the road on which it was despatched by his powerful hand.

Partition of Swedish territories.

Russia was now a despotically governed and firmly administered state: and Peter gave to his successors a tradition of aggressive statesmanship. The surrounding states were either weak like Sweden; or decadent like Turkey; or anarchical like Poland; or formless and vague like the peoples of Central Asia. The amazing

The Expansion of Russia.

The Growth of Prussia.

territorial expansion of Russia which now began is no miraculous phenomenon: she has made no important conquests from Western European powers or from well-governed states of any kind. We have not space to follow the story of the following reigns. The most remarkable of Peter's successors was Catherine II. the German wife of Peter III., who, in 1762, gained the throne by the deposition and murder of her husband. German though she was, she reproduced the characteristic features of the Russian Monarchy. In vice and violence she fell no whit behind the worst of them: she was intensely interested in the movement of thought in France and Western Europe, and corresponded with Diderot and Voltaire; but all the time she ruled her dominions without allowing rivalry or partnership, and grasped at territory on every side. It was while she reigned that the French Revolution broke out, and we shall trace in another chapter her relations to that movement and the gains she made during its early stages.

The best sources for this chapter are Nisbet Bain's *Scandinavia* and *Slavonic Europe*; Morfill's *Poland*; Rappoport's *Russia*; Wasilewski's *Peter the Great*; Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*.

CHAPTER X

Prussia and Austria in the Eighteenth Century

If we look at the modern map of Europe, Prussia stretches right across the north of Germany from the Russian frontier to the boundaries of Holland, Belgium, and France. The mouths of the chief rivers and the chief harbours are in her hands: she has acquired the lower half of the Danish Peninsula: such independent states as still remain in North Germany are of little importance. It is Prussia which has given unity to Germany, and which controls the foreign policy of the land. English opinion often identifies Prussia with Germany, and though this is an

Importance of Prussia in modern Germany.

error it is a pardonable one, for Germany, as a state, only exists through the efforts and history of Prussia.

The history which has brought about this condition of things is a strange one. Modern Prussia is, at first sight, an artificial state; it consists of many distinct parts, once widely separated and often antagonistic, and only brought together into one whole by the accident of marriage and inheritance, or by the force of diplomacy and war. Yet if we look deeper into the history of Prussia the impression of accident and artificiality disappears. The rise of Prussia has been the new birth of Germany; and Prussia has attained the position she occupies, because she has been the most truly German of the great states of Germany, and has best represented the characteristics and aspirations of the whole people.

Prussia the representative of Germany.

There are three main elements in the growth of Prussia: the Electorate of Brandenburg which is the real origin and heart of the state; the lands of Prussia originally so called, which form the chief of the many additions to the lands of the Elector of Brandenburg, and have given their name to the whole state; and the House of Hohenzollern, whose marriages, diplomacy, conquests, and good fortune have brought the whole into one solid state.

Three elements in the growth of Prussia.

We have already seen something of the rise of Brandenburg. It was, to begin with, a *mark*, or frontier outpost against the Slavonic and other non-German races which dwelt beyond the Elbe. The mark had flourished and expanded under the first or "Ascanian" House, but when this died out, in 1319, there followed a century of confusion in the mark, with frequent changes of masters and of diminution of territory, until in 1415 the Emperor Sigismund conferred the mark and the Electoral dignity, which went along with it, upon Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nürnberg, a close ally of the emperor in all the troublous period of the Council of Constance. There lay before him the difficult task of restoring order in the mark and regaining alienated lands. There was always a tendency in Germany for the great states to be broken up, in

The early history of Brandenburg.

spite of the Provisions of the Golden Bull, which said that the Electorates were to descend in the male line without diminution or division. But in 1473 the perpetual union of Brandenburg was again guaranteed by the *Dispositio Achillea* (or family arrangement of the Elector Albert Achilles). It was laid down that other possessions of the house might be divided to a limited extent, but the whole of Brandenburg must go to the eldest son.

Thus the Hohenzollerns had come to Brandenburg. Prussia as yet had no connection with them. There, in those non-German lands, the Teutonic Knights had been preaching and conquering, and they had no other connection with Brandenburg, except neighbourhood and Christianity. But as we have seen, things had been going badly with the Knights. They had been defeated by the Poles in the great battle of Tannenberg. A part of their territory (West Prussia) had been annexed by Poland; over the rest they had to recognize the feudal superiority of the King of Poland. Their position had become precarious, and they needed a foreign protector. So in 1511 they chose as their chief (or Grand Master) Albert of Hohenzollern, a near relative of the family that ruled in Brandenburg. When the Reformation came, Albert saw that if he declared himself a Protestant the territories of the Knights would become a secular state under his rule, which he might hand down to his descendants. The step was taken, and thus a branch of the Hohenzollern house ruled in Prussia.

Albert of Hohenzollern, chosen Grand Master, 1511.

In 1611 the family of Albert became extinct, and Prussia thus became part of the dominions of Joachim Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg. But Prussia was still a feudal dependency of Poland and Polish territory intervened between Prussia and Brandenburg. Just about the same time another inheritance (and one nearly as important) fell to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg as the result of marriage and inheritance. When in 1609 the Duke of Julich, Cleves and Berg died, there was fierce dispute as to the inheritance. One of the claimants was the Elector of Brandenburg, who had married the niece of the duke. The contest ended in the occupation of the larger

Union of Brandenburg and Prussia, 1611.

part of the duchy by Brandenburg. The lands were valuable in themselves, and they became the nucleus round which were gathered in course of time other possessions. Thus the Electors of Brandenburg governed, by different titles, three chief blocks of territories, widely separated from one another. These were (1) the possessions on the Rhine, (2) the Electorate of Brandenburg, (3) the Duchy of Prussia. A mighty and coherent state, destined to carry the principles of unification and organization further than elsewhere in Europe, seemed little likely to grow out of these elements.

Acquisition of Julich, Cleves and Berg, 1609.

Brandenburg played a poor part during the Thirty Years' War. The Elector, George William, was Calvinist, while his people were Lutheran. He tried to remain neutral, but his lands were overrun by both parties, and no part of Germany suffered more grievously in that terrible period. In 1640 he was succeeded by Frederick William, the Great Elector as he is called, and one of the real founders of the greatness of modern Prussia. He was a type which has been frequently seen on the Prussian throne; strong, inflexible, and even despotic in character; unattractive and unimaginative; but devoted to the interests of the state and sparing neither of himself nor others in its service. Brandenburg made important gains at the Peace of Westphalia. Magdeburg became hers and Eastern Pomerania, the last of great value, because it opened up ready access to the sea. But it was after the peace that the elector's most fruitful activity began. The chief characteristic of all his work is unification; but he also contributed to the advance of the commercial prosperity of Prussia, and raised her armies from the disrepute into which they had fallen during the Thirty Years' War.

Brandenburg in the Thirty Years' War.

The Great Elector.

The road to the unity of the state lay through the destruction of representative institutions in every part of the state. There were flourishing "Estates" in Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves, but in each place they were suppressed. They struggled against their fate and found capable and devoted leaders, but in vain. The will of the head of the state was henceforth to be the one

Destruction of free institutions.

source of authority, and the administration was to be conducted through his council. Wide differences in institutions were still left, but the first important step towards unification had been taken, and it is noteworthy that it lay through the destruction of free institutions.

The Great Elector was concerned in many wars, and often changed sides; but the most fruitful of glory and gain were those which were fought against Poland. In alliance with the Swedish king he gained a great victory at Warsaw; but the chief result was that in 1657 he induced the Polish king to abandon his feudal overlordship over Prussia, and to recognize him as king, there *cum summa atque absoluta potestate*. In 1675 came his greatest feat of arms. He was fighting against the Swedes, who were in alliance with the King of France; they invaded Brandenburg, but were decisively beaten by Frederick William at Fehrbellin: it was for this victory that he received the title of the Great Elector.

Military success of the Great Elector.

He built canals, and he attempted to foster the industries of the state by means of a protective tariff. The chief measure, however, which he took for the promotion of industry was in 1685, when he granted to the French Huguenots, who had been expelled by the short-sighted despotism of Louis XIV., a refuge in Berlin. It is to their settlement that Berlin owes the beginning of her greatness. The immigrants were allowed wide privileges, and in agriculture, as well as in industry, contributed to the wealth of the country.

Promotion of industry.

Frederick William was succeeded in 1688 by his son, Frederick III., a man in every way unlike himself, absurdly fond of the pomps and ceremonies of his position, and without much practical instinct for the administration of the state. Yet his reign is noteworthy, because Frederick III., the Elector of Brandenburg, became Frederick I., King of Prussia. Three of the German princes had already got royal titles; the Elector of Hanover was King of England, the Elector of Saxony was King of Poland, the Duke of Holstein was King of Denmark. The Elector of Brandenburg might naturally claim the same title. The negotiations which led to the War of the Spanish Succession made the alliance of

King Frederick I. of Prussia.

Brandenburg valuable, first as a means of resisting the partition treaty projected by the Kings of France and England, then as a weapon against the efforts of Louis XIV. to gain for his grandson, Philip, all the dominions of Spain. So the sanction of the Emperor, Leopold I., was obtained, with the proviso that the title must not be taken from any part of the territory of the empire. Prussia was outside of the empire, and thus, somewhat to the confusion of the student of history, the leading German power took its title from lands which had not originally been German at all. The new step was not merely one of etiquette and precedence: the royal title gave further strength to the government in its efforts to establish absolutism. We shall not follow the history of Prussia during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the contemporary Northern War, which saw the triumph and the catastrophe of Charles XII. of Sweden. But the soldiers of Prussia at Blenheim and elsewhere more than maintained the reputation they had won at Warsaw and Fehrbellin.

In 1713 Frederick William I. succeeded to the throne of his father. No European throne had ever a stranger occupant. **Frederick William I.** He inherited many of the qualities of the Great Elector, but in him they were exaggerated, brutalized, and touched almost with madness. He despised his father's fondness for pomp and ceremony, especially on grounds of economy, and on his accession he at once dismissed many of the ministers of royal luxury whom his father had appointed. He turned then with undivided zeal to the vigorous, economic, and, on the whole, the efficient administration of all parts of his dominions. There was to be no room for liberty or representative government in Prussia; no interference, and hardly any criticism of the royal actions would be allowed; "We remain King and Master," he wrote, "and we do what we like." The state was to be administered by royal officials, poorly paid, strictly watched, and, in case of any offence, severely punished. The king showed some interest in education, a point on which few Prussian rulers have been indifferent, and he took a keen interest in theological disputes. But he was in everything Prussian in the narrowest sense of the word. Ancient history

His absolutism.

and the history of other countries could teach nothing of value, he said; it was the history of Brandenburg alone that was important. And in Brandenburg or Prussia two things attracted all his attention—the payment of the taxes and the organization of the army. His lands were poor in comparison with those of the older European states, and he was bent on making them produce all that they could, and in extracting from the produce the largest possible share for the service of the state. His fiercest rage was reserved for corruption in the finances.

His economy.

He maintained peace during the whole of his reign (with unimportant interruptions), but he built up the Prussian army to what seemed a monstrous size, and maintained it in the highest efficiency. On his accession in 1713 there was an army of 38,000 men: in 1739 it numbered more than 83,000. France had 160,000 soldiers: Austria barely 100,000. And the Prussian army was even more remarkable for efficiency than for size. Doubtless the king would have shown no great talents as a general if there had been a call for them: but he was an ideal drill sergeant, and his force was weaponed, clothed, and disciplined to perfection. The touch of grotesqueness, which is never absent from anything that he did, was seen in his regiment of giant grenadiers, whom he loved as a dog-fancier loves his pets, and for whom he ransacked his own lands and the lands of his neighbours.

The growth of the Prussian Army.

His domestic life was of European importance, because his son was Frederick the Great. Between father and son there were bitter quarrels from an early date. The father was tyrannical, unpolished, and illiterate, and in his manners incredibly coarse. His son seemed to cross his father's will at every point: he was cosmopolitan in his interests and tastes, rather French than German, apparently uninterested in Prussia, an amateur of the fine arts, and a sceptic in matters of religion. The young Frederick displayed a hearty distaste for the drinking, gluttony, and smoking that were so dear to his father. Life at court became intolerable to him, and he attempted flight. He was caught, brought back, and condemned to death. His life was in the end spared, but

Father and son.

his friend was executed, and brutal punishments fell on other men, in some instances without trial, in all without justice.

Youth of Frederick the Great.

The young prince bowed to necessity; professed with a bitter heart the religious opinions that his father dictated to him; flung himself with genuine enthusiasm into the tedious work of administration, and took, at his father's bidding, a wife whom he neither loved nor liked. His intellect and will were too strong to break; but when he mounted the throne in 1740 his early idealism and humanity had quite gone; he was cynical and bitter, and believed in nothing but force.

The date of the accession of Frederick II. is that also of the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., whereby a new chapter was opened in the history of the House of Austria, in which Frederick was destined to play a great part. The Austrian House had seen its projects defeated in the Thirty Years' War, but since then it had gained much in territory and apparent power; but all its gains were in non-German lands, and the future was to show that it was thereby losing all chance of becoming the real head of Germany. The Roman Catholic reaction had triumphed through all its territories; education was at a very low ebb; science, literature, and art made no progress on Austrian soil. But the arms of Austria were, on the whole, victorious in the War of Spanish Succession, and against the Turkish enemy on the south-east she gained a long series of victories. The Turkish power at sea had been decisively checked in the Battle of Lepanto (1571), but its prestige on land was nearly undiminished. The year 1683 seemed likely to mark a great increase of its power, but turned out to mark the beginning of its decline. The Turkish army reached Vienna and laid siege to it. The Emperor, Leopold I., fled, and the fall of the city seemed certain. It was saved by the march of John Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Turkish retreat was turned into a rout. In 1687 they were decisively beaten on the field of Mohacz, where they had gained the great victory in 1526 whereby they had won Hungary. Their power and territory sank henceforward with

Death of Charles VI., Emperor.

Austrian victories over the Turks.

Vienna.

Mohacz.

every decade. In 1699 the Sultan made a peace by which he evacuated all Hungary: hitherto, though the head of the Hapsburgs had called himself King of Hungary, it was only a strip to the west and north over which he actually ruled. At the same period the royal power made headway both in Hungary and Bohemia against the power of the feudal aristocracy and the sentiment of national independence. The crown of Hungary had hitherto been in theory elective, but in 1687 the hereditary right of the Austrian House to the throne was recognized. There was resistance still, but the free elements of the Hungarian constitution were undermined.

Charles VI. succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1711. He had no son. The chief aim of his life was to secure the rule over all Hapsburg territories for his daughter, Maria Theresa, and the Imperial title for her husband, Francis of Lorraine. He drew up a Pragmatic Sanction—a recognition of the claims of his daughter—and procured its signature by the different parts of his dominion, and by nearly all the powers of Europe. His great soldier, Prince Eugene, warned him that an efficient army would be of more value than a treaty; but before he died he believed that he had secured the great inheritance to his daughter.

Charles VI. and Maria Theresa.

On the death of Charles VI. (1740) it was seen at once how valueless the paper guarantee would be. Frederick of Prussia invaded Silesia, the rich province lying on the upper Oder. He could work up some fair claim to part of the province, but he has himself confessed in his memoirs that the wealth of the province and his own ambition were the causes of his action. His father's carefully prepared army proved itself efficient in spite of its want of experience, and Silesia was soon in the hands of Prussia.

Frederick invades Silesia.

A great European war speedily developed, and the famous Pragmatic Sanction did not influence the action of a single power. France joined with Prussia; Great Britain throughout the century was to be found in opposition to France, and she helped Maria Theresa with money. Prussia and France agreed to support the claims of Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial title. The war

The War of Austrian Succession.

lasted until 1748, and was not confined to Europe. Great Britain's interests in the war were chiefly colonial and commercial, and French and English soldiers fought in North America and in India, in a quarrel which had its ostensible cause in Vienna.

The war was full of great battles, but no attempt will be made to trace the course of the campaigns. Things went at first very hardly with Maria Theresa. Her troops were beaten in Silesia, and Bohemia was penetrated by a Bavarian and French force. In her extremity she turned to Hungary, which had so often fought against her ancestors, and still claimed its old constitutional liberties. She restored many of its privileges and promised to respect the independence of its Diet, and the Magyars (for that is the proper name of the Hungarians) were seized with an enthusiasm for the beautiful queen, who appeared before them with her child upon her arm. "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa," they exclaimed, and their actions justified their words. A great Hungarian army poured westward, and the wild troops quickly turned the scales in Bohemia in favour of Austria. The French army escaped with difficulty back to France. The English helped the queen chiefly with money, but they created a diversion by taking an army to the Netherlands and the Rhine. At Dettingen they escaped from apparently certain disaster by a fine exploit, but in 1745 they were heavily defeated at Fontenoy, and the next year the armies of France completely overran the Low Countries. Frederick retained Silesia in spite of all efforts to dispossess him. So in 1748 came the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Frederick kept his conquests, but French diplomacy was not able to hold what French armies had won. All the conquests of France were surrendered.

Maria Theresa and Hungary.

Fontenoy.

The peace was felt to be little more than a breathing space. Maria Theresa had not made up her mind to abandon Silesia, and the colonial questions at issue between England and France were by no means settled. But before war came again the alliances were strangely changed, and what is known as the Diplomatic Revolution occurred.

France and the Austrian House had been at almost constant

enmity since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their opposition had been regarded as the permanent feature in the European situation, and around these great antagonists the other European powers had grouped themselves. The hostility between Great Britain and France was not of such long standing, nor did it attract so much of the attention of the diplomatists. Now France and Austria joined together, and Great Britain thereupon passed over to alliance with Frederick of Prussia. The movement emanated from Austria, and it was Maria Theresa's minister, Kaunitz, who persuaded her of the necessity of the French alliance. It would probably have been wise and feasible for France to have remained outside the coming struggle altogether, but the court of Louis XV. was without wise advisers and largely under the influence of the king's mistress, Madame de Pompadour. France embraced the Austrian proposals; and war soon came, partly through the tension between Austria and Prussia, and partly through the conflicts of Great Britain and France in India and Canada.

The Diplomatic Revolution.

Renewal of war.

We shall not attempt to trace the colonial struggle which led to the definite victory of Great Britain in Canada and India. In Europe the outlook was exceedingly black for Frederick of Prussia. He had to face the Austrian armies, which were much improved since the last war, and he was threatened in the west by the French, who had gained in the last war many triumphs. Before long, to these enemies were added the armies of Russia, for Maria Theresa, after much negotiation, succeeded in winning the alliance of the Czarina, Elizabeth. The diplomatic struggle had gone wholly against Frederick; for, against these three great and dangerous opponents he had no serious ally except Great Britain, and her strength lay in her navy and her wealth.

The new alliances.

In this war, which is known as the Seven Years' War, Prussia passed through experiences as terrible as those which had befallen her in the Thirty Years' War. Her armies, after achieving brilliant victories at first, were beaten both by the Austrians and Russians. Berlin fell into the hands of the enemy. Frederick for a time meditated

The Seven Years' War.

suicide. Prussia seemed likely to disappear amidst ruin and defeat. That in spite of all she emerged from the war without loss of territory, and with vastly increased influence and prestige, was due to various causes.

Frederick showed military qualities which place him among the greatest soldiers of all time. He showed himself a master of both campaigns and battles. In 1757 he defeated the French army at Rosbach, and not only defeated but humiliated it by the ease with which he gained the victory, and the obvious superiority of the Prussian troops. In the same year he gained a great victory at Leuthen, and revolutionised by his novel attack the methods of war. The British alliance, too, proved unexpectedly valuable to him. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, controlled the policy of England, and he decided to send over troops in large numbers to the Continent, thus distracting the efforts of the French from Canadian and Indian affairs, and "winning Canada," as he said, "on the plains of Germany." Frederick recognized with gratitude the services which Pitt had rendered him. The utter rottenness of the French Monarchy counts for much in the explanation of Frederick's escape: for France no longer seemed to produce either statesmen or soldiers. Yet in 1761 it seemed that all Frederick's military skill and all his unsurpassed courage and hopeful endurance could not save him. He had been heavily beaten in 1759 by the Russians in the great Battle of Kunersdorf; Russians and Austrians had entered Berlin in 1760; they occupied Prussian territory throughout 1761. The splendid troops with which Frederick had begun the war had, for the most part, disappeared: his finances were exhausted. Perhaps, worst of all, in 1761, the policy of the young king George III. in England led to the resignation of Pitt, and the accession to power of ministers pledged to withdrawal from the continental war. The ruin of Prussia seemed at hand. But then Frederick was saved by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, a determined and personal enemy. It was much to be rid of her. But her place was taken by her nephew, Peter III., whose weak mind had conceived a

Rosbach and Leuthen.

Pitt, Prime Minister in England.

The extremity of Frederick.

Accession of Czar Peter III.

passionate admiration for the Prussian King, whom he spoke of as "the king, my master." Russia made at once an alliance with Frederick, and the whole face of the war changed. Four months later Peter III. was overthrown and put to death by his German wife, who reigned henceforth as Catherine II. She withdrew at once from the Prussian alliance; but Frederick and Prussia were saved. Europe was exhausted by the struggle, and in 1763 the Peace of Paris brought it to an end. Frederick retained Silesia. Prussia was the wonder of Europe. Frederick's system of government and of war was the admiration of his neighbours, and even those who had suffered most severely at his hands began to imitate him.

Frederick "the Great."

The eighteenth century has been called the Age of the Enlightened Despot. In various countries great changes of a beneficent kind were carried out by the concentration of all power in the hands of a well-intentioned ruler. Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Austria afford examples of this, but Prussia is the great example. The monarchy of Frederick was the very antithesis of that of Louis XIV. There was little pomp or ceremonial. The king was the hardest worked servant of the State. He took on himself heavy duties and he placed heavy duties on his subordinates and subjects. The welfare of the State was the one object that all must set before them, and to the king this took the place of religion. After the Peace of Paris, Frederick never engaged again in any serious war. The State had almost to be built again from the foundations, so great had been the ravages of war. Agriculture and commerce were supervised and stimulated by the State, and before the end of his reign the beneficent effects of his policy were apparent. He had been in his youth a pupil of the philosophers of France, and in the abolition of torture and the establishment of complete religious toleration he showed himself throughout faithful to their lessons.

The Enlightened Despot.

He reigned until 1786, and in 1772 he gained for Prussia a great and valuable territory. For in that year came the first partition of Poland. Poland lay helpless between the three great powers: Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Her

people were divided into factions; her peasantry sunk into a degrading serfdom; her constitution unworkable; her king the favourite of the Russian Czarina. It seemed, in 1772, that the outbreak of a great war in Eastern Europe threatened. It was on Frederick's suggestion that the three great powers agreed to forget their quarrels and their rival claims on the Turkish frontier, and to seize instead each a slice of unresisting Poland. Maria Theresa shrank at first from sharing in an act as unjustifiable as Frederick's seizure of Silesia; but in the end she joined with the others. To Russia fell the greatest extent of territory, and to Prussia the most valuable part, for she laid hands on Western Prussia, and thus her Prussian lands were made continuous with Brandenburg. The state gained thereby immensely in strength and unity.

First partition of Poland.

Maria Theresa died in 1780. She is a great figure in European history, and a noble one. The House of Hapsburg has not produced any ruler who appeals so much to the sympathy and admiration of posterity as this woman—beautiful, religious, patriotic, determined, and in the end not unsuccessful. Her husband had held the Imperial title until his death in 1765. Then her son Joseph II. had succeeded in the empire, and now, in 1780, he ruled over all the Hapsburg lands.

Maria Theresa.

Joseph II. regarded Frederick of Prussia with a strange mixture of hate and admiration. He saw in him the worst enemy of his house, but also he regarded him as the ideal of a modern ruler. No sooner was he safely established in power than he began to inaugurate reforms in imitation of the Prussian King. The unification of the State and the unchecked power of the Crown: these were his ideals. Religious toleration was to remove one great cause of division: the German language was to be used everywhere as the official tongue; the whole of his dominions were to be divided into administrative districts, equitably governed without reference to the privileges of race or class. He desired, in fact, to transform the multifarious possessions of the House of Hapsburg, with all their differences of religion, race, language, and

Joseph II. of Austria.

character, into a single modern state after the fashion set by Frederick in Prussia. He had not calculated the difference between the territories of Frederick and his own. Prussia was divided, indeed, in many ways, but the inhabitants were nearly all German and Protestant, while Austria was a collection of states hostile to one another by the traditions of five hundred years, and in some instances still in the early feudal and mediæval stage. The chief divisions into which his territories fell were the following: (1) Austria proper, the original possessions of the House of Hapsburg, German and Catholic for the most part. (2) Hungary, including Transylvania, consisting for the most part of Magyars, proud of their nationality; feudal in its institutions to which it adhered tenaciously. (3) Bohemia, and Moravia: Czech and to a large extent Protestant; their sense of national existence beginning to revive. (4) The Italian possessions; united by religion with Austria, but quite alien in character, language, and aspirations. (5) The Austrian Netherlands (Belgium): acquired by the Treaty of Utrecht; Catholic, but alien in language and character, in both which respects they were attracted rather to France than to Austria. This is not by any means a complete list, but it is enough to show how difficult was the task which Joseph II. had set before him, how hard it would be to reduce these different states to unity on the basis of common administration with German as the official language. His insistence on religious toleration, and his opening of education to laymen, which are among the best of his proposed reforms, were those which roused most hostility. His reign, full of noble effort, ended in gloom. There were protests against his schemes in Bohemia and Hungary, while in Belgium the people rose in revolution for the maintenance of the privileges of the Catholic Church. His foreign designs succeeded no better; and the failure of his plans hastened his death. He bequeathed to his brother, Leopold II., a difficult task. His aim was to conciliate the many elements in his dominions which had been exasperated by Joseph II., and before this task was accomplished, he had

Contrast between Prussia and Austria.

Failure of Joseph II.'s plans.

to face the diplomatic difficulties arising out of the French Revolution.

The English books dealing with this chapter are many and good. Carlyle's *Frederick the Great;* Tuttle's *Prussia* and *Frederick;* Reddaway's *Frederick the Great;* Coxe's *House of Austria;* Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick.*

CHAPTER XI

The Decline of France and the End of the Ancient Regime

We have always to be on our guard against reading a period of history in the light of what we know happened afterwards. The coming of the French Revolution is for Europe and for France the great event of the end of the eighteenth century; and there is a tendency, therefore, to see in all that happened after the death of Louis XIV. merely the signs of the ruin which was impending over the old monarchy. The seeds of the Revolution were unquestionably being laid then, but the Government of France was in many respects successful, and no one foresaw a revolution of the kind that actually occurred.

The efforts of Louis XIV. to rule France from his grave failed entirely. All the arrangements that he had made in his will were thrown to the winds, and the Duke of Orleans governed as regent for Louis XV. with all the powers that traditionally belonged to the office. France was weary of Louis XIV.'s ideas, which had ended in such great failure, and the regency saw a period of reaction at almost every point. It was the finances of France which claimed the most immediate attention. The reforms of Colbert had been quite swept away by the long wars of the reign, and especially by the exhaustion of the War of the Spanish Succession. France found herself face to face with an immense and constantly increasing debt, which the poverty of the people seemed unable to bear. There came

The Regency and Reaction.

forward at this juncture a Scotch adventurer, John Law by name, who proposed to the Regent a scheme by means of which the debt of France was to be paid off and the deficit converted into a large annual profit. Political economy and accurate thought of any sort on financial matters were only just beginning, and Law was by no means a mere impostor, as he has been sometimes represented, though his scheme ended in utter collapse. Briefly, he proposed to issue paper money to an immense extent upon the credit of the vast possessions of France in Northern America, which were under the control of the Company of the West. He did not think that it was necessary actually to have gold and silver with which to pay the notes that were issued. He believed that the financial life of a country rested on its credit, and the Northern Continent of America over most of which France held a claim, seemed capable of supplying credit for any possible issue of notes. The whole scheme was a complicated and difficult one. It is thought that Law might have achieved a large measure of success, if gambling—to an extent then quite unexampled—had not begun in the shares of the Company of the West, which controlled the American territories upon which Law relied for the success of his scheme. In the end, Law, after seeming arbiter of the finances of Europe for a time, had to retire into exile, and France had still to face the financial difficulty, and to endeavour to meet it by less questionable methods. In 1723 the regent died, and after a short interval Louis XV. nominally assumed the reins of power; but his youth prevented his actually controlling the State for some time, and the chief minister of France was his old tutor, Cardinal Fleury.

Law's schemes.

Failure of Law.

Cardinal Fleury was in many respects a remarkable man, and hardly any one in the history of Europe has exercised such power at so advanced an age. He died, still in possession of the chief authority in France, while France was reckoned the leading country in Europe, at the age of ninety years. He pursued a pacific policy, and looked especially to England for alliance and support. Between Fleury and Walpole there was an understanding which was highly beneficial to the peace of Europe and the prosperity

Fleury.

of both countries. His administration was a time of recovery and of peace, but before the end there came a serious though short war, and we must look to that for a moment.

The king had been married for political reasons to Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislas, the exiled King of Poland.

The War of the Polish Succession.

Now there was a vacancy again in the Polish succession, and the father of the French queen was once again a candidate, and a candidate who had the goodwill of a vast majority of the Polish people. The Polish throne was nominally elective, and if the election had been freely conducted, there would have been no doubt about the result; but Polish affairs, in the weakness and decrepitude of that miserable state, were coming more and more to be the concern of her neighbours, and the question of the Polish succession involved the chief European powers in war. France, Spain, and Sardinia were prepared to support in arms the claims of Stanislas, while Russia and Austria supported the rival candidate, Augustus of Saxony. We must not follow any of the military details: French arms gained an important victory in Italy, but then suddenly peace negotiations were opened, and the war came to an end.

Peace of Vienna.

By the Peace of Vienna which followed (1738) some important alterations were made in the frontiers of Europe. Lorraine was now promised to France in full sovereignty. It was the last gain of the French monarchy upon the continent of Europe before the storm of the Revolution broke. Spain gained possession of Naples and Sicily. France and her allies did not succeed in securing the throne for Stanislas, and he had to be contented with the possession of the Duchy of Lorraine. This was Fleury's last important exploit. He lived for several years yet, but his declining powers were not equal to the control of the great diplomatic movements which preceded the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession.

Death of Fleury.

The story of that war and of the Seven Years' War which succeeded it has been told in the last chapter, and it is characteristic of the changed position of France in Europe, that it is possible to tell the story of wars, in which the destiny of France was deeply involved, from the point of view of Berlin and

Vienna rather than of Paris. France lost her position as the central and controlling power of Europe. Not only was she defeated as Louis XIV. had been, but she lost also her diplomatic prestige which he had never done. Yet we must not exaggerate the extent of the military humiliation of France during those wars. In the first war, indeed, there was no humiliation at all. The French troops defeated the English in the two great battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeldt, and they overran and conquered the Netherlands, a feat which Louis XIV. had often tried, but in which he had never succeeded. The second war, the Seven Years' War, opened with some brilliant French successes; but then the fortune of war changed, and there came upon France, not merely defeat, but disgrace and ruin as well. The causes of these humiliations are to be found partly in the fact that France was fighting against two of the most powerful military leaders that Europe has ever known, the Earl of Chatham, the English Prime Minister, and Frederick the Great, King of Prussia; but partly also they are to be traced without question to the wretched character of the king and of his court, and of most of his ministers. There was a time when Louis XV. was thought to be possessed of military ardour and skill: but that soon passed, and for the greater part of his reign he lived a life of vile private immorality, not ceasing to claim the control of the foreign affairs of France, but showing in his policy neither patriotism nor diplomatic skill. He distrusted his ministers, and often intrigued behind their backs, and the chief influence upon his policy was not that of any of the great servants of the Crown, but rather that of the women who in succession held the position of mistress at court. The chief of these are Madame de Pompadour for the first part of the reign, and Madame du Barri for the latter part. The great change in alliances, sometimes known as "the Diplomatic Revolution," which took place between the Austrian Succession War and the Seven Years' War, wherein France passed from the alliance of Prussia to the alliance of Austria, was not, indeed, altogether due to Madame Pompadour or her vanity, as has sometimes

Changed position of France in Europe.

Character of Louis XV. and his Court.

Madame de Pompadour.

been alleged, but was certainly influenced and promoted by her. The decline of France is justly traced in part to the influence of this woman, who had some good private qualities, but whose influence upon public affairs was altogether for evil.

One result of these wars—though not one upon which European diplomacy fixed its eyes with any great interest—was the loss to France of India and of Canada. In both countries her policy had been for a time successful, and had been conducted by men of eminent ability. It was Dupleix who, by skilfully engaging in the quarrels among the Indian princes, by throwing the strength of France now on one side and now on the other, and by training Indian troops in European methods, increased the possessions of France in India, and showed also to his English rivals the means whereby, without actual declaration of war, they subsequently made themselves masters of the vast peninsula. In Canada the French possessions were large, and, on the whole, well-governed. The French had in Montcalm a soldier and statesman of the highest worth, and possessing, as they did, not only territories in the north, but also in the south of the continent, where New Orleans and the lower valley of the Mississippi were in their hands, it seemed not impossible that the future of North America might lie with them rather than with the English. The first war, so far as Indian and Colonial affairs were concerned, was a drawn battle, but it was clear that the end had not been reached. It was Indian and American interests which drew England into the second war, and, in that, victory came swiftly and decisively to the side of the island state. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763 the flag of France had ceased to fly in Canada, and it flew in India only over small possessions and by permission of the dominant English power.

France loses India and Canada.

Dupleix.

Montcalm.

It will be better instead of giving any incidents in this well-known struggle to consider the causes which led to so disastrous a result for France. Some weight must be attached to the refusal of France to give to her representatives in distant lands a free hand: in Canada especially the enterprise of the colonists was

Cause of French failure.

checked by the interference of the Home Government. More weight must be attached to the fact that while England was fighting on the Continent with limited responsibility, and could withdraw from it at any time behind the security of the surrounding seas, France, on the other hand, was engaged there in a war which demanded all her energies, and in itself overstrained her resources. We have seen that the Spanish colonial power owed its wreck largely to the continental complications of Spain, and it is true also that it was the ambitions and the contests of France in Europe which prevented her colonial enterprise from striking a deep root and bearing permanent results. If we look to the contests themselves we shall find that the result was decided by naval supremacy. There were not, indeed, during the Seven Years' War, any encounters of importance between the navies of England and France in distant waters; but none the less, campaigns in both India and Canada were controlled by the failure of France to send out reinforcements or to maintain constant intercourse with her representatives. France was not immediately conscious that she had lost so vast a prize, but she was conscious of her defeats and humiliations in Europe. The rise of the absolute monarchy in France had been due largely to the services which it rendered and the victories which it won in war, and the military failure of the government of Louis XV. destroyed the popularity of the government and undermined the loyalty of the people. Napoleon is reported to have said that the battle of Rossbach (the battle in which the French were so hopelessly defeated by Frederick) was the cause of the French Revolution, and there is much truth in the view that is implied by that saying.

Interference of the Home Government.

Complications in Europe.

British naval supremacy.

Strength of French monarchy undermined.

The end of Louis XV.'s reign saw foreign events which must be briefly noted. There came upon Poland in 1772 what is known as the First Partition, the seizure, that is to say, of outlying provinces by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. France tried to interfere, but in vain, and her failure marks again the decline of her prestige. Just before

Poland.

the end of the reign, however, there came a notable acquisition. The island of Corsica had long been in insurrection against its mother city, Genoa. The struggle was ended by the cession of the island to France. The resistance of the islanders was beaten down, and the government of France thus gained a position which would be of the greatest value to France as a naval base in the Mediterranean.

Corsica.

We turn now to the domestic history of the reign, and we see there how opposition to the monarchy was rising up, and the forces were being accumulated which produced the great outbreak of the Revolution a quarter of a century later. It was a sign of the weakness and the unpopularity of the government that men and institutions who would not have dared to express their opposition against the government of Louis XIV., persisted in their attacks upon Louis XV. and in several instances won their point against the Crown itself.

We have already noted the rise of the religious movement known as Jansenism, and we have seen that its supporters had been crushed by the combined action of the papacy and the Crown of France; but the Jansenists still existed, and their opposition to religious and political authority was not lessened by the injustice from which they had suffered. They found a champion in the Parlement of Paris, which was primarily, as we have already seen, a Court of Justice, but acted also generally as a guardian of the laws of France. This power it had used in past ages mainly to draw away cases from the authority of the feudal courts and to bring them within the power of the king's courts; but it now used its functions to resist the royal authority in matters ecclesiastical. For the Jansenists were being subjected to an odious and irritating oppression. The last consolations of the Church were refused to any one suspected of Jansenism. The Parlement declared that this was an attack upon the laws of France, and again and again interfered on behalf of the Jansenists. The people of Paris applauded the boldness with which the government was attacked, and in many instances Parlement secured its aim.

Jansenism.

Supported by the Paris Parlement.

But there was little life in Jansenism, and the Parlement shortly turned from the defence of this body to an attack upon the greatest of all religious corporations within the Roman Catholic Church, the Jesuits. We have now seen how the Jesuits had been the chief agency of Rome in turning back the tide of Protestant success. Since the end of the era of the religious wars and the Peace of Westphalia, they had turned to other enterprises, and had been singularly successful in their conduct of foreign missions. In France they were unpopular because they had identified themselves closely with the royal authority, and were believed to have inspired some of its worst acts of religious oppression. Their position seemed strong and unchallenged, when a storm arose from an unexpected quarter. The manager of a Jesuit mission in the West Indies had become insolvent owing to the depredations of English vessels during the war. His creditors claimed that the whole society was answerable for his debts, and the matter was brought before the Parlement. Parlement had long regarded the Jesuits with hostility, and eagerly seized upon this opportunity to inquire into the whole organization of the Jesuit order. In vain the king tried to take the matter out of the hands of the Parlement and bring it before a tribunal of his own choosing. The Parlement went on in spite of all, and soon declared that the Jesuit order, as then constituted, was inadmissible in France, because its members swore an absolute allegiance to their general, who might be a foreigner, and had rarely, if ever, been a Frenchman. The international character of the Jesuit order had been one of the chief sources of its power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was now the cause or the excuse of the attack that was made upon it. Proposals were made for a compromise. It was suggested that the Jesuits of France should choose for themselves a chief who should always be a Frenchman; but the idea of concession or conciliation was rejected. "They must be as they are," was the answer, "or they must cease to be," and Louis XV., though he would have liked to save them, yielded to the pressure that was put upon him, and in 1764 the order was

Attack upon the Jesuits.

Suppression of the Jesuit order in France.

declared suppressed in France. The attack upon the order in France was by no means an isolated incident. In all Catholic countries about this time, and especially in Portugal and in Spain, the Jesuits were the subject of inquiry and attack. The general movement against them was part of the intellectual current of the time which we shall shortly examine, and it was distinguished by nothing more clearly than by its opposition to the authority and coercive power of the Roman Catholic Church. After the Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal and Spain, and from several of the Italian states as well as from France, great pressure was put upon the papacy to recognize the suppression and to abolish the whole order. At last, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV. was constrained to yield. "It is my own right hand," he is reported to have said, "that I am cutting off, but it has sinned." The Jesuit order was, therefore, abolished, but the abolition did not last very long. The order was too valuable a weapon of the Church to be thus sacrificed, and it was soon restored and became again, what it has continued to be, the chief agency and influence within the Catholic Church.

Abolition of the Jesuit order.

Parlement thus gained a notable victory, and soon it was quarrelling with the king once more, this time on the question of the various edicts of taxation which were sent down to it for registration during the last years of the reign. The opposition of the Parlement had become a constant annoyance, and was probably a real check to good government as well as bad. The king's anger was stimulated by his mistress, Du Barri. She compared the action of the French Parlement to that of the English Parliament in the seventeenth century; she pointed to a portrait of the English Charles I., and said to the king, "Your Parlement also will cut off your head." The king in the end determined to have recourse to vigorous measures. The members of the Parlement were arrested and exiled; their courts were declared to be for ever abolished, and their place as the the highest court of justice in France, was taken by new royal courts, which would never have the old powers of

Parlement and taxation.

Suppression of Parlement.

interference in public affairs which had been possessed by the Parlement (1771).

Louis XV. died in 1774. Few kings, if any, have ruled in Europe with such evil consequences to the State that was committed to them. He was not by nature cruel, nor did he desire to strike a blow at the prosperity or progress of France, but he was centred in himself and in his own pleasures. He was mastered by idleness and self-indulgence; he made no effort to see beyond the immediate future. He had some suspicion that the present system would not last long; it was enough for him that it would last his life time. "After me, the deluge," he is reported to have said; and the deluge was not long in coming after his death.

Death and influence of Louis XV.

Here, before we proceed with the narrative of events in France, it will be well to survey the condition of the country upon the eve of this deluge of which Louis XV. spoke. A great number of books have been written about what is known as the ancient *regime*, but we must confine our survey to a few pages. What we find in France is by no means a solitary or unexampled condition of things. In most countries of Western Europe there was something like it, and there were several countries in which the same general abuses were found with greater intensity and oppressiveness. The peasant of Poland or of Spain, or of some states of South Germany, if he had been transported to France, would have found there social conditions better than his own, and liberty far greater than he was accustomed to. It is not the intensity of the suffering of the French people which by itself produced the Revolution, but other causes which we shall have shortly to consider.

Characteristics of the Ancient Regime.

The Government of France was an absolutism. It was reckoned the most absolute government to be found in Europe, with the exception of Turkey. It owed its strength to the fact that it had at one time represented the people and served the needs of France better than the aristocracy or any elected assembly could do. Its absolutism remained, but its social and national service had almost ceased. The people no longer

The absolutism of the French government.

regarded it as the champion of their cause; it was closely linked with the aristocracy which was historically its greatest enemy. It had triumphed over the feudal nobility; it had destroyed or it had controlled all the representative institutions which France had at one time possessed. The States-General had ceased to exist; the provincial estates were destroyed either in name or in fact; municipal institutions had been brought under the control of the central government; Protestantism and Jansenism had been coerced; the Catholic Church, by the Concordat of 1516, had been turned into the instrument of royal policy. An absolute government is not only the most efficient for certain purposes when strong, but it is also the most unstable when it is weak, and the French monarchy had come into this condition of weakness. There were signs of the coming change in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV., but the development had gone on rapidly during the reign of Louis XV. His government had shown neither patriotism, nor a careful choice of instruments; neither efficiency, nor success. The State was thus dominated by a single institution, and that institution was corrupt and tottering.

Its opponents overthrown.

Its instability.

While the political condition of France was, before all things, unstable, her social condition was antiquated, irrational, and oppressive. The social condition of France before the Revolution is sometimes described as feudalism; but this is a mistake. Feudalism, in the strict sense of the word, such as has been described in a previous chapter, had been destroyed, perhaps, more completely in France than elsewhere in Europe: the nobles possessed less political power in France than in England or in Germany. But the land was still burdened by the ruins of the feudal system, by institutions, customs, and rights which had once been capable of defence when the nobles of France were the real government, but which had become now merely oppressive since the triumph of the monarchy and the withdrawal of the nobles from their estates to reside in Versailles or Paris.

The ruins of feudalism.

The chief relics of feudalism were the judicial rights and

the financial privileges of the nobles. They still possessed and exercised certain judicial rights over the residents on their estates; and they were a privileged class in the matter of taxation. They were not the only privileged class: the clergy shared the title with them, and a large number of rich men, who neither belonged to the nobility or the clergy, purchased the same financial privileges. The privileged classes were not, indeed, entirely exempt from all direct taxation as they had once been. Efforts had been made ever since the Age of Louis XIV. to place some part of the burdens of the State upon their shoulders; they paid their share of excise and customs; there were certain property taxes from which they did not entirely escape; but they were wholly free from the *taille*, and bore a far smaller share of the taxation than any corresponding class in any state of modern Europe. What they escaped from fell mainly upon the peasantry, and it is to the peasantry that we must now turn.

The privileged classes.

Serfdom had almost entirely disappeared from the soil of France; there were a large number of day labourers working upon the land, but the soil was largely in the possession of small cultivators who were either *metayers* or proprietors. The former class paid to the owners of the land a certain proportion of its produce as rent, and are described as being generally both poor and discontented; but the class of proprietors was the most distinguishing feature of agricultural France. A large part of the soil was in their hands, and an English farmer (Arthur Young) who visited France shortly before the Revolution deplored the subdivision of the country, which, he believed, led to bad and unproductive farming. These peasants took an active part in the disorderly movements which accompanied the beginning of the Revolution, and the causes of their discontent are not difficult to find. The land which was cultivated was their own, which they could sell or bequeath, and yet it was surrounded by many arbitrary and irritating restrictions. Thus they had sometimes to pay to some feudal lord a certain number of sheaves of corn; or a certain number of chickens

Condition of the peasantry.

Peasant proprietors.

or of sheep; or they had to grind their corn at the feudal mill; or to crush their grapes in the feudal winepress. More serious probably than all of these were the game laws of France, according to which the peasantry were forced to allow the great and small game of the neighbouring lords to invade their fields and destroy their crops. These burdens, and others like them, were the remains of the old feudal system of France, intelligible and defensible, while the nobles still carried on the government, but no longer anything but an anomaly since feudalism had been overthrown by the monarchy and the nobles were for the most part resident in Paris or at Versailles.

The State taxes on the unprivileged.

The annoyance caused by these feudal dues and restrictions was very great; but the chief burden was caused by the taxes of the State. The towns had managed to a large extent to escape; it was upon the country districts and upon the unprivileged peasantry there that the chief load was placed. The State taxes which the peasants had to pay were heavy, and they were assessed and collected in a way so exasperating that they produced more resentment than they need have done. The chief taxes were as follows. From the

Taille.

fifteenth century onwards the government had looked to the *taille* as its chief source of income. This was a tax upon the houses and the landed property of the unprivileged. It was assessed by the central government and divided among the various districts of France by the intendants and their agents, and was regarded by the taxpayers with particular dislike. It was increased arbitrarily upon any sign of well-being in house or land, and the squalor of the villages of France, which is described by visitors before the Revolution, is to be attributed partly, indeed, to poverty, but partly also to the hope of avoiding taxation by the appearance of poverty.

Gabelle.

Next in importance was the tax called the *gabelle*. This was not properly speaking a tax, but rather a salt monopoly in the hands of the State. The State alone could sell salt, and it forced every individual, man, woman, and child, to buy a certain amount in each year. The price was arbitrarily fixed, and it varied widely between one district

and another; the smuggling of salt, from areas where it was cheap, into those where it was dear, was, therefore, constantly practised, and the prisons were full of men who were charged with salt smuggling. Another tax was the *corvée*, a system of forced labour exacted by the State from the peasantry: but it had been reduced to very small proportions, and was, on the eve of the Revolution, rather a cause of irritation than a crushing burden.

The total weight of taxes and feudal dues upon the peasantry was very great. It is calculated that in some districts the peasant paid to the State 55 per cent. of all that he earned. He came to regard the system of government as the cause of his troubles. He passionately desired the overthrow of the government and the freedom of his land from all restrictions and arbitrary charges, and it is easy to understand, therefore, why he so readily co-operated in the early movements of the Revolution.

The burden of taxation.

The peasantry were the most decidedly revolutionary class at the beginning of the movement, but there was no really conservative class. The towns were full of new ideas, and the commercial classes were irritated by the restrictions placed upon them by the government, and inspired to demand freedom by the sight of the far greater prosperity of commerce and trade in England. Even the aristocracy regarded the monarchy with feelings of jealousy, and though the upper ranks of the clergy warmly supported the established order, the parish priests were for the most part in sympathy with the desire for change.

Widespread opposition to the government.

We must turn now to the new ideas, which were spreading on all sides, all tending to the overthrow of the established order in Church and State, with a view to founding a more equal and a more humane society. Some kind of change was probably inevitable in any case, for the old forms of government were wearing out, and there were positive grievances enough to make the people press for practical reforms; but the Revolution was hastened and influenced by the writers of the time who inspired the French people generally

The intellectual movement.

with dislike for the existing order, and with passionate hope and belief in the possibility of the regeneration of France. There has probably been no era in the history of the world when literary men—writers, that is to say, without any official position in Church or State—have exercised such an influence upon the minds and actions of men; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the nature of this influence at the end of the reign of Louis XV.

Its general tendencies.

The movement was many sided, and some of the most prominent writers of the time who joined in it were to be found in Germany, in England, and in America. Some of its main tendencies may be summarized as follows. In the first place, all the writers were opposed to the established order; some of them were conservative in temper, some of them revolutionary, but all were agreed in regarding the established order in Church and State with disfavour. A second marked characteristic of the movement was its humanity. All institutions were brought to this tribunal, and the writers almost without exception, condemned in the strongest terms religious persecution, cruel and vindictive punishments, the use of torture in trials at law, and all the many cruelties of the ancient *regime*. It may be noted further that most of these writers turned away with something like contempt and loathing from the actual history of France during the Middle Ages: but, while they were accustomed to speak of everything mediæval as barbarous, they regarded the classical world of Greece and Rome with indiscriminating enthusiasm. Many mistakes were commonly made as to the history and institutions of Greece and Rome, and legend was uncritically accepted as history: and without any misgivings the writers of the time drew their illustrations and their lessons from ancient history, taking examples of heroism and civic virtue from Plutarch's lives of the Greeks and Romans, and of despotism and vice from Tacitus' lurid pictures of the Roman Empire. Popular education had not spread widely in France, and the philosophical writings of the time, though written in easy and popular style, must have circulated chiefly among the upper and middle classes: but ideas once current

Revolutionary.

Humane.

Unhistorical.

cannot be restrained within limits, and the criticism of the established order and the vague hopes that were entertained of a new era spread far and wide among all classes in France.

Voltaire (1694–1778) was the greatest name in French literature of the eighteenth century, and his activity extended to almost every field of literature; to drama, to poetry, to philosophy, to history, and to fiction, all written with perfect lucidity and illuminated with never-failing wit. He devoted his long life to the preaching of enlightenment, and to an assault upon the religious beliefs and institutions of his time; it was coercion in religion which he especially attacked, and religious toleration has had no more effective champion. In political and social matters his standpoint was less clear; he did not desire a democracy, though he saw that the French monarchy was weak and corrupt. He had been closely associated with Frederick the Great of Prussia in the early part of his reign, and he seems to have desired for France some ruler of the same kind, vigorous and unscrupulous, who would rule with absolute power, in the interests of enlightenment and humanity. **Voltaire.**

Another name that deserves mention, even in this slight sketch, is that of Montesquieu (1689–1755). His great book is "The Spirit of the Laws," in which he sums up the lessons of history on matters of government. His ideas were largely influenced by his admiration for the institutions of England, and he would have liked to see a free and balanced aristocratic government established in France. The special contribution which he made to political thought was his insistence upon the separation of the legislative, the executive and the judicial parts of the State, and his chapters dealing with this point had a great influence on the making of the constitution of the United States of America, and on the French constitution of 1791. **Montesquieu.**

A more immediately influential name than either of these is that of Rousseau (1712–1778), who stands in many respects quite apart from the others. His deeply emotional nature was very far indeed from the intellectuality and rationalism of Voltaire and of Montesquieu. In many respects he threw himself against the currents of the age: **Rousseau.**

he preached a return to nature, and in the spirit of this famous phrase desired to alter the prevalent system of education from the family upwards; he rejected orthodox Christianity in every shape, but he held passionately to a belief in God and preached this belief with evangelical fervour. His political ideas are to be found in many of his works, but they are summed up in the small book which is entitled the "Social Contract," which had an immense influence upon his own and the next generation, and has been rightly described as the Bible of the Revolution. In this book he asserts that the origin of all governments is to be found in the people themselves, not in any divine right of monarchy, nor in any contract between the people and their rulers. The power belonged, he maintained, originally to the people, and always belongs by right to them; as all governments emanate from them, so they have a right to overthrow all governments: but when they have established a government that suits them there can be no limit to its power either in matters political or religious. So that whilst he seems at one moment to be preaching doctrines of wild revolution, another part of his book was quoted by the revolutionary leaders as justifying their most despotic action. It was not only the doctrines of the book, but also the style in which they were enunciated, in short epigrammatic sentences, which procured for it its great influence upon its generation.

The "Social Contract."

In conclusion, if we think of France upon the eve of the Revolution, we must not imagine that its people suffered more grievously than those of many other lands, but they were more conscious of their suffering. They were inspired by a more hopeful determination to abolish the causes of it, and they were face to face with a government powerful in appearance, but weak in reality, the overthrow of which would leave the forces of rebellion in complete command of the field.

Conclusion.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Taine's *Ancient Regime*; De Tocqueville, *The Ancient Regime and the Revolution*; Arthur Young's *Travels in France*; John Morley, *Voltaire* and *Rousseau*; Rousseau, *Social Contract*, translated by H. J. Tozer; Lecky, *History of England*, chapter xx.

CHAPTER XII

The French Revolution

Louis XVI., who became King of France in 1774, was one of the most well-meaning men who ever occupied that position. He had seen with disgust the character of the Court of Louis XV., and he himself was influenced by the philanthropic ideas of the time. He had been married to Marie Antoinette, an Austrian princess, at a moment when it was hoped to bring France and Austria together in common action in Europe. His queen was a woman of great strength of character and of more intellectual power than her husband possessed; but she was a stranger in France, and understood neither its problems nor its government, and her influence upon her husband was an evil one. From the first she was disliked as being a foreigner and an Austrian, and at the end she was regarded with some truth as the bitterest enemy of the Revolution.

Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

The financial situation in 1774 was a very serious one. France had a large debt, and the debt grew year by year. We have seen in the last chapter some of the causes of this unsatisfactory condition of things. So long as the richer classes were exempt from their fair burden of taxation on the ground of privilege, it would be impossible to put the finances of France on a satisfactory footing, or to get such an income as the needs of the country demanded. The clue to the early years of the reign is to be found in the necessity for the abolition of pecuniary privileges and in the various attempts that were made to secure this end. The first ministry which Louis XVI. appointed was admirably chosen. Its chief member was Turgot, a man already well known for his skilful government of a poor provincial district, and as a writer and sympathizer with the philosophic ideas of the time. Had Louis XVI. supported him as his ancestor, Louis XIII. had supported Richelieu, great reforms might have been peacefully

Turgot.

carried out, and France might have been spared the revolutionary trials that were to follow. Turgot projected many schemes for the abolition of privilege and the better government of France, and carried some out; but he found himself resisted by a court intrigue, which was supported by the queen, and the king unwillingly dismissed him. The next finance minister was Necker, a banker of Geneva and a Protestant, whose employment as a minister raised some constitutional difficulties. He was not, like Turgot, a great reforming statesman, but he was an excellent financier, and did much by economy and by skilful borrowing to bring about something like a balance between the income and the expenditure of the State. But while he was in office France became involved in the war between England and her revolted colonies in North America. The war was a great triumph for France. Great Britain was humiliated both by land and by sea, and the victory of the colonies could not have been won, as it was and when it was, if it had not been for the assistance rendered in many ways by the French Government. But this victorious war did little or nothing to strengthen the position of the monarchy or to undo the effects of the military failures of the last reign. The eyes of France were fixed upon the triumph of the United States rather than on that of the French armies. They hailed with enthusiasm the rise of a democracy and a Republic, and instead of supporting the government which had carried them through to victory, they began to think more seriously than ever of importing into France the ideas which they saw so successful beyond the Atlantic. In another way, too, the war damaged the prospects of the monarchy. Necker's careful management of the finances could only be successful in a time of peace; the war, in spite of its triumph, had involved France in enormous expenses, and Necker's economies were completely effaced. He, too, came to the conclusion that the privileged classes must be taxed, and he put out a full statement of the economic position of France in order to prepare the way for further measures. There arose, thereupon, against him the same opposition as had been fatal to his predecessor, and in 1784 he had to retire from office.

Necker.

The American War.

Fall of Necker.

The financial administration was now reduced to miserable expedients. The government was carried on for a time by reckless borrowing at a high rate of interest, and when this was no longer possible, the king tried to impose taxes upon all classes in France by means of royal edicts. There can be no question that in so doing he was only acting as his predeceessors had often acted before, but the monarchy was no longer what it had been. It was weak because of the character of the king, and because of the rapidly increasing confidence of the opposition, and the king found his financial edicts resisted by the Parlement of Paris, whose existence he had revived immediately after his accession. And the resistance of Parlement was supported by the great mass of the people of France. Amidst all these confusions the cry was often heard that the nation itself must be taken into council, and that the States-General must be restored. The States-General, the ancient representative assembly of the three orders in France, had not met since 1614, and their functions and their organization were little known; but it was known that they had formed a general representative assembly, and their restoration was now loudly demanded. The king, partly through weakness and partly through genuine sympathy with the aims of the popular party in France, determined to yield to this constantly growing demand. He restored Necker to his councils, and he declared himself ready to summon the States-General.

Demand for States-General.

The decision was greeted with general enthusiasm, and the king was unquestionably popular. Two preliminary questions called for settlement. First, were the commons to have as many representatives as each of the privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, or were they to have twice as many? The king, on the advice of Necker, decided for the popular claim, which was known as double representation. The question still remained as to how the representatives were to sit and vote. Were they to sit together and decide every question by a simple majority (in which case the representatives of the commons, with much support from the clergy and a little even from the nobles, would be able to carry the day); or were they to sit in three chambers,

The States-General, 1789.

and was every question to be decided by a majority of chambers? In the latter case double representation would prove little better than a mockery, and the privileged orders would be in a position to force their will upon the nation. This second question was not decided when, on May 5, 1789, twelve hundred representatives of clergy, nobility and commons came together at Versailles. The king opened the proceedings with an optimistic speech, but it soon turned out that nothing could be done until the question of the method of voting had been settled. Negotiations between the three orders came to nothing. The commons felt their hands strengthened by petitions and the general support of France, and a large number of the clergy declared themselves ready to come over to the side of the commons. After much negotiation and hesitation

The National Assembly.

the commons on June 17, 1789, took to themselves the title of the National Assembly, and declared that they would proceed to their task of making a constitution for France, whether the privileged orders co-operated with them or not. By this act the Third Estate (or Commons) claimed the right to act for the nation as a whole. The Crown now was obliged to interfere. It had been driven from side to side by contending factions at court, but the king now determined to go down and announce his will to the representatives. He promised a large number of reforms; and he declared that the States-General was to be a permanent institution of France, but he spoilt all by announcing that the States-General was to be organized upon the three-chamber

Mirabeau.

model. The commons, under the leadership of their greatest orator and most determined statesman, Mirabeau, who, though a nobleman by birth, had joined the popular side, determined to resist a proposal which would have given power to the privileged classes. The king, through humanity and through weakness, was not willing to make use of the army and to crush down the rebellion against his power which had thus clearly begun. In a few days, in spite of the bold words that he had spoken, a complete victory crowned the efforts of the commons. Many of the nobility and clergy came over to the commons of their own free will: the rest were asked to do so by the king himself; and by the end of the

month, all the twelve hundred representatives of France, or such of them as cared to attend, were assembled in one room and proceeded to draw up a constitution, each question being decided by a simple majority, and the popular party holding a decided preponderance in the assembly. The key to this strange surrender of the Crown is to be found in the financial situation. Money the crown must have. It had failed to get money under the former *regime* by any of the ordinary methods; it could only hope to secure a position of solvency by the help of the people; and the help of the people could not be gained except on the conditions which had now been won.

Causes of the surrender of the Crown.

But the surrender of the king was to a large extent in appearance only: his courtiers were urging him to action and to repress, by means of the army, the movement in Paris, which grew more dangerous every day. It seems that in the end he acquiesced, and a great movement of troops was ordered and many regiments were to concentrate upon Paris. Necker, who had shown no great ability in his administration, but who was still a popular hero with the people of Paris, was dismissed, and men of known aristocratic and reactionary opinions were appointed in his place. When the news of these events reached Paris it produced a storm of opposition. The whole city seethed with political excitement, and agitation. The assembly sat at Versailles, twelve miles away, but in Paris itself there were politicians and mob orators, such as Marat and Camille Desmoulins, who were quite capable of leading the people. Some of the troops quartered in Paris went over to the popular side. A storehouse of arms was attacked and taken, and then on July 14, the crowd proceeded to the attack of the great fortress of the Bastille. This was no longer a place of any military importance; it had a small garrison and only contained a handful of prisoners, none of them imprisoned for political reasons. But it had been a famous prison a hundred years earlier; it was regarded as a symbol of absolutism; and it might have been used, if properly garrisoned, as a means of holding Paris in check. It could have resisted the assault made upon it for a long time, but its provisions were scanty

The fall of the Bastille.

and its garrison half-mutinous. The commander was told that the king himself had surrendered. He determined in the course of the afternoon to surrender to the insurgents on condition that his life and the life of his garrison were spared. The promise was given, but as the commander and his officers were being taken off, the unruly crowd broke in through their guards and cruelly murdered them.

The king and court were at once frightened from their designs by this successful attack upon the Bastille. The unpopular ministers were dismissed and Necker was restored: the Revolution had gained its first great victory over the monarchy. A few months later, in October, 1789, it gained another equally important. From the first the people of Paris had desired to have the king resident in their midst, but hitherto he had refused to leave his great palace at Versailles. On October 5, however, a women's demonstration against the scarcity of food in Paris was turned into a movement against the Palace of Versailles. A great crowd partially armed made its way out thither and requested the king to come and live in Paris. He returned a dubious answer, but on the morning of October 6 the crowd broke into the palace and made their way to the apartments of the king and queen. The royal couple were for a time in great peril, but the arrival of Lafayette, at the head of the recently formed National Guards, relieved them from the pressure of immediate danger. Lafayette, however, had himself brought a request from the town council of Paris, urging the same point, that the king would come and reside at Paris. He was as unwilling as ever to go, for his Parisian palace of the Tuileries was wholly unprepared to receive him, and he realized that he would be practically a prisoner there; a refusal would, however, probably have led to a further outbreak of violence, and on the afternoon of October 6, the royal party made its way to Paris and was installed in the Tuileries. From henceforth the king found himself more and more a prisoner in the hands of his people, and longed before all things to escape.

The king to Paris.

As a result of these events, the Revolution found itself for a time secure from interference, and the Assembly which had

now taken to itself the name of the "Constituent Assembly," was free to go on towards its declared object, the framing of a constitution in France, which should replace the old *regime* of royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege. The work of constitution-making was preceded by a declaration of the Rights of Man, in which the influence of Rousseau's teaching may clearly be seen. In this famous declaration it was laid down that all men are born free and equal in their rights; that the end of all governments is the maintenance of liberty and property, security and resistance to oppression; that all citizens have the right to take a share, personally or by their representatives, in the making of the laws; that all sovereignty rests with the nation, and that no one can exercise authority except as the representative of the nation. When the actual work of constitution-making was begun, the general lines followed were those of the English constitution. Louis XVI. was willing to accept many of the changes that were proposed, though they reduced him to a position very different indeed from that which his great ancestors upon the French throne had held. But there was one part of the new constitution which mortally offended him. The Assembly had undertaken to reorganize the whole government of the Church; the dioceses of the bishops were altered; the incomes of the clergy were somewhat equalized; the appointment of all clergy, high and low, was taken from the hands of the king and of the Pope, and was made subject to the voters at large, whatever their religious opinions might be. These changes, which all breathe the spirit of equality and democracy which characterizes the Revolution, were disliked by the Pope, and in the end he issued against them a bull of condemnation, and excommunicated all those who were answerable for them. The king had been forced to sign them, however, and his conscience was profoundly uneasy. He hoped for an early opportunity of undoing what he regarded as an impious work.

The Constituent Assembly.

Religious legislation.

The king's position in Paris grew more and more difficult. The public orators and many of the newspapers were beginning to suspect his intentions, and to denounce him as an enemy of the Revolution. He had long thought of flight, and his queen,

Marie Antoinette, urged him in the same direction. He made arrangements with the general in command of the north-eastern armies, and intended to place himself under the protection of the troops in that region and to dictate certain changes in the constitution. He escaped from Paris in June, 1791, but, when he was close to safety, he was discovered, arrested, and brought back to Paris. The situation was a very difficult one, but in the end the Assembly determined to suspend him from his functions until the constitution was completed. When completed, it was to be offered to the king: if he accepted it, he would reign with the powers which it gave him; if he refused it, that would amount to abdication. There were, however, a number of politicians in Paris who believed that this course would lead to no good result, and who pressed for the king's immediate deposition and the declaration of the republic. A petition was drawn up, and a crowd gathered to sign and support it; the crowd was, however, dispersed by the National Guards, and many people lost their lives in the confusion that followed. In September, 1791, the constitution was at last completed. France was to be governed by a king, who had the right of appointing his ministers and of controlling the army and navy, but had no power of permanently vetoing legislation. The work of legislation was entrusted to an assembly of some 750 persons, elected by those who possessed a certain amount of property, a qualification which included the peasantry, but excluded most of the workers of the towns. It consisted of one chamber only, which was to sit for two years. The local government of France had also been reorganized: the old provinces with their historic memories were swept away, and for them were substituted eighty-three small departments with names derived from some river or mountain, or other natural feature. This constitution was now offered to the king. He formally accepted it and declared his intention of ruling according to it. Many, both at home and abroad, thought that this marked the end of the Revolution, and that France would henceforth enjoy a constitutional life very similar to that which was to be found in England.

The king's flight.

Completion of the constitution.

But the Revolution was not nearly over; its most violent period had not yet begun. Many causes contributed to the next outbreak of revolutionary violence. The constitution was not easily workable; the king was not loyal to it; and the queen was bitterly hostile. The Revolution, so far as it had gone, had by no means satisfied the indefinite aspirations and hopes which had been entertained at its beginning. It would have been difficult in any case to prevent a further movement in favour of equality and democracy, but now a new influence began to act upon the French Revolution. War came between France and a European coalition, and this war altered the whole course of the movement.

Causes of the next wave of Revolution.

War.

An all-important factor in the European situation was the condition of the kingdom of Poland. We have spoken in an earlier chapter of its weakness and of its decadence, and we have seen how, in 1772, Prussia, Austria, and Russia had each of them seized a portion of the outlying territories of the unhappy kingdom. But after that it seemed as though better times were in store. All classes of the people were awake to their danger, and the king, Stanislas II., though in no sense a great or a strong man, was really anxious to give to the country a workable constitution by abolishing the dangerous powers of the aristocracy and establishing an assembly that could really make laws, and a ministry that could really govern. The country made undoubted progress, but the neighbours of Poland, and especially Russia, were not anxious to see their victim acquiring new strength, and when therefore in 1791 the reformed constitution was at last forced through, they prepared to interfere. Excuses of the most flimsy kind were discovered; Poland was invaded: her neighbours determined to seize upon portions of her territory, but the principle to be adopted in the division of the spoil awoke violent contentions. In the end Austria was left out from the scheme; Russia gained the larger amount of territory; but Prussia seized valuable lands which rounded off her own. It will be well to look a little further, and to see the actual end of the unhappy country. Divided and pillaged as she had been, the State was unstable,

Poland.

The Second Partition.

and the population irritable and discontented. The Russians brought matters to a head by ordering the entire disbanding of the Polish army. The order was met by a rebellion under the leadership of the Polish hero, Kosciusko. He gained some remarkable successes, but it was impossible that he should win any final triumph against the vast powers leagued against him. In October, 1795, the third and last partition of Poland took place. Prussia, Austria, and Russia all joined in the spoil, and mutually promised that the name of Poland should never reappear on the map of Europe.

The end of Poland.

These Polish troubles have been put here at the beginning of the foreign relations of the French Revolution, because they had throughout a great influence upon the actions of every European power, and did much to make an efficient and energetic coalition against France impossible. There were two revolutions in Europe, the Polish and the French, and the Polish Revolution assisted the French Revolution to triumph by withdrawing a large measure of the energies and attention of the great powers.

Influence of Poland on France.

From the first the French Revolution had attracted a great deal of attention. At first Europe saw with satisfaction the disappearance of the old monarchy which had so often kept Europe in alarm during the last two centuries, and it was believed that the new constitutional government would be weaker and less dangerous to the peace of Europe. But soon the action of France provoked the hostility of several powers. The principles which the Revolution proclaimed tended to subvert the existing order in every European country, and Austria and the other German states had also more definite grievances. France had declared the total abolition of feudalism: tithes and feudal dues were no longer to be paid; and it turned out that many of the tithes and feudal dues paid upon the eastern frontier went into the treasuries of German powers, and that these payments had been guaranteed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The French refused adequate compensation and they declared that the protests of the German powers were an insult to French independence

Causes of war with France.

Grievances of Germany against France.

and powers of self-government. They on their side had their grievances against the German states. A number of French nobles, including the brothers of the king, had left France since the beginning of the Revolution, partly in fear, but partly in order that they might not in any way participate in a movement which they detested. They had taken up their residence beyond the frontiers, at Trèves and at Maine, and there they kept up the appearance of a royal court, and openly enlisted and drilled troops with a view to interference in France and the overthrow of the Revolution. The French king had formally protested, and the emperor, Leopold, who succeeded Joseph II. in 1790 used his influence and procured the disbanding of these troops, but on both sides the war fever was growing. Nearly all classes in France desired war. The king believed that it would secure his liberation at the hands of the foreign army; the conservative party thought that it would consolidate the constitution; most of the revolutionaries believed that it would reveal the duplicity of the king and hasten the establishment of a republic. The only opponents of the war were to be found in the extremest members of the revolutionary party, the so-called Jacobins.[1] The leaders of these men, Marat, Robespierre and Danton, protested and declared that under the existing circumstances no good could come of an European war. In April, 1792, war was declared against Francis I. of Austria, who at the age of twenty-three had just succeeded his cautious and diplomatic father.

The emigrant nobles.

Declaration of war.

The war opened on the side of France with great enthusiasm and confidence of victory, but the first campaign in Belgium was an entire failure, and the immediate result of the war was the exasperation of public opinion against the king. He was believed to be in sympathy rather with the enemy than with the armies of France, and to desire a victory for the Austrian troops which would lead to the liberation of himself and his court

Influence of the war on the position of the king.

[1] This famous name is derived from the fact that the political club which represented the most advanced revolutionists met in a building which had once belonged to the Jacobin Friars.

from his Parisian captors. The Assembly was unwilling to take any definite action, and the next great move in the Revolution was carried out by a secret conspiracy of the Jacobins. Danton, a barrister of good standing, who had thrown himself with ardour into the cause of the Revolution, was the leading force in the movement. It was due to him that on August 10, 1792, an attack was made upon the palace by the revolutionists of Paris, assisted by troops which had arrived in Paris on their road to the frontier. The king and queen and the royal party fled before the attack was actually delivered, and found a place of refuge in the hall where the Assembly met. The palace was stormed; the Swiss guards who defended it were cut down; the victorious insurgents invaded the Assembly room and demanded the deposition of the king. It could not now be refused. Louis XVI. was declared deposed, and a new Assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage, and to be called the Convention, was summoned to decide the future destinies of France.

Deposition of the king.

This great upheaval was soon followed by a deed more terrible. To understand it we must remember that France was for a time without effective government; the legislative assembly was soon to disappear; the ministers whom it had appointed were new to their work and possessed little authority. The most powerful agency that was to be found in France was the Municipal Council of Paris, which was known as the Commune. The constitution of this body had been changed on the morning of August 10, and it consisted now of men of extreme opinions, among whom the chief influence was that of Marat. Paris was doubtless full of men who deplored the overthrow of the monarchy, and who looked forward to an early opportunity of reversing the decision that had been taken on August 10. It was alleged that conspiracies were being formed to overthrow the newly established government. It was determined to search Paris for hidden arms and possible traitors, and the prisons of Paris were, at the end of August, crowded to overflowing by men who had been thus arrested. Then, on September 2, extemporized tribunals were set up by

The Commune of Paris.

order of the Commune, and the prisoners were brought before them. Ordinary offenders were sent back to prison, but those who were believed to be friendly to the monarchy and therefore hostile to the new Government, were thrust out from the doors of the prisons and massacred in the street. For three, and to some extent for five, days this hideous work went on, and it is probable that about 1500 persons, among whom were to be found several women, were butchered. The responsibility for the act rests with the Commune and with its Executive Committee, on which Marat had a place. In a document subsequently circulated in the provinces the massacre was described as the spontaneous vengeance of the people against traitors in their midst at a time when France was engaged in a dangerous war, but there can be no doubt that, if they were partly carried out by the anger and suspicion of the people, they were also to a large extent planned and organized.

The September massacres.

Marat

If we turn to the frontiers, we see there an unexpected result. The Austrians had been joined by the Prussians, and together they had invaded France under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick. The frontier towns fell into their possession, and they marched on without meeting with serious resistance until they reached the hills of the Argonnes where an army was posted under the command of Dumouriez. A battle was fought at Valmy. It resulted in a serious check to the forces of the allies, and the check was made much more serious by what followed. The Duke of Brunswick had never been in favour of a march to Paris. The weather was very bad, his troops were suffering from illness, it was difficult to procure provisions. Instead, therefore, of making any further attempt to penetrate through the lines of the enemy, he negotiated with Dumouriez for a retreat, and fell back towards the German frontier and subsequently passed the Rhine. The Battle of Valmy was a small one, but it is one of the most important in European history. It first gave confidence to the revolutionary armies and inaugurated that series of military triumphs, which under Napoleon carried the French flag into nearly every European capital.

Battle of Valmy and retreat of the allies.

The Convention promised on August 10 was elected in the early days of September, and it was believed at first to have resulted in a considerable victory for the more moderate party; but the events which followed soon gave the supremacy in France to the extremest of the revolutionary parties. The Republic was declared; then the king was placed upon his trial, and in defiance of the provisions of the constitution of 1791, he was found guilty of treason and was executed in January, 1793.

The Convention.

The Republic.

Execution of the king.

The year 1793 saw the establishment of the Reign of Terror. The control of the government soon passed into the hands of the extreme revolutionary party of the Jacobins, although without question they were not supported by more than a minority of the people. But they were daring and decided, and their rivals, the Girondists were timid and uncertain in their aims. France meanwhile, was plunged into a war of ever-increasing magnitude. Civil war was soon added to the foreign wars. In La Vendée, a district of Western France, the peasantry rose in insurrection against the republic, protesting against the attacks upon the Church and the attempt to force them into the army. In the south and in the east there were dangerous movements, especially in Lyons, and Toulon. Abroad, the number of the enemies of France was increasing. Britain, Holland, and Spain joined early in 1793 and soon France had to face the coalition of all the great states of Europe, except Russia, and Russia herself was unfriendly. The French armies were defeated and the collapse of France seemed imminent. The Jacobins had to organize resistance against these apparently overwhelming dangers. There was no possibility of applying constitutional methods, for a free vote would certainly have overthrown the Jacobin power. They ruled therefore by terror; they ruled, that is, as many governments have ruled before them, by frightening their enemies into submission. The chief agency of their power was the Committee of Public Safety, a body of twelve men, in which first Danton, and then later Robespierre, was the chief influence. This body overruled all other authorities

The Reign of Terror.

Committee of Public Safety.

whatever, but it was specially concerned with raising troops and directing campaigns, and in the end it succeeded in winning a series of remarkable victories for France. In Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal had been established, and before it were sent large numbers of men and women accused of offences against the State. Hostility to the Jacobins was interpreted as high treason, and, after a hurried trial, those who were found guilty were sent to the guillotine. The batches of victims showed a constant tendency to increase. The queen followed the king to the scaffold, and many men who had taken a prominent and an eager part in the early scenes of the Revolution were put to death. Soon even moderate republican opinions were interpreted as an offence against the State, and the leaders of the once-powerful Girondist party were sent to prison and the guillotine.

The Revolutionary Tribunal.

Soon the Jacobins began to quarrel among themselves. It is difficult to distinguish the aims and the limits of the different parties. There was one party of more moderate men led by Danton and inclining to more merciful measures at home, and to a limitation of the foreign war. Another party which was led by Hébert and Chaumette had its centre in the Paris Commune, and urged on social changes of the most radical description. Through the influence of this party a new era was inaugurated, the first year of which was to date from the declaration of the Republic in September, 1792; and France dated officially by this new era until the reconciliation of Napoleon with the papacy brought back the Christian calendar. The year was at the same time rearranged. The old months were abolished, and new names, taken from the characteristics of the seasons, were adopted; divisions of ten days were substituted for the weeks of seven days. A new decimal system of weights and measures was introduced. Then, through the influence of the Commune, Christianity was declared abolished, and the worship of Reason substituted for it. A third party consisted of Robespierre and his followers, who were opposed to the moderate counsels of Danton on the one hand, and the violence of Hébert on the other. Their chief source of

The worship of Reason.

power was to be found in the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre ruled for several months before his downfall. We cannot go into the contests between these rival parties; failure or success, though it meant death or life, turned often on small incidents. The great mass of the people of France and even of Paris had no influence upon the course of affairs. The one aim of each party was to secure the support of the energetic revolutionaries of the capital and the armed force of the streets.

In the end Robespierre triumphed, his rivals were sent to the guillotine, and it seemed as though he might be able to found some orderly and efficient government. Robespierre was a man of definite and fanatical ideas; he had accepted the teaching of Rousseau, and he desired to carry it out as far as possible. The worship of Reason was abhorrent to him, and he desired to replace it, not by Christianity, but by that vague Theism which had been preached by Rousseau. The assembly tamely co-operated with him: it voted that the one worship suitable to France was the worship of the Supreme Being. A day was set apart when with many symbolical incidents and much speech-making the new religion was inaugurated by Robespierre himself. But for all this the Terror did not cease: fear in the case of Robespierre had much to do with his cruelty. He knew himself to be surrounded by enemies whose triumph would mean his destruction. He struck on all sides, and the batches of the victims for the guillotine increased week by week. He openly aimed also at the establishment of a sort of dictatorship, a step which his teacher Rousseau had also recommended; from this position he hoped to organize the State so as to realize the vision of happiness and of austere virtue, which had always been before his mind as an ideal. But his power could not last long: he exasperated too much opposition, and he roused the fears of too many rivals; he could bear no competition, and the guillotine was his method of settling all rivalries. In the end, therefore, a conspiracy was set on foot; many men who differed very widely from one another in opinions and in characters, united in a desire to overthrow the hated dictator.

The worship of the Supreme Being.

In July, 1794, an attack was made upon him in the hall of the Convention. He tried to find means of meeting the blow in the Commune, which since the death of Hébert had been in his power. But the Convention could not now withdraw. Paris seemed likely to be the scene of a pitched battle, but Robespierre's followers fell away from him, he was himself seized, and having been already declared an outlaw, was guillotined without form of trial. **Fall of Robespierre.**

With the fall of Robespierre the reign of terror soon came to an end. Some of those who had overthrown him were terrorists even fiercer than himself, but the overthrow of the dictator allowed public opinion to declare itself in many ways, and it was soon obvious that the general feeling was bitterly opposed to the measures of cruel oppression under which Paris and France had groaned for so long. The members who had been excluded from the Convention returned to it, and before the end of the year, though occasionally measures of great severity were adopted, the general tendency was towards more normal methods. **End of the Reign of Terror.**

Moreover the great cause of the Reign of Terror had disappeared. It had originated in an idea, false but natural, of the needs of France when she was fighting for her existence against the European coalition. In face of the dangers into which she was thrown all measures seemed permissible, and the cruelest repression of the enemies of France laudable, if only it led to successful resistance to the invading armies. In the spring of 1793, the military outlook for France had been extremely dark. The early successes that had been won in Belgium had been turned to defeat, and Dumouriez, the chief commander of the French armies, was beaten at Neerwinden, and went over to the enemy, declaring himself in favour of restoring the monarchy. His army refused to follow him, but all through the summer of 1793 the enemy was penetrating French territory in the north, the east, and the south; while in various parts of France, but especially in the south and in the west, civil war of a particularly bitter kind had broken out. All these dangers had to a large extent passed away before the fall of Robespierre. Through the energy of the Jacobin **Course of the war.** **Treason of Dumouriez.**

government the rebels in France had been beaten down and punished with great cruelty. The tide of foreign war had also turned in favour of France: her territory was almost free from enemies, and the French armies were entering upon a career of conquest beyond her own borders. The Revolution had begun by a declaration that France desired to live at peace with all men, and would make no conquests; but those ideas were forgotten now. It was declared that French territory must expand as far as her natural frontiers, and the phrase was interpreted as implying at least the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Very soon, as the French armies proved their superiority to all those whom they met, even this aim was not high enough, and France entered upon a career of indefinite conquest. There was clearly no need any longer to maintain the terror in order to give confidence to the armies and energy to the government. Men's nerves grew steadier, and more sober views of the situation were rendered possible. They turned now with loathing from the reign of terror, and from the Jacobins who had supported it so long.

War for the natural frontiers of France.

The new trend of ideas was shown by the Constitution which was accepted in July, 1795. The infant son of Louis XVI. had recently died in prison; the next heirs to the throne were both of them exiles from France and fighting in the ranks of her enemies. It was felt that there was a real opportunity for winning to the Republic a great mass of opinion hitherto hostile to it, if only a moderate constitution were drawn up and proclaimed. So there came what is called the "Constitution of the year III." It was preceded not only by a declaration of the rights of man, but also by a declaration of the duties of a citizen. Two chambers (not one as in the constitution of 1791) were henceforth to guide the policy of France. There was to be a Council of 500 forming the lower house, and a Council of Ancients—men over forty years of age—forming the upper house. The upper house was to have a suspensory veto upon all legislation, and in order to avoid the pressure of the armed mob of Paris, the chambers were allowed to sit where they chose. The Executive Government was to be vested in a Directory of five

The Constitution of 1795.

persons, who were to take over most of the powers of the Committee of Public Safety, and to have in their hands the direction of diplomacy and of war. It was further decided that one third of the assembly should retire each year, and that two-thirds of the first assemblies should consist of members of the present Convention. This last regulation is defensible, but it gave at the time great offence. Men had hoped for a complete change of system, and now it was clear that the next assemblies would to a large extent carry on the policy and ideas of the Convention. All parties rose in protest against this regulation, and an insurrection of Paris took place in October, 1795.[1] The Convention faced the new rising in a spirit very different from that which had been shown in face of demands of the mob in the earlier days of the Revolution. The defence of the Convention was entrusted to soldiers, and Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the chief of them. When the attack was made upon the Convention it was driven off with artillery, and the new Constitution was thus imposed upon France. On October 26, 1795, the Convention came to an end.

Napoleon crushes a rising against the Convention.

The Revolution now became to a very large extent merged in the career of Napoleon; he had hitherto played only a subordinate part, but he had distinguished himself in the suppression of the rising, and from this time forward he was promoted from post to post until he became the Emperor of France, and the most prominent figure in Europe. It will be well, therefore, now to follow the course of the war and then return to the political history of Europe, for it is the war that is henceforth the most important feature of the times. The prophecy of Burke was about to come true: France was turning away her eyes from the confusion and ignominy of her domestic politics and was watching with enthusiasm and with rapture the triumphs of her soldiers. The politicians lost hold upon the public imagination and the soldiers won it, and it is as a result of this tendency that Napoleon, the darling and the hero of the French armies, made himself before long the supreme master of the government of France.

Rise of Napoleon.

[1] This is known as the Rising of Vendémiaire from the name of the month in the new calendar in which it took place.

The coalition against France was breaking up. We have seen that Polish affairs and rivalries in various parts of Europe had strained already the relations between Austria and Prussia. The victories that the French had won in 1794 had made the Prussians still more anxious to have done with the war; and in 1795 the Peace of Basel was signed, whereby Prussia ceded territories upon the left bank of the Rhine to France and received a promise that Germany, north of a certain line, should be free from operations of war, and that Prussia should be recognized as the leading power in the north of Germany. Spain also withdrew, so that France now had to face Austria and Great Britain only. It was against Austria that all her efforts were directed. The campaign was to be conducted along two lines: one French army was to advance towards Vienna by the valley of the Danube, whilst another was to attack the Austrian power in Italy, and if successful was to march against Vienna through the north-eastern passes of the Alps. It was to the command of the Italian army that Napoleon was appointed. It was here that for the first time he showed his military genius and demonstrated the immense superiority of the French armies over those which Austria could put into the field against her. He forced his way over the Maritime Alps, compelled the King of Sardinia to withdraw from the Austrian alliance, pushed on and occupied Milan. He was welcomed by a large body of Italian opinion, which loathed the Austrian rule and saw in the French their best hope of gaining national independence.

Peace of Basel.

Siege of Mantua.

Napoleon next advanced upon Mantua and laid siege to that city, which was an all-important fortress in the Austrian occupation of Italy. The Austrians put out all their strength in the effort to save the place. Five separate armies were despatched to the relief of the city, but each army was met by Napoleon and defeated. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Rivoli, in January, 1797, showed that they could never hope to dislodge Napoleon, and Mantua surrendered in the following month. Napoleon now felt himself master of Italy, and he advanced into the Austrian territories by the north of the Adriatic. All efforts to resist him failed, but he felt his own position not altogether

safe, and he accepted in April, 1797, a truce which soon led up to the treaty of Campo-Formio in October, 1797. By this treaty the emperor renounced his claims to the Netherlands which were already in the possession of the French republic, and recognized the establishment of a free Italian State in the north of Italy under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. On the other hand, as the result of a very odious series of intrigues, the Austrians were placed in possession of the free republic of Venice, which was at this time the oldest of all European states. Venice had in vain tried to maintain her neutrality during the great war: her lands had been traversed by both armies, her actions had been misinterpreted, and the French had at last laid hands upon the city itself. It was incapable of resistance. The old warlike spirit which had made Venice for so long "the bulwark of Europe against the Ottoman" was at an end: the long range of Napoleon's artillery made the waters of the lagoons no adequate defence, and it surrendered somewhat unheroically into his hands. Then without any consultation of the wishes of the people, who were indeed bitterly opposed to what was being done, it was handed over to the Austrian power and its possession nearly compensated for losses sustained elsewhere.

Treaty of Campo-Formio.

After the peace of Campo-Formio, France had no enemy except Great Britain, but so great was the superiority of the British navy, that it seemed impossible to inflict upon her any serious blow. The next step in the war was a strange one. Napoleon was instructed by the Directors to undertake the invasion of Egypt. Egypt was a portion of Turkish territory, and against the Sultan the French had hardly the semblance of a grievance, but it was believed that in addition to the value of Egypt in itself, it would be a serious blow to English prestige and power if the French were established in a country which would bring them so far in the direction of India. They proposed already to cut the Suez Canal, and emissaries were sent forward to test the feelings of the Indian peoples.

The Egyptian campaign.

On his road to Egypt Napoleon seized Malta, which had hitherto been in the power of the Knights of St. John. He

reached Egypt safely, and soon made himself master of the whole country. The situation was, however, entirely changed by the naval victory which Nelson and the British fleet won over the French in the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon's communications with France were now rendered precarious, and his own future uncertain. He attacked Syria, but had to abandon the siege of Acre. On his return to Egypt he easily defeated the Turkish forces which were brought against him, but he received news from Europe that a second great European coalition had come into being, and that the French armies had suffered serious defeats. He determined to return to France. He left the Egyptian armies under the command of subordinate officers and himself managed to reach the coasts of France, though the waters of the Mediterranean were being patrolled by English ships.

Failure of the Egyptian expedition.

The coalition was as serious as Napoleon had believed. Prussia, indeed, still stood aloof, but the Russian Czar had thrown himself heartily into the movement, and Russian armies under the great general, Suvorof, had inflicted serious defeats upon the French in Italy, and had cooped the French armies up within the city of Genoa. Before Napoleon arrived in France, however, the situation had somewhat improved. The allies were quarrelling among themselves, and France was no longer in serious danger of invasion. Napoleon's campaigns in Italy had made him the hero of France, and his glory had not been tarnished by his Egyptian campaigns, for he had fought no battle which he had not won, and the naval supremacy of England was a force against which he had no means of contending. Public opinion regarded him as the man of the future; almost every party believed that it was he who could bring order and peace to France, and he was credited with designs very different from those which he entertained. The Directory was already in serious difficulties. From the first the Directors were at variance with the legislative assemblies, and that variance only deepened as time went on. They pursued a policy in religious and social matters which offended the mass of the people, and was not in itself successful. On more than one

The prestige of Napoleon.

occasion they had come into direct conflict with the assemblies, and had forced their will upon them by violent means. The disasters which attended the armies of France after the formation of the second coalition had ruined the authority of the Directory, and it was plain that the institutions of France were not likely to remain long in their present condition. Napoleon's ambition already aimed at the acquisition of the supreme power. On his arrival in Paris he entered into negotiations with various politicians, but he found his chief support in Siéyès, who had been prominent at the beginning of the Revolution as a political theorist, and who still believed that he could invent a constitution which would give to France the good government which it at present so clearly lacked. Napoleon joined him without by any means sympathizing with all his views. It was hoped that Napoleon's prestige and popularity were so great that he would be able to carry out changes which would lead to the establishment of his power and that of his colleagues without having to draw his sword and appeal to force. The soldiers quartered in Paris were put under his command and the legislative assemblies were moved to Saint Cloud, some few miles outside of Paris. Some of the Directors, acting in collusion with Napoleon, resigned, the others were forced to resign. Napoleon and Siéyès now hoped that the assemblies would pass a decree naming Napoleon, Siéyès and Ducos a triumvirate (a committee of three), for the government of France, and the drawing up of a new constitution. At first all went well, but in the end it was seen that the assemblies valued their independence and would not pass the required vote, unless they were forced to do so. An excuse was found in an imaginary attack upon Napoleon. The grenadiers were called in to disperse the rebellious legislators. A few who were left behind, acting in the name of the majority, passed the necessary decrees, and at the end of the day the "Revolution of Brumaire" [1] was accomplished. Napoleon was not as yet

The Directory discredited.

Coup d'état of Brumaire.

[1] So called from the name of the month in the new Revolutionary calendar in which it took place. Its date in the old reckoning, which was soon restored in France, was Nov. 10, 1799.

either consul, dictator, or emperor, but his foot was clearly on the road which soon led him to absolute power in France.

No period of history has had so many books written about it as the French Revolution. For English readers the summaries by Mrs. Gardiner and J. H. Rose are most useful. The larger histories of Carlyle, Mignet, and Morse Stephens, regard the movement from widely different points of view. For the war and the early career of Napoleon Mr. J. H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is valuable. Fyffe's *Modern Europe* gives an unsurpassed narrative of European history from 1792. Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* may still be read with interest for a contemporary view of the events of the time.

CHAPTER XIII

Napoleon

NAPOLEON, who arrived at power by the Revolution of Brumaire, has been the subject of more books and of more discussion than any other figure in modern history, and there are many points in his career and character about which widely different opinions will always be held. He had been at first a warm supporter of the Revolution in its extreme form, and had been associated with the group around Robespierre; he had seen service with the armies of the Revolution, and had specially distinguished himself by his rapid insight and his daring at the siege of Toulon. We have seen how, for the suppression of the rebellion of Vendémiaire, he had been appointed to the command of the Italian army, and how uninterrupted his progress towards power had been from that date. His career shows that he was a man of extraordinary military genius, as capable of conducting a campaign as of directing a battle; but his achievements in the government of France prove that he possessed abilities nearly as high for the management of affairs in time of peace. He had a vivid imagination which allowed him to conceive great plans, and at the same time he had a grip upon

Early life of Napoleon.

details which allowed him to carry them out efficiently. Many of his schemes were in accord with the spirit of the Revolution, and with the past history of France as well. He desired to see the State united and efficiently administered from the centre. He wished to maintain the spirit of equality in social and legal matters, and he allowed no vestige of privilege to reappear. He aimed at the conciliation of all classes that were willing to be conciliated, and only struck at those who proved bitter opponents of his power or of the welfare of France. Were it not for the unlimited ambition and passion for power which runs through the whole of his career, history might have seen in him one of the greatest of all agents in the progress of civilization; as it is, we see in him the cause of many beneficent changes in France and in Europe, but also the cause, and often the guilty cause, of fifteen years of continuous warfare.

His first task was to construct the new constitution that had been promised on the day of the Revolution of Brumaire. Here Siéyès and Napoleon differed widely in their aims. Siéyès aimed at a strange and curiously balanced constitution, which would have been presided over by a magistrate called the Grand Elector, who would have been little more than the pompous figure head of the State. Napoleon, however, was determined that the State should be in the hands of a vigorous and effective ruler, and his strength of will and command of affairs soon brushed his colleague aside.

The plans of Siéyès.

In the scheme adopted by Napoleon, the Executive Government was to be vested in a first consul and two colleagues, who were also to be called consuls, but were to be entirely subordinate to the first consul. With him was to rest the control of the army, the appointment of ambassadors, and the whole executive machinery of the State. He was to be assisted by a State Council, which was to be nominated by himself, and which was to be the source of all legislation. There were various other councils resting to some extent on the choice of the people, but the whole tendency of the new order was to restrict the power of election within the narrowest compass. There was a complete reaction from the

The Constitution adopted.

enthusiasm for election which was visible in all the work of the early revolution. The chief body was to be a conservative Senate of sixty members, appointed at first by the consuls, though subsequently, when vacancies occurred, they were to be filled up by the Senate itself. This body was to elect the other councils, and was to decide whether any proposals were in harmony with the constitution or not. Next to this Senate of sixty, was a Tribunate composed of one hundred members appointed by the Senate: this was the only body to which was allowed freedom of debate. All legislative proposals were to be brought before it and discussed; if they were accepted by the tribunate they were next brought before the so-called legislative body consisting of 300 members appointed by the Senate, and these men were to hear speakers from the tribunate who brought before them the legislative proposals, and upon these proposals they were then to vote without discussion and without assigning a reason. Such a constitution could hardly last very long, and while it lasted the First Consul and his Council of State came to be more and more the predominant and effective part.

The Senate.

The Tribunate.

Hardly was the constitution accepted when Napoleon marched off for his campaign in Italy. The early successes of the coalition had not been continued, but the Austrians and their allies still held the north of Italy, and threatened the frontier of the Upper Rhine. Napoleon, as in 1796, prepared to invade Italy, while General Moreau was to attack the Austrians upon the Danube. In this campaign, as in all in which Napoleon took a part, success was absolutely necessary to him. He owed his position in France to the splendour of his military achievements. Success in war was always the condition of his power. Military failure would have undermined his authority at once, and, if peace had come, the French would have soon returned to their old ideals, their belief in liberty and equality, their desire for a free constitution and a true republic.

The attack on Austria.

The campaign of 1800 was brilliant throughout, and successful in the end. First there came the famous and probably overpraised crossing of the Alps, which brought

Napoleon and his army unexpectedly into Italy in the rear of the Austrian troops. He occupied Milan and then advanced towards Genoa, which had just been occupied by the Austrian army. In June he fought the battle of Marengo. At first it seemed that it must issue in a decisive check for the French, but the timely arrival of fresh forces allowed Napoleon to recover the ground that he had lost, and to overwhelm the Austrian army. A truce was made by which the Austrians withdrew their armies into the north-eastern corner of Italy, but even now Austria was unwilling to make peace. But when in December, 1800, General Moreau inflicted upon them the defeat of Hohenlinden in Bavaria, a defeat quite as complete as that of Marengo, the Austrian Government had at last to yield and sue for terms. The result was the Peace of Lunéville, which was signed in February of the year 1801. The terms of the Peace of Campo-Formio were renewed, and in addition Austria abandoned all territory in Italy beyond the river Adige and surrendered all German territory west of the Rhine to France. After this, Great Britain alone remained in arms against France, and it seemed for a moment as though she might be forced by a great coalition to accept peace on terms unsatisfactory to herself. Many powers complained of Great Britain's despotic use of her naval power, for she claimed the right to stop and to search all vessels which she suspected of carrying goods belonging to the enemy. This procedure had been protested against already on many occasions, and now Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia joined in a league for resistance to these claims. The Czar of Russia, the half mad Paul I., threw himself with ardour into the project and became an eager ally of Napoleon, but the naval power of Great Britain was too strong to be resisted. In April, 1801, the battle of Copenhagen destroyed this alliance. Paul I. had already been assassinated, and there was no possibility of weakening the naval supremacy of Britain. So in March, 1802, the pacification of Europe was completed by the Peace of Amiens between Britain and France. All English conquests were to be restored except the islands

Campaign and battle of Marengo.

Peace of Lunéville.

The League against Great Britain.

Peace of Amiens.

of Trinidad and Ceylon. The most important clause of the treaty was one which laid down that the island of Malta, which the English had taken from France, was to be restored to the Knights of St. John under certain conditions. We shall see shortly that this clause was nominally the source from which the next great European war was to grow.

Meanwhile Napoleon enjoyed not only the glory of unparalleled military triumphs, but also the credit of having given to Europe the peace that she had been vainly desiring for ten years. Germany at this time was passing in consequence of recent events through a rapid transformation. The conquests of the French had proved again and again the utter incapacity of the old Imperial organization to protect Germany, and in the peace of Campo-Formio and again in the peace of Lunéville, great changes in Germany had been clearly hinted at. A deputation of the Imperial Diet had been called together to accept changes in the relations and possessions of the German States which had practically been decided upon by the great powers of France, Russia, and to a less extent by Austria. The chief effort of Napoleon was to push both Austria and Prussia away towards the east of Germany, and to bring the western and south-western powers under the protection of France; thus Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg all received great additions of territory, which were gained by annexing the ecclesiastical states which were so numerous and so large in the west of Germany. Napoleon trusted that these acquisitions which had been won through the agency of France and could only be kept by the protection of France, would maintain Western German States in alliance with France. The ecclesiastical States had been notably corrupt and inefficient, and these changes probably worked ultimately for the better government and the improved prosperity of the land. The empire still existed in name, but it had long been reduced to a mere shadow, and the shadow was now beginning to fade away: it lasted, however, yet for some five years.

The transformation of Germany.

The aim of French diplomacy in Germany.

The Peace of Amiens allowed Napoleon to turn to his schemes of domestic reconstruction, and first he was anxious to

settle the religious question, which had been one of the greatest sources of the weakness of France ever since the legislative assembly had passed the unwise "civil constitution of the clergy." Napoleon's motives in his religious policy were almost entirely political. He saw how great was the power of the Catholic Church, and how large a proportion of the people of France were really devoted to it. He believed, too, that no state could rest upon a stable foundation until its religion was in a settled condition. He had already shown himself more favourable to the papacy than most of the leaders of the Republican armies. Immediately after the battle of Marengo he opened negotiations with Pope Pius VII. The Pope was restored to his dominions from which he had been expelled, and in return he was induced to accept the Concordat or religious settlement of affairs in France (Easter, 1802). By this, the Catholic Church was again established and again endowed by the State. Napoleon as First Consul was to be allowed to appoint to all high ecclesiastical offices, and he thus stepped into the position which the kings of France had held with regard to the Church before the Revolution. The Concordat, however, was not to be associated with any measures of religious persecution; religious toleration was definitely proclaimed, and the ministers of other religions besides the Catholic were taken into the service and received the pay of the State. Such was the general character of the Concordat. It was made much less acceptable to the Pope when, immediately after it, Napoleon issued certain "organic articles," which he declared henceforth binding upon the Church in France, and which he issued without referring them in any way to the Pope. No papal bulls were to be received in France; no synod of the Church was to be held without permission of the Government; no bishop was to leave his diocese upon the summons of the Pope; and the famous declaration of Gallican Liberties which had been issued in the year 1682, and had then been bitterly resented by the Popes of that date, were declared still to be binding upon the Church and people of France. Could the Pope have foreseen these organic articles, he would probably not have

Napoleon's domestic policy.

The Concordat.

The organic articles.

accepted the Concordat. Accepted however it was, and all priests and bishops agreed to hold office according to it. Religious unity was restored to France, and gave to the government an immense increase of strength.

The Legion of Honour.

The Revolution had declared all titles and decorations abolished, but Napoleon, in 1802, instituted the famous Legion of Honour, declaring that the nature of Frenchmen was such that they must have distinctions. The new institution proved extremely popular and has never been abolished.

Education.

Napoleon turned his attention, too, to education : he established the university of France, a central institution in Paris, with seventeen subordinate academies in the provinces. He organized also primary and secondary education ; for hitherto, though many attempts had been made, little had actually been done.

The Napoleonic codes.

The work that he did for the judicial system of France was perhaps the most important of all his efforts at this time. He had no special knowledge of legal affairs, for all his training had been that of a soldier ; but he quickly made himself acquainted with the legislative system of France and the problems connected with it. He determined to introduce classification into the laws of France, and to codify them as the Emperors Theodosius and Justinian had codified the laws of Rome many centuries before. He established a commission to work at the matter, and in a short time five great codes were drawn up. In some respects they exhibited a rather retrograde tendency. The jury was not used as much as it had been by the legislators of the Revolution : in the penal code, branding was admitted : confiscation of property was allowed, and hard labour was made almost as terrible as torture ; but the general effect of the codes was no doubt as beneficial as their principles were rational.

While Napoleon was engaged on this admirable and conciliatory work a new war cloud was arising in ever more threatening form on the horizon of Europe. From the signing of the Peace of Amiens the relations between Britain and Napoleon had never been quite satisfactory, and a rupture was

now impending. The causes of the new war are still disputed, but their general features are plain. On the side of Napoleon it must be admitted that his actions since the conclusion of the peace had been in many ways provocative. He had made great additions to the possessions of France; he had practically annexed to France the Cisalpine Republic, which had hitherto existed as an independent state in the north of Italy; for in 1802 he had himself been chosen as President of the Cisalpine Republic, which soon afterwards became the kingdom of Italy. Piedmont was definitely annexed; Parma and Elba were also declared to be parts of the territory of France. Still more provocative were his dealings with Switzerland. The Helvetic Republic, which had been independent since the fourteenth century, was troubled by internal disputes of democrats against oligarchs, and of those who desired central government against those who wished to maintain the independence of the cantons. Napoleon took advantage of the situation to occupy the country, declaring that Switzerland must be saved from herself. The independence of Switzerland was nominally maintained, but she was henceforth to provide a large number of troops to the French army. For all practical purposes she also had become a portion of French territory. Moreover, while the possessions of France were being thus increased upon the mainland, there was evidence that the eyes of Napoleon were being turned again upon Egypt, and even upon India, and the reports of his commissioners sent out to the East seemed to show a design to take up at an early date the schemes which the Battle of the Nile had forced him for a time to drop. The balance of power which had been established by the Peace of Lunéville had clearly been upset, and Europe had often gone to war to prevent any overthrow of such a balance.

Renewed war with Great Britain.

Occupation of Italy and Switzerland.

The balance of power overthrown.

On the side of England there had been much disappointment with the results of the peace. It had been hoped that it would lead to a great increase of commerce, but it was found that no commercial treaty between the two countries would be accepted by France, and that Napoleon was determined to maintain

against England a barrier of almost complete commercial exclusion. The English government moreover refused to abandon Malta. The conditions annexed to the treaty had not indeed been fulfilled, but it is certain that Britain made no attempt to fulfil these conditions. The rapid progress made by the French power upon the continent in time of peace was regarded as a sufficient excuse for maintaining in British hands this island, which might be made so important a basis of operations in any naval war in the Mediterranean. An English ambassador was sent to Paris, but from the first he was instructed on no account to consent to the abandonment of Malta; and as Napoleon insisted on acquiring the island, partly for military reasons and partly because to abandon his claim would have meant a great loss of prestige, war was probable from the first. It was declared in March, 1803.

The question of Malta.

Before we proceed to the war it will be well to follow the changes in Napoleon's personal position which rapidly led him to the assumption of the Imperial title. Immediately after the Peace of Amiens, the proposal was made to bestow upon him the Consulship for life, which he held at present only for a term of years. The proposition was submitted to a public vote, and three million and a half voted in his favour, while only eight thousand voted against him. The constitution was at the same time modified in the direction of absolutism; especially the tribunate, whose debates had hitherto kept alive the spirit of liberty and of criticism, was henceforth ordered to debate in secret, and no report was published. Shortly after this, various plots against the life or the power of Napoleon were reported. Some of the leading soldiers of France, such men as the exile Pichegru and Moreau who had just achieved such triumphs in Germany, were now leagued with various malcontents against Napoleon's power. The plots were discovered and their leaders suffered various penalties. The Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, was resident beyond the frontiers of France, and was believed by Napoleon to have had a hand in the recent plot. He was seized, contrary to all international right, was brought to Paris, sentenced by court

Napoleon Life Consul.

Execution of the Duke of Enghien.

martial and executed. No incident in Napoleon's career had hitherto so shocked the feeling of Europe as this. In face of these attacks upon Napoleon's power, and with a new European war clearly before them, it was felt by his supporters that it would be well to show the confidence which France felt in Napoleon by giving him a higher title than any that he held at present. The title of emperor had suggested itself for some time. A proposal was definitely made in the tribunate, and in May, 1804, a decree of the Senate bestowed it upon him. It was the political culmination of his career, and was rendered even more striking by the fact that Pope Pius VII. was induced to come to Paris and preside over the ceremony of coronation. The new emperor restored at once the old military title of Marshal, and bestowed it upon some twenty of the great soldiers, who had already won for themselves a European reputation by fighting under the banners of France.

Napoleon Emperor.

In the war which now opened, France forced Spain into alliance with her, but with this exception she stood alone against the coalition which soon contained the leading states of Europe. Great Britain at first was unassisted, and Prussia never gave effective assistance, believing that her position in Germany was secure; but Sweden, Russia, and Austria soon joined, and they declared that their object was to force the power of France to return within her ancient limits. Napoleon's first aim was to win a victory, which would have been decisive of the whole campaign, by invading England and dictating terms in London. He prepared an army and flotilla of boats upon the English Channel near Boulogne, and clung obstinately to a belief in the possibility of his plan. But the supremacy of the British navy made the scheme highly dangerous. All efforts to decoy or drive the navy from the Channel proved unavailing, and Napoleon had abandoned his scheme of invasion before Nelson won the overwhelming victory of Trafalgar (October, 1805) against the combined fleets of Spain and France. The campaign thus opened with a failure, but the impression of it was soon effaced by the amazing victories which Napoleon won in Germany. His

Third alliance against France.

Failure of the invasion of England.

troops were directed to converge by different routes upon the upper basin of the Danube. The campaign which followed was a marvel of organization and foresight. First the Austrian General Mack, who had boasted of the triumphs he was going to win, found himself surrounded at Ulm and forced to capitulate with thirty-three thousand men. Then Napoleon pressed on towards Vienna. If Prussia had joined with the allies the situation would have been extremely dangerous for France, but under her king, Frederick William III., she pursued a wavering and ineffective policy, and Napoleon struck against Austria and Russia alone. On December 2, 1805, the armies met in the great battle of Austerlitz, and what followed was the most wonderful of all the victories that the military genius of Napoleon won. The enemy was hopelessly defeated. Vienna was in Napoleon's power, and the Czar thought himself fortunate to be able to retreat out of danger. The resistance of Austria was broken, and she was forced in December, 1805, to accept the treaty of Pressburg, the third treaty which she had made with Napoleon after having suffered overwhelming defeat.

Ulm.

Austerlitz.

Treaty of Pressburg.

The overthrow of Austria was followed by the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, that institution which had existed since the reign of Otto the Great in the tenth century, and in a sense since the reign of Charlemagne in the eighth, and carried back the memories of men to the Imperial line of the old Roman Cæsars. We have seen that every effort to give it vigour and efficiency, though such efforts had been frequently made, had resulted in failure. With every decade it grew weaker, more obviously a sham and an anachronism. When Napoleon took the title of emperor, the Emperor Francis called himself Emperor of Austria. Now in 1806, without awaking the regrets of any one, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to be.

End of the Holy Roman Empire.

Shortly after the overthrow of Austria there broke out war between Napoleon and Prussia. Prussia had hitherto been carefully handled by French diplomacy, and had not fought against France since 1795. She found herself, however,

now driven into an ever more subordinate position in Germany. Napoleon formed the states of Western Germany into a body called the Confederation of the Rhine, and thus created a rival power to Prussia. Moreover promises which had been half-made to Prussia were not kept. She had hoped to annex the kingdom of Hanover to her dominions, but that hope was not realized. It had been proposed that Prussia should assume the Imperial title, but now no encouragement was given her to carry out that scheme. At last, seeing that delay would only reduce her to greater extremities, and relying upon the alliance of Saxony and of Russia, she declared war against France.

War against Prussia.

The war that followed was perhaps the most amazing of Napoleon's triumphs. The prestige of the Prussian army was little diminished. The name of Frederick the Great, and the tradition which he established, still seemed a guarantee for the efficiency and the victory of the Prussian troops. But in truth the traditions of Frederick the Great had been a positive drawback to the Prussian armies of late, for they had prevented the adoption of the new methods which had been introduced by Napoleon. It came as an overwhelming surprise to all Europe when in October, 1806, in a double battle, which is usually known as the Battle of Jena, two Prussian armies were annihilated. And worse still was to come. At Jena the Prussian armies had been beaten, but in what followed they were disgraced. Fortress after fortress with strong fortifications, large garrisons, and sufficient provisions, surrendered to insignificant French forces. Prussia seemed at a blow removed for ever from the list of the great nations. The king kept up a fierce resistance in the north-east, relying upon the assistance of Russia, but in June, 1807, the Prussian and Russian armies were again defeated in the murderous battle of Friedland, and Prussia and Russia accepted peace.

Overthrow of Prussia.

This is the famous Peace of Tilsit which marks the zenith of Napoleon's career. It took the shape of a friendly alliance between the Czar and Napoleon, in which Russia promised to support his schemes against all his enemies, and especially against England. Russia lost nothing

Peace of Tilsit.

by the peace, but upon Prussia the blows of the conqueror fell with extreme severity. The western lands of Prussia were taken away and made into the kingdom of Westphalia, which was given to one of Napoleon's brothers; and the Polish territories of Prussia were made into the independent duchy of Warsaw and given to the King of Saxony. Prussia was not to be allowed to have an army greater than a fixed and low figure, and French troops remained in occupation of the land.

Kingdom of Westphalia and Duchy of Warsaw.

The only enemy that now remained was Great Britain, which since the Battle of Trafalgar seemed almost invulnerable. Napoleon hoped, however, if he could not attack her upon the high seas to ruin her through her commerce. He issued in November, 1806, his famous Berlin Decrees whereby all the coasts of Europe, which were under the dominion of Napoleon, were absolutely closed to British trade. He hoped in this way to bring Great Britain to her knees by ruining the commercial class, which he knew to be the most powerful there; and he did not sufficiently understand the nature of commerce to see that his own dominions would suffer even more severely than those of his enemy. Great Britain retorted by the "orders in council" which placed all the coasts of Europe under blockade and allowed of no commerce from port to port in Napoleon's territories, until the Berlin Decrees were withdrawn. In Western Europe two small countries alone were outside of Napoleon's control, Denmark and Portugal. His designs against Denmark were frustrated by the vigorous action of the English Minister, Canning, and the British fleet. Portugal was overrun by a French army, and the royal family took refuge in Brazil.

Commercial decrees against Great Britain.

British control of Denmark and Portugal.

Had Napoleon died after the Peace of Tilsit he would have seemed a man of almost supernatural powers. He had so far hardly attempted any enterprise in which he had not succeeded: his failures against the British navy had been quite lost sight of in the multitude and magnitude of his victories on land. Every European state in turn had come into collision with him, and the French armies had shown their unquestioned superiority to every one.

The causes of Napoleon's victories.

It was a wonderful but not a miraculous result. It is to be explained firstly by considering the military genius of Napoleon, his skill in every department of warfare, the originality of his methods, and the vigour with which he applied them. But it is to be explained also by considering the difference in character between the forces that France brought into the field, and the forces against which she had to fight. France was a nation under arms: her soldiers were proud of their leader, and felt themselves personally interested in the cause in which they were engaged. On the other side were no nations, but merely governments, separated for the most part in interest and in sympathy from the people governed, and relying upon armies which were brought into the field either by compulsion or by payment, which had no sort of personal interest in the victory of the cause for which they fought. Napoleon could conquer the governments of Europe, but he failed as soon as behind the governments there rose the peoples of Europe, convinced at last that the struggle was one which interested them, and prepared to fight, not at the bidding or coercion of their governments, but out of their own enthusiasm and eagerness for revenge. It should be noted also that in many parts of Europe a good deal of the programme of the French Revolution was accepted by those countries which were fighting against it incarnate in Napoleon, and that France was in the end overthrown by the ideas, the reforms, and the military methods which she herself had brought into being.

France a nation under arms.

France overthrown in the end by her own weapons.

From the time of the Peace of Tilsit onwards, our chief interest is no longer with France and her emperor, but with the various nations which one after the other rose in fury against him. In Prussia there was the stirring of a new spirit, and reforms of the greatest importance were introduced into the army and the civil order of the State. This is the most heroic period in the history of Prussia, when in spite of the terrible catastrophe that had fallen upon her armies, she began soberly but with invincible courage to reorganize her army and to set her government in order in hopes of the coming of better times. The chief agent of these

Reforms in Prussia.

changes was Stein, who passed a series of decrees abolishing serfdom and giving to the peasant a more direct interest in the State. At the same time Scharnhorst introduced new methods into the army; military service was already compulsory, but, as a matter of fact, it fell only upon the peasant serfs. Now it was made equally binding upon all. A new sense of honour and a higher patriotism began to show itself in the ranks of the army, and a force thus came into being on which the might of Napoleon was broken in the end.

Stein.

But it was not in Prussia that the first successful blow was struck. It came from a part of Europe where it could least have been expected. No part of Europe seemed sunk in more hopeless decadence and political apathy than Spain. So weak, so disunited did Spain appear to Napoleon, that he treated it with even greater contempt than was usual with him in his dealings with foreign powers. There was a quarrel between the reigning King Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand. Napoleon enticed Ferdinand into France and acted as arbiter in the quarrel. In the end he thrust both father and son aside, and, by an act of extraordinary violence, appointed his own brother Joseph to be King of Spain. France seemed in all but name to have annexed the Spanish peninsula. At first all went well. The Spanish government was incapable of energy, and Joseph was received in Madrid without difficulty. But then the Spanish people, deserted by their government, themselves began to protest against the French dominion, and in various parts of Spain, both in town and in country, spontaneous organizations began to arise. The French garrisons were attacked and driven within their fortifications. At last in July, 1808, General Dupont, who had been sent into the south to repress a rising, was trapped at Bailen, and there forced to surrender with the whole of his army. It was the first defeat of any magnitude which the French troops had received since the rise of Napoleon. Its effect upon European opinion was immense: it demonstrated that the armies of France were not invincible: and everywhere there was a stirring of rebellion

Spain.

Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain.

The capitulation of Bailen.

in consequence. England declared herself ready to assist the Spaniards, and sent armies over to Portugal with that end in view. We must not here go through the story. The English armies in the Peninsula were at last commanded by Wellington, and under him won victory after victory. In 1810 he won the Battle of Salamanca, and in 1813 he advanced on to the soil of France itself. But though the part played by the English armies in Spain was really very great, credit must at the same time be given to the Spaniards for the daring with which they began the rising, and for the extraordinary tenacity with which in many instances they carried it out. There is no more heroic incident in the annals of European warfare than the resistance of the Spaniards in the Siege of Saragossa, in March, 1809. Spain proved, indeed, the cancer that ate away the strength of Napoleon's Imperial power. Had it stood by itself we cannot doubt that the armies of Napoleon would have sufficed to crush it, but other troubles, some of them of a gigantic kind, were rising everywhere, and thus the Spanish war could never be ended. It drained away some of Napoleon's best troops and generals, at a time when he needed all his forces for the life and death struggle in which he was engaged.

The victories of Wellington in Spain.

There broke out in 1809 another war with Austria, in which, though she was allied with Great Britain, she herself had to bear the whole brunt of the fighting. She, too, had been organizing her forces of late, and in this war she gave Napoleon far more trouble than when previously she had been assisted by a European coalition; yet here, too, Napoleon conquered once more. He occupied Vienna, and after much desperate fighting the Battle of Wagram forced the emperor to accept peace a fourth time in July, 1809. We need not give the terms, but it is important to notice that a new influence had come into Austrian policy in the person of Prince Metternich, who for forty years was to be one of the chief figures of European history. It was he who made not merely peace but alliance with Napoleon, and cemented that alliance by negotiating the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian princess, Marie Louise. She was the niece of

Fourth war with Austria.

Peace and alliance between Austria and France.

the executed queen, Marie Antoinette, and Europe was amazed at an incident which seemed to admit a Corsican usurper to the ranks of the royal families of Europe.

Soon Napoleon was faced by a much more terrible war. He had, as we have seen, made alliance with the Czar, Alexander, at the Peace of Tilsit, and he had at one time relied upon the friendship with Russia as the indispensable basis for all his schemes. But his friendship with Russia had been rapidly cooling of late: the Czar seemed to him backward in his co-operation in the commercial war against Great Britain. Napoleon had offended the Czar by his large annexations of territory in Germany. Above all, the establishment of the Polish Duchy of Warsaw seemed to be an encouragement to the Polish nationality, and a step therefore fraught with great danger to Russia which had annexed so large a territory inhabited by Poles. After a period of diplomatic friction, Napoleon declared war against Russia, and called upon all his allies—Germans, Prussians, Saxons, Austrians—as well as upon the subjects of his own enormous empire, to assist him in this campaign which he hoped would establish the dominion of France in Europe, and indirectly lead to the overthrow of Great Britain as well. The campaign which followed is perhaps the most wonderful and the most tragic page in all the military annals of Europe. An army of six hundred thousand men crossed the Russian frontier, and the Russian generals retreated before this mighty force and did not attempt to resist the march of the French until they had reached the river Borodino. There was fought there a great and murderous battle, which resulted in the end in the decisive victory of Napoleon, who pushed on at once towards Moscow. To his surprise he was allowed to enter the old capital of Russia without difficulty, and he hoped that overtures would at once be made for peace. No overtures, however, came: fires broke out in Moscow and a large portion of the city was burnt down. The Russian winter was approaching and Napoleon saw himself insufficiently provided with food. He determined, therefore, to march back again into central Europe. But his march back was from the first harassed by watchful Russian armies, and

War with Russia.

1812.

Borodino.

was soon turned into a terrible disaster by the frightful cold of the Russian winter. In any encounters that took place the French were still victorious, but the army dwindled at a dreadful pace through famine, through death from cold, and through desertion. In the end it was only with a small fragment of his original force that Napoleon crossed the frontier into Russia. Hundreds of thousands of his men were left behind prisoners in the hands of the Russians. So terrible a catastrophe at once awoke the hopes of all Europe. Germany began to stir: the Austrian armies had throughout the campaign fought slackly for Napoleon: although the Prussian King still declared himself the ally of the French, his armies in many instances joined themselves to the Russians, who following upon the tracks of the retreating French army invaded Germany. The campaign which followed was in many respects the greatest that Napoleon was ever engaged in: the armies were the largest, the movements of the troops the most intricate. We can only chronicle the result. Napoleon had by no means given up hope: he believed, he said, that he was nearer to Vienna than his enemies were to Paris, and he won one last battle at Dresden. But then he had, with 185,000 men, to fight the converging forces of his enemies which numbered 300,000 at Leipzig, and there a battle that lasted for two days resulted in the complete overthrow of the emperor of the French. Germany now turned against him, and with the remnant of his forces he fought his way back with some difficulty into France. He still showed all his old military skill and tenacity, but he could only postpone the end. The armies pressed on to Paris, and Napoleon was forced to surrender. He abdicated his authority, and was allowed to retire with a scanty income to the little island of Elba (1814).

The catastrophe of the campaign.

Battle of Leipzig, 1813.

It was thought that Napoleon's career was ended, and the diplomatists of all Europe gathered together in Vienna to consider what arrangements could be made to bring back order into the confused chaos, which had been brought about by the French Revolution and Napoleon. But while the diplomatists were engaged

Reappearance of Napoleon.

upon their difficult task and were already beginning to find that the resettlement of Europe might very likely cause the outbreak of a new war, suddenly the news fell upon them like a bomb-shell that Napoleon had left Elba, had re-entered France, and that the whole people had arisen to give him an enthusiastic welcome, and that he was once more prepared to face the armies of Europe.

This strange result had been brought about partly by the folly of the restored King Louis XVIII., brother of the executed Louis XVI. The government which he had established proceeded very quickly to make mistakes which exasperated against it the opinion of France. The military glory of the country was tarnished; her frontiers were withdrawn; but most important of all, it seemed as if the new government were going to tamper with the land settlement which had been made by the Revolution, and which Napoleon had always so carefully respected. The property of the Church, we must remember, had been confiscated by the State, and had been divided into small farms. It was believed that this property would be once more claimed by the Church and the crown, and the fear of such a revolution of property made even the peaceable classes in France welcome the return of Napoleon.

Mistake of Louis XVIII.

What remains of his career in Europe can be summarized in only a few lines. He made concessions to liberal demands, and seemed prepared to abandon much of his old despotic and Imperial claims, but all constitutional questions were of no importance until the issue had been settled by arms between France and Europe. The diplomatists in Vienna had declared Napoleon an outlaw, and each state had promised to do its utmost in forming an irresistible army for the defeat of France. The British and the Prussians were most nearly ready, and it was against them therefore that Napoleon directed his first blows. He hoped to get between them, to defeat them separately, and then to offer to them terms of peace which they would be willing to accept. But after he had won two indecisive victories at Quatrebras and Ligny he had to face the army of the British and their allies on the battlefield of Waterloo. He delivered a fierce direct attack

Waterloo.

EUROPE, 1810
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
France at the end of 1802
Acquisitions 1803-5
Acquisitions 1805-10
Kingdom of Italy, directly ruled by Napoleon
Dependent States
Boundary of France 1792
Boundary of Confederation of the Rhine
Atlantic Ocean
BRITISH ISLANDS
North Sea
Baltic Sea
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
FRENCH EMPIRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ITALY
TURKISH EMPIRE
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Levant Sea
EUROPE, 1815
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of German Confederation
Hanover
Netherlands
Prussia
Austrian Empire
Kingdom of Sardinia
OLD. = Oldenburg
HES. = Hesse-Darmstadt
H.N. = Hesse-Nassau
H.C. = Hesse-Cassel
THUR. = Thuringian States
L.D. = Lippe-Detmold
MEC. = Mecklenburg
ANH. = Anhalt
PAL. = Palatine
NORWAY AND SWEDEN
RUSSIA
FRANCE
HUNGARY
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Emery Walker sc.

upon them, but failed to dislodge them. Early in the afternoon the arrival of the Prussian army began to press upon his right flank, while Wellington's ranks still stood, diminished indeed, but unbroken. The joint attack of the British and Prussian armies produced the complete rout of the French and the flight of their emperor. He reached Paris and tried in vain to organize further resistance there: but he found himself abandoned on all sides. He abdicated, and threw himself upon the generosity of the British. Had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians it is probable that a much harder lot would have been his. It was decided by the British to send him a prisoner to the island of St. Helena, where he lived for a few years and died in 1821.

J. H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is the best guide for English readers. The histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, Fyffe, and Alison, may be read with interest and profit. Seeley's *Life of Stein* gives a clear picture of the rise of Germany against the power of Napoleon. For the relations of France to Europe from 1789 to 1815 the one great authority is *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, by Sorel; Henderson's *Life of Blücher*.

CHAPTER XIV

Reaction, Revolution, and Reaction again

When the exile of Napoleon had relieved Europe from the pressure which he had exercised for so many years, the chief desire of the diplomatists who met at Vienna was so to order European affairs as to make the outbreak of another revolution for ever impossible. The Revolution seemed to them a mere rebellion against authority, and they were blind to the passionate hopes of a better and juster social order that were at the bottom of it. These ideas would come to the surface again by and by, and work as powerfully as ever; but for the present Europe desired above all things peace and order; and the diplomatists who met at Vienna were little more than the instruments of

Reaction after 1815.

Reaction. The whole map of Europe lay before them, and nearly all its frontiers needed consideration and readjustment. No task of such magnitude had been attempted by any body of diplomatists since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

France returned almost exactly to the frontiers of 1792. Some wanted to take from her all the lands west of the Rhine, which had once been a part of the empire, and were still largely inhabited by Germans; but the proposal was resisted by the Duke of Wellington.

Results of the Congress of Vienna.

The problem of the future of Germany was more difficult. An intense spirit of nationality had been roused by the struggle against Napoleon, and there were many who hoped that a free, united, self-governing Germany might be built up by the diplomatists at Vienna. But those hopes were disappointed. The old decrepit empire was not restored, but the new system was from the first weak, unpopular, and clearly not destined to a long life. Thirty-nine sovereign princes and free cities were recognized. To this number had the three hundred and fifty, which had been recognized by the Peace of Westphalia, been reduced. These thirty-nine States were to be joined together into the perpetual "Germanic Confederation" under the presidency of Austria for the purposes of military defence. Of the German states included in this confederation (omitting Austria for the moment) Prussia was far the most powerful. She had arisen from her degradation with a more vigorous national life than she had ever possessed. She abandoned certain of her Polish possessions, but she received in exchange important territories on the Rhine and the rich lands of Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic coast, which she had coveted for so long. The great majority of her inhabitants was now German, and thus Prussia became the leading German power. Next to Prussia in importance came Bavaria. She had been for long the favoured ally of Napoleon, but she lost nothing at the peace. She was the Catholic and south German rival of Protestant and north German Prussia.

Germany.

The Germanic Confederation.

Gains of Prussia.

Bavaria.

No country had suffered so severely at the hands of Napoleon as Austria, but it was Austria and her great statesman

Metternich, who played the leading part in the Congress of Vienna. She lost Belgium, but that loss was richly compensated for by the gain of Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, and a portion of eastern Bavaria. But it must be noted how large a proportion of these possessions consisted of non-German lands. The Austrian Emperor ruled over some twenty-eight million subjects; but of these only about four millions were Germans. The rest were a strange mixture of races, languages, and religions; Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Servians, Roumanians, held together only by their subjection to the emperor. The territories of the house of Hapsburg had never been so compact or defensible; but her preponderant non-German population made it impossible that Austria should ever be willingly accepted by Germany as her leader and representative. Moreover the reaction reigned at Vienna in every sense: art, literature, freedom of thought, religious life, all died or decayed under the *régime* of coercion. Music alone flourished. **Austria.**

Other points about the changes introduced by the Congress of Vienna must be briefly noted. Italy was divided into many states, but was largely controlled by Austria. Venetia and Lombardy were ruled by Austria. Modena, Parma, Tuscany submitted to rulers of Austrian birth, and were in close alliance with Austria. The Pope came back to the states of the Church. The Bourbons were restored to Naples and Sicily. In the north-west, Piedmont and Savoy were in the hands of the King of Sardinia. We shall see in the next chapter how his descendants became kings of a united and independent Italy. **Italy.**

Belgium was united to Holland and was ruled over by the King of Holland. The arrangement was suggested by the desire to have a strong state on the northern frontier of France; but the two peoples were distinct and in many respects hostile, and the new arrangement soon broke down. Norway was joined to Sweden and placed under the rule of Napoleon's old marshal, Bernadotte, who ruled in Sweden as King Charles XIV.: this union lasted longer than that of Belgium and Holland, but broke down in 1905 when **Belgium and Holland.** **Norway.**

Norway became a separate kingdom. The conquest of Finland by Russia was recognized, and this union, despite frequent attempts on the part of the Finns to break away, still subsists.

Finland.

The years from 1815 to 1830 were very quiet in comparison with what had gone before and what were soon to follow. The four chief powers of Europe—Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, entered into an alliance to maintain the treaties of Vienna, and agreed to hold meetings of Plenipotentiaries every four years to discuss difficulties that arose. This was sometimes called the "Holy Alliance"; and the aim of some of its members was quite as much to repress revolutionary movements as to maintain the terms of the great peace. France joined the alliance in 1818. But soon it was seen that the alliance of the five powers would not avail to repress all such movements. As the memories of the great war began to grow dim the ideas of the Revolution began once more to find expression. The first trouble came from Spain, where the restored Bourbons were ruling in the old evil way. In 1820 the army broke out into Revolution; and declared that the free constitution which had been established in 1812 must be renewed. The king had to yield, and measures were taken against the Church and the monasteries. But the reappearance of liberal ideas south of the Pyrenees was alarming to north and central Europe, and especially to France. The movement was crushed and the autocracy restored. But the revolution produced important permanent results in a distant part of the world. Spain still possessed a vast colonial empire in central and south America. The colonies refused to accept the restored autocracy and were supported by Great Britain under the leadership of Canning. By the year 1830 eight republics had arisen into being, of which the chief were Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres. They have had a stormy existence, and have perhaps not yet reached a settled constitutional life, but there can be no doubt that they are destined to play an important part in the future of civilization.

The "Holy Alliance."

Liberal movements in Spain.

Revolt of Spanish colonies.

Before the Spanish trouble was settled the Greek question emerged. Greece, the first home of organized freedom in Europe, had known no liberty for many centuries, though in her mountains a wild independence had always been maintained by men who were half patriots and half banditti. The population had suffered terribly, and had seen swarm after swarm of barbarians pass or settle. Greece had suffered much more than Italy from foreign invasion; but the Greeks had always preserved a confused memory of their greatness, and a form of the Greek language was still spoken by the people. The way had been prepared by secret societies, and insurrection began in 1821. It roused the passionate enthusiasm of all lovers of liberty. Byron gave to the movement his support and his life. The Greeks fought with furious but ill-regulated courage: and the Turks took, when they could, a horrible revenge. If left to itself the revolution would have been crushed, but Great Britain took an eager interest in it from the first, and at last joined with Russia in the coercion of the Turks. In 1827 the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed in the Battle of Navarino, and the independence of Greece was secured.

The revolt of Greece against Turkey.

Independence of Greece.

There was one characteristic of the Greek rising full of significance for the future of Europe. It was a national rising against a foreign yoke. There had been many national risings in earlier years, but the "national idea" was to play so preponderant an influence in European history for the next half century that it deserves a moment's examination. It is almost vain to ask "what constitutes a nation?" It is not identity of race; for that is to be found nowhere. It is not a common language, nor a common religion, nor even common interests. All these are important, but all together do not necessarily make a nation, and a strong national feeling can exist where some of them are absent. A nation exists where the sentiment of nationality exists; and the sentiment of nationality is the result of many forces, and, above all, of historic development. In process of time, and as the result of common interests and common struggles, and usually of a common language, certain

The rise of nationalism.

large groups of men come to feel themselves closely bound together. They call themselves a nation. And in the nineteenth century the feeling and the belief grew that all who belonged to the same nation should form a single state; and that each nation should manage its own affairs and be freed from the dominion of any foreign nation. This idea of nationality was a vague and a highly revolutionary one. It demanded a new grouping of powers—the union of some, the disruption of others. Germany and Italy moved, in the strength of this idea, towards union; Austria by the same force was threatened with dissolution. The Poles, the Irish, the Belgians, the Finns, the Norwegians, put forward inconvenient claims.

The revolutionary tendencies.

In the year 1830 there came two successful revolutions in Western Europe. First came the Belgian Revolution. We have seen that Belgium had been joined to Holland and placed under the rule of the King of Holland by the Congress of Vienna. It would have been difficult in any case to maintain the arrangement; for the Belgians were more numerous than the Dutch, they were Catholic, and they spoke for the most part a language akin to the French; and yet they were in all things subjected to the harsh rule of the Protestant Dutch. All parties among the Belgians joined in the movement, which the Dutch were quite unable to beat down. Belgian independence was declared, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was set up as the first king of independent Belgium.

The Belgian Revolution 1830.

A more serious movement broke out in France. The restored Bourbon monarchs (Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI., until 1824, and then his brother Charles X.) had tried to rule as though the French Revolution had never been. Promises to rule constitutionally were withdrawn or broken, and in 1830 the *ordinances of St. Cloud* removed almost every vestige of free popular government. Paris, as in the days of the great Revolution, took the lead in the protest that arose. Thiers, a young journalist, vehemently attacked the ordinances. Charles X., alarmed by the memories of the past history of the French monarchy, made little resistance. He fled to England, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed king.

Revolution in France.

The new monarchy entered upon a policy widely different from that of the restored Bourbons. There was to be constitutional government, friendship with England, and peaceful development of the industry and commerce of France. Much was done to realize these ends. The land was covered with railways and telegraphs. Joint stock companies were founded. The occupation of Algiers provided a new opening for French commerce. The wealth of the country increased greatly, and the people were fairly prosperous. And yet another revolution followed in eighteen years.

The Orleanist monarchy.

Two chief forces worked for the overthrow of Louis Philippe. First national pride. France had not forgotten the great days of Napoleon, when her soldiers had been the arbiters of the destinies of Europe: and the loss and agony which had accompanied all that military glory were growing dim. In comparison with those great and glorious days the *régime* of Louis Philippe seemed mean and contemptible. France, men said, had become a satellite of Great Britain, and dared no longer have an opinion of her own. Thiers wrote the history of Napoleon in a tone of eulogy. When in December, 1840, the body of the great emperor was brought from Saint Helena, where it had been first buried, and placed amidst splendid ceremonies in the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris, many felt that the dead warrior would be strong enough to drive out the Orleanist government.

New revolutionary movement in France.

Side by side with the growth of Imperialist feeling there was an intellectual movement which may be compared with that which preceded the Revolution of 1789. Again men fixed their eyes on a distant goal and proclaimed the possibility of establishing a social system, juster and happier than the present one. Fourier and Saint Simon each brought forward an elaborate scheme of social reconstruction. But for the immediate future the most important fact is that Louis Blanc began to preach socialism in something like its modern form. His ideas were not new. They had appeared during the great Revolution, and may be traced back to the philosophers of Greece. But

The new ideas.

Louis Blanc.

now they were proclaimed more definitely than ever before, and urged home with fervid eloquence. Louis Blanc painted the social condition of France in colours of terrible blackness; he demanded that the State should provide work for all: "we will work and live, or we will fight and die," was the watchword he gave to the people of Paris.

The opponents of the government concentrated their attention on the need of an electoral reform which should give to the people the reality of power. Louis Philippe might perhaps have overcome the movement by force or conciliation; but he gave way at once and took refuge in England. A republic was declared, and Louis Blanc and his ideas had great influence with the new government (1848).

The Second Republic.

But the new government was in grave difficulties almost from the first. The elections to the Assembly gave a majority of moderate opinions; but in Paris "National Workshops" were opened where any one could get work for the asking. But those who managed them were not anxious that the experiment should succeed; the expense was great and the work done of no value, and in June, 1848, the workshops were closed. There came at once a fierce outbreak from the workmen of Paris, influenced as they were by the teaching of Louis Blanc. The streets were barricaded and there was fighting for four days; but the insurrection was suppressed by Cavaignac with much bloodshed, and over two thousand men were banished to Algiers. The assembly was re-established in power, and it proceeded with the work of constitution-making. But it was popular with no party and bitterly hated by the Parisian workmen.

National workshops.

It was now that Louis Napoleon saw his chance. He was the son of Louis Bonaparte, who had been made King of Holland by his greater brother. He was now the eldest representative of the Napoleonic dynasty. He had been banished from France, and had twice made rather foolish attempts to raise rebellion. He was now elected to the Assembly and soon, when it had been decided that the President of the Republic was to be appointed by the vote of the whole people, he

Louis Napoleon.

President of the Republic.

became a candidate for the Presidency. His name was the great argument in his favour; and the other candidates were for various reasons unpopular. He was supported by five and a half million votes: all the rest of the candidates together did not get two millions.

His progress from the Presidency to the empire was even more rapid than that of his uncle from the Consulship to the same dignity. The new assembly was elected by a restricted suffrage, and Napoleon made himself the champion of universal suffrage. But the Assembly would not make this change: there was a majority in its favour, but not so large a one as the constitution demanded. Napoleon thereupon carried out a *coup d'état*, like that of his uncle in the Revolution of Brumaire. He arrested the leaders of the opposition and dissolved the assembly. His opponents were arrested by thousands, and by thousands they were sent into exile. He then submitted to the people the outline of a constitution. A legislative body elected by universal suffrage was to vote the laws and the taxes, and there was to be a President elected for ten years. Seven millions and a half voted for the new Constitution. A little over half a million voted against it. It was a great and powerful position that he had thus won, but he felt that a higher title and a hereditary position would be safer. The nation was asked to express its wish as to whether he should be emperor or no, and in 1852, 7,800,000 votes were given for the new title, and only 233,000 against it. So Napoleon reigned as the Emperor Napoleon III. He had eighteen years of rule before him; at first much brilliant success; then alternations of triumph and defeat; and then a catastrophe unexampled in history for its completeness.

Napoleon's coup d'état.

The Emperor Napoleon III.

These years of revolution and reaction in France saw analogous changes sweep over the centre of Europe.

> "Nation awakens by nation,
> King by king disappears"

sang an English poet, full of republican enthusiasm. All over Europe kings seemed in flight. We have seen how Louis Philippe fled from Paris; Frederick William IV. had to

escape from Berlin; Ferdinand I. found his capital of Vienna dangerously revolutionary; King Ferdinand II. was deposed in Sicily; Pope Pius IX. fled from the insurrection of Rome. It seemed to many that it was all over with monarchy in Europe. But then reaction set in at every point, and the returning tide brought back the exiled kings (except in France) to their thrones, some for their lives, some only for a few years.

Revolution and Reaction in Europe.

All these risings aimed at the establishment of a free constitution and the satisfaction of the national ideal. The attempt at social reconstruction, so prominent in Paris, played quite a subordinate part elsewhere.

Metternich had tried to keep the population of Austria asleep and he seemed to have succeeded, but there was dangerous stuff fermenting even in Vienna. And except Metternich himself there was no element of strength in the Austrian government. The king was of weak intellect, and Metternich had not trained any one to succeed him. In 1848 a rising in Vienna forced Metternich to resign and soon a Constituent Assembly met which abolished all "feudal abuses," and proceeded to draw up a constitution for all parts of the empire.

Revolution in Vienna.

But, while Vienna was disturbed, a fierce revolt had blazed out in every part of the Austrian Empire. Bohemia had for some time been recovering her national self-consciousness and chafing under Austrian rule. She now demanded that the original native population, the Czechs, should be put on an equality with the Germans, and later a Pan-Slavist congress was summoned at Prague to consider the future of all the Slavonic peoples. The troubles in Hungary were far more serious. There the Magyar population was surrounded by many alien races (Roumanians, Poles, Servians, Croatians), but the Magyars were the dominant race. In a Diet held in 1848 they demanded many reforms, and ended by declaring that Hungary was completely independent of Austria, though they still professed allegiance to the emperor. The position they demanded was what would have been known half a century later as Home Rule. Kossuth,

Bohemia.

Hungary.

Kossuth.

hitherto known chiefly as a journalist, was the inspirer of the movement.

The Italian possessions of Austria had risen in armed rebellion at the same time. They were rich, fairly prosperous, and provided Austria with a large proportion of her revenues. The idea of Italian unity and independence had been planted by the victories and the policy of Napoleon, and was fostered by the enthusiastic writings of Mazzini, who founded the organization of Young Italy to realize it. Milan rose in insurrection and drove out the Austrians; Venice declared herself a republic. The insurgents were clearly unequal to a struggle with the forces of Austria, but they hoped for the hearty support of Piedmont and Sardinia, and they knew that the Austrians were hampered by troubles at home. Success flattered them at first, and the Austrian armies were driven from Milanese territory.

Revolution in Italy.

The Austrian Empire seemed on the eve of dissolution. It was saved by the bitter conflicts of the subject nationalities among themselves and by the readiness of Russia to lend a hand in the suppression of revolution at her frontiers. It was a gain when the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and was succeeded by Francis Joseph then aged eighteen. The real management of affairs lay with Schwarzenberg, a man of great energy and determination. First the Bohemian movement collapsed. Then came the turn of Northern Italy. Reinforcements were sent forward to Radetzky, the Austrian general, and Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, showed the greatest incompetence in the handling of his troops. He was beaten in July, 1848, at Custozza, and crushed in March, 1849, at Novara. Thus Austria won back her Italian possessions. The King of Sardinia abdicated and was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel, who remained faithful to the liberal and constitutional tradition of his family, and lived to reign as king over United Italy. Hungary still remained in fierce rebellion against Austria; but here too the scales turned decisively against the movement for constitutional liberty. There was no help to be hoped for from Vienna, for there the arms of the reaction had triumphed and the liberals had been severely

Victory of Reaction in the Austrian dominions.

punished. In April, 1849, Kossuth (probably unwisely) declared the complete independence of Hungary, not only of the Austrian constitution, but of the Austrian Emperor. Some early successes flattered his hopes; but the Serbs, the Croatians and the Roumanians supported the Austrians against the Magyar claim to ascendency. Kossuth was no soldier, and he quarrelled with the army leaders. The decisive blow came from Russia, for the Czar readily joined his troops to the Austrians for the suppression of the revolutionary movement. In August, 1849, the Magyar army capitulated at Villagos. Kossuth escaped into exile. Utter ruin seemed to have fallen upon his cause. Yet in less than twenty years his countrymen were destined to win a great part of what they were then struggling for.

Failure of the Revolution in Hungary.

The course of events in Germany was more intricate. There was in Germany, as a whole, a constitutional movement which aimed at giving to all Germany an efficient federal constitution; and there was in Prussia a violent revolutionary movement. Both gained some early victories and then both failed.

Germany.

The German Confederation which had been established in 1815 was not a government, but rather a meeting of diplomatists incapable of any action unless they were unanimous. It was dominated by Austria, and had done nothing for German interests in any shape. The successful French Revolution of 1848 roused new hopes, and the many revolts with which Austria was troubled did not permit her to make any resistance. With wonderful ease a German Parliament was called at Frankfurt to debate on a new constitution for Germany. Liberalism anticipated an easy triumph; but the situation was not so favourable as appeared at first sight. The Parliament could *debate*, but it had no power to *decide*. Whatever decision was taken would have to be referred to the constituent states of Germany. And when the debates began the difficulty arising from the nature of the Austrian State grew larger and larger. Was Austria to be a part of the new German State, or was she not? If she was admitted, were all the twenty-eight million subjects of Austria to be represented in the German

The Parliament at Frankfurt.

Parliament or only the four millions of Germans? There were difficulties every way. If all Austria were admitted, the Parliament would not in any way satisfy the national aspirations of Germany; if the non-German populations of Austria were excluded, the Austrian Emperor would probably not permit his German subjects to come in; if Austria were excluded altogether she would be an enemy of the new constitution and a very dangerous one.

The Austrian difficulty.

It was decided in the end to face the hostility of Austria and to exclude her. In face of strong opposition the majority declared for the re-establishment of the German Empire. The head of it was to be called "The Emperor of the Germans": his office was to be hereditary. Then it was determined to offer the new title and office to Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. (March, 1849.)

Prussia offered the empire of Germany.

We shall see that Prussia had been struggling with a revolutionary movement of her own. Her king was not at all inclined to accept this dangerous title, offered him by an assembly which had a doubtful right to make the offer, and carrying with it the certain hostility of Austria. He refused, and with his refusal the whole movement collapsed. The Parliament remained in existence a little longer but with rapidly dwindling numbers, and was soon dispersed by the King of Wurtemberg. The national ideals of Germany were not to be realized by parliamentary methods.

Prussia declines.

Prussian affairs passed through an even more stormy crisis. There was no constitutional life in the country. The strong centralized government lay in the hands of the king. There was universal military service and a well-developed system of education; but in appearance little political interest in the nation at large.

Prussia.

In 1847 the king called an assembly (the Land-tag), to which he proposed to give the right of voting taxes and advising on all legislative matters but no final powers. "According to the law of God and the country," he said, "the crown must reign according to its free decision, and not according to the will of majorities."

Revolution in Berlin.

When the Assembly demanded fuller powers it was dismissed. But at this juncture the news of the revolution in Paris threw Berlin unto fierce excitement. The streets were barricaded; there was hard fighting in the city; and the king gave way. He declared that Prussia was henceforth to be absorbed in Germany; and allowed a national assembly to meet for the elaboration of a constitution. It set to work in a liberal spirit and decreed the abolition of feudalism and many measures of personal liberty.

"Prussia to be absorbed into Germany."

But the news from Vienna, where the revolution had been crushed and the city re-taken by the Imperial forces, soon encouraged the King of Prussia to strike at the assembly, whose disorderly debates were becoming a scandal. He appointed as his minister, Brandenburg, a man of strong reactionary views. The Assembly was called on to leave Berlin, and on its refusal it was dispersed by the military and dissolved. In December, 1848, a constitution was given by the king on his own initiative, and the power of the crown was safe.

Victory of Reaction in Prussia.

Victorious over the revolution at home, Frederick William IV. was not inclined to accept the crown of Germany, which was offered to him by the revolutionary party at Frankfurt; and we have seen how he rejected what was called "a crown of mud and wood." But he tried to give to Germany a new organization. The German governments were invited to Berlin with a view to the formation of a new federal constitution. From the first it was evident that the new government would not include all Germany, for both Austria and Bavaria declined to join, and Hanover and Saxony soon retired. In the end a federal constitution under the presidency of Prussia was drawn up for north Germany, and some twenty-eight states accepted it. Austria answered by re-establishing the federal assembly at Frankfurt. Thus Germany had two rival assemblies, dominated by the two great rivals among the German States.

Rivalry of Prussia and Austria.

Collision was likely from the first. A quarrel with regard to Hesse Cassel brought matters to an issue, for while the Prussian federal assembly took the side of the "Estates"

of Hesse Cassel, its government appealed to the Diet at Frankfurt. Perhaps Prussia might have won in the conflict; but the statesmen of Prussia and her king were timid and nerveless, and Austria was represented by Schwarzenberg, who was ambitious, clear-sighted, and energetic. Some think that if he had lived he would have done for Austria what Bismarck afterwards did for Prussia. The question of Hesse Cassel was referred to the arbitration of the Czar, who gave every point in favour of Austria. Then Schwarzenberg demanded under threat of immediate war the dissolution of the federal assembly set up under the auspices of Prussia and the recognition of the Federal Diet which had been re-established by Austria at Frankfurt. Prussia cast away all thoughts of resistance and purchased peace by an abject surrender of every point at Olmütz.

Victory of Austria.

The surrender of Olmütz.

Austria seemed to dominate Germany; and Prussia's hopes of supremacy seemed doomed to failure. Yet a very different destiny was in store for both countries; and the memory of the humiliation at Olmütz counted for much in the determination of the next generation of statesmen to give a new character to the policy and action of Prussia.

Fyffe's *History of Modern Europe;* Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe;* Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France;* Cambridge Modern History, Vol. x.; Seignobos, *Political History of Modern Europe.*

CHAPTER XV

The Winning of Italian Unity

In 1852 Napoleon III. seemed the strongest power in Europe. His character and abilities were at present undetermined, but his success was unquestionable. The people of France by an enormous majority had declared that they rejoiced to see another Napoleon ruling in France with the old title of Emperor.

Comparisons between the two Napoleons naturally suggested themselves; but, though there were resemblances in their careers and their positions, the contrasts in the character and capacity of the two men were great, and were made clearer by the lapse of time. Napoleon III. had great abilities, but he had nothing of the iron will and tenacity of purpose of Napoleon I.; little of his wide survey of politics and society; nothing at all of his military genius. He was by nature amiable and idealist, a dreamer of dreams that sometimes turned into realities, often brilliantly clever as statesman and diplomatist, but usually without a sufficient grasp of realities and the possibilities of the actual world. His position was like that of the first Napoleon in one respect. He could not sit still. He held power on condition that he dazzled the eyes of his countrymen by adventure, novelty and victory. A commonplace policy would undermine his power: failure would hurl him at once from the throne.

Position and prestige of Napoleon III.

The first great European problem with which he had to deal arose out of the weakness of the Turkish power. Since the seventeenth century the decline of Turkey had been continuous. Nor is there any mystery about its causes. In Europe the Turks were a minority, who held their dominion by the power of the sword, and made no effort to conciliate or to absorb the populations they had conquered. They despised the characteristic features of European civilization and made no effort to assimilate it. Turkey was a military despotism, without industry, without science, without liberty. Generalizations in history are dangerous; but it is safe to say that such a state can never be stable. The Ottoman Empire had never recovered from the naval defeat which she had received at the hands of the Spaniards and their allies at Lepanto in 1571; the disaster of the siege of Vienna in 1683 had shown that on land her methods were no longer capable of success against those of Western Europe; the rise of Russia in the eighteenth century had established upon her northern frontier a strong, hostile and aggressive neighbour, who was impelled against Turkey by difference of

The disintegration of Turkey.

Threatening neighbourhood of Russia.

religion and by the fact that Constantinople controlled the exit from the Black Sea, whose northern shores Russia possessed.

The Crimean War seemed to spring from a trivial incident. The " orthodox " and the " Catholic " Christians in Jerusalem quarrelled as to the use of the holy places, and their quarrel involved Russia and France, who were their official protectors. Under cover of this quarrel a Russian envoy at Constantinople demanded that Russia should be recognized as the Protector of the Christians in the Turkish Empire. This claim, if conceded, would have led to perpetual interference; and Turkey, with the support of the English ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, refused. Conferences at Vienna proved unavailing to settle the questions at issue, and in 1853 war was declared. France and England joined next year in support of Turkey; England following what she believed to be her commercial interests, and inspired by jealousy and fear of Russian expansion; Napoleon III., anxious to signalize his power by some striking military exploit.

Origin of the Crimean War.

The Russians invaded the Balkan provinces, but encountered a more stubborn defence than they had expected, and soon withdrew as the army of the Western Powers approached. Peace might perhaps have been made then; but it was determined by Napoleon III. and the English Ministry to invade the Crimean peninsula, where they anticipated a speedy victory and the annihilation of the naval power of Russia. But instead of the short struggle that was expected, there came a fierce and expensive war of nearly two years' duration. The Russians were beaten in the battle of the Alma, and perhaps an immediate attack might have led to the fall of Sebastopol; but the Russians were given time to prepare their defences, and under Todleben they made a vigorous resistance. The English, French and Turks were reinforced by an Italian army of the King of Sardinia; they were not defeated in any battle, but they suffered terribly from lack of food and clothing, from the severities of winter and the ravages of disease. Sebastopol was never cut off from communication with Russia, and held

Invasion of the Crimea.

Siege of Sebastopol.

out until September, 1855. Then the war soon came to an end. By the Peace of Paris the Russian claim to a protectorate over the Christians of Turkey was abandoned; Russia promised to keep no warships in the Black Sea; the integrity of Turkey was to be recognized. But the treaty was written in sand. The decadence of Turkey was not checked by it, and Russia before long advanced again both by sea and land.

Peace of Paris.

The Crimean War had few of the characteristic features of the nineteenth century. National sentiment counted for little. It was an affair of diplomacy and the balance of power, and resembled in this respect the wars of the eighteenth century. But Napoleon III. had soon to deal with a question of a different type.

The revolutions of Italy in 1848 had all been failures. The reactionary power of Austria seemed more firmly planted than ever. From the Alps to the Ionian Sea the governments with one exception were alien in race, interest and feeling from the peoples. Italy seemed more than ever "a mere geographical expression." But Italian sentiment had not in any way declined: nor were the people of Italy more reconciled to the Austrian supremacy. Moreover there was, as has been said, one notable exception to the oppressive and alien character of the governments. Piedmont under the King of Sardinia possessed a government which was really popular, and which had retained liberal and representative institutions in spite of all temptations to abandon them. The King, Victor Emmanuel, fell short of greatness, but he was a brave soldier and an honourable politician. He was brilliantly served by his great minister Cavour, perhaps the most interesting figure in European history since the Battle of Waterloo. He was a passionate Italian patriot, and typically Italian in the subtlety of his policy; but he knew England and the English constitution well, and was proud to be called a statesman of the English type. He gave his whole life to the cause of Italian liberty, and in pursuit of his aim was ready to sacrifice even his honour.

Condition of Italy after 1848.

Piedmont and Sardinia.

Victor Emmanuel and Cavour.

Cavour could count on two forces—the sentiment of Italy and the army of Piedmont; but they were not by themselves enough to drive the Austrians from Italy. It was to France that he looked for effective help. Napoleon had genuine sympathies with the cause of Italian liberty, and he was anxious for another opportunity to exhibit his diplomatic talents and the power of France. In July, 1858, he had a famous secret interview with Cavour at Plombières. It was agreed between them that, if war came between Austria and the King of Sardinia, France would come to the help of Victor Emmanuel with an army of 200,000 men. Austria was to be driven from the whole of Italy: Lombardy, Venetia and the Duchies of Central Italy were to be annexed to Piedmont. France was to receive as a reward, Savoy and Nice, the original home of the house of Savoy.

Cavour and Napoleon III.

The promises of France.

It was now Cavour's business to provoke a war. Napoleon hesitated at the last, but Cavour held him to his engagements. "I will fire the powder," he said, "and when Italy runs with blood you will have to march." The military preparations of Italy alarmed the Austrian government, and they sent an ultimatum demanding the reduction of the Piedmontese army to a peace footing. So Cavour heard the sound of the cannon that he had so passionately longed for. To the Parliament he said, "This will be the last Piedmontese Parliament. The next will be that of the Kingdom of Italy."

Cavour provokes a war.

Napoleon III. was true to his engagements and himself led the French army into Italy. In June, 1859, he won, after hard fighting, the battle of Magenta, and at the end of the month defeated the Austrians again at Solferino, after a contest that was doubtful for a long time, and cost the French 12,000 soldiers. Cavour was full of eager hopes for the complete realization of his wishes. But then suddenly Napoleon III. made overtures to Francis Joseph of Austria, and signed peace. His motives are somewhat uncertain. He had been impressed by the slaughter of Solferino, and was not altogether confident in the military power of France. He had found too, that the Italians

Battles of Magenta and Solferino.

were not so willing to be guided by him in everything as he had hoped. Perhaps most important of all there were threatening movements in Germany, where Prussia was mobilizing her army. So peace was made; Lombardy and Parma were to be joined to Piedmont; Venice was to continue under Austrian rule. Vague hopes were held out of "an Italian federation under the Presidency of the Pope." Victor Emmanuel saw no means of resisting the proposals of Austria and France; but Cavour, indignant at what seemed to him the betrayal of Italy, resigned and retired to private life.

The "betrayal" of Napoleon III.

Cavour had despaired too easily. The spontaneous movement in Italy towards unity and liberty was too strong to be repressed by the Emperors of France and Austria. The Duchies of Central Italy—Parma, Modena, Tuscany, together with the Romagna, the northern portion of Papal territory—expelled their rulers and drew together. Their movement was at first republican and was not supported by Piedmont; but though the revolted states mustered an army of 25,000, they would clearly be unable to stand alone against the Austrian and Papal armies. They offered themselves therefore to Victor Emmanuel. He made pretence of refusing, but Cavour was recalled to the Ministry. He saw at once that the new move could only succeed if it were supported by France. He negotiated with Napoleon III.: he offered to cede to him Savoy and Nice, which had been promised at Plombières, but not handed over, because Napoleon had not himself carried out his promises. The French emperor was further appeased by the promise that a popular vote should be taken and that the centre of Italy should not be attached to Piedmont unless the population made it clear that such was its wish. In the plebiscite a huge majority (386,000 against 15,000) voted for annexation. In April, 1860, Victor Emmanuel opened the first Italian Parliament at Turin, though that city was not to be the final capital of Italy. The history of the past marked Rome as the only satisfactory capital; but Rome was still in the hands of the Pope.

Central Italy joins the national cause.

Savoy and Nice ceded to France.

The first Italian Parliament.

A great step had been taken towards Italian unity, but much remained to be done. The Papal States were seething with revolutionary ideas, but Pope Pius IX., after his early disappointments with liberalism, had become wholly opposed to political freedom and Italian emancipation. In the South the kingdom of the Two Sicilies lay under the oppressive and retrograde rule of the Bourbon King, Francis II. The population was ignorant and superstitious; but vague ideas of change and of liberty were stirring there. There had been already several attempts at rebellion, but all had been beaten down.

What remained to be done.

The next stage in Italian liberty was connected not so much with the name of Cavour as of Garibaldi. He was the soldier-hero of the cause; while Cavour was its statesman; and Mazzini its evangelist. Garibaldi had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1859 at the head of his regiment known as the Hunters of the Alps. Now he prepared for a greater adventure—one of the most amazing in history. With the connivance of Cavour he left Genoa in May, 1860, with 1072 volunteers. Many of them were drawn from his old regiment, many were ardent patriots, some were adventurers of a more ordinary type. Their red shirts were their only uniform, and these were soon famous throughout Europe as a symbol of national liberty.

Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily.

He landed at Marsala and, seeing that under the circumstances the only road to safety lay in audacity, he marched on Palermo. Had the enemy shown courage and endurance, Garibaldi could hardly have avoided defeat. But Palermo was surrendered and the whole island was in his power. That was much; but more was to follow. Relying on the disaffection of the Neapolitans, Garibaldi crossed the straits in August, 1860. Francis II. made at first no attempt at resistance. With ludicrous ease Garibaldi and the nationalist movement became masters of the kingdom.

Conquest of Sicily and Naples.

Cavour watched Garibaldi's triumphal progress with mixed feelings. He rejoiced in the overthrow of the Neapolitan government, but he was uneasy as to what Garibaldi might do. For his adventurous and explosive temperament was

a great contrast to the subtle and restrained character of Cavour. He feared that Garibaldi might refuse to bring Naples and Sicily under the same government as the North of Italy; he feared the establishment of a republic in the South; and he feared foreign complications, if the red shirts invaded the Papal States, as they declared that they intended to do. Cavour determined to anticipate Garibaldi in the Papal States. He secured himself from foreign interference by another interview with Napoleon III. Then he raised an army and invaded the possessions of the Roman See.

Cavour and Garibaldi.

The Papal government was not a good one, and it was not popular with the inhabitants; but it had been recognized by all the powers of Europe, and Cavour's attack was the most flagrant possible violation of international right. Victor Emmanuel had no grievance against the Pope, but he professed anxiety as to the Papal army of 20,000 men, and demanded its disbandment. When the Pope refused, the Italian army invaded and defeated the Pope's forces at Castelfidardo. Then the victorious troops pushed on towards Naples. Cavour could now meet Garibaldi on something like equality, and probably he had been wrong in mistrusting him. Garibaldi handed over his new conquest to Victor Emmanuel. But soon disputes arose between the king and his great soldier. Garibaldi believed that the services of his red-shirted volunteers had not been sufficiently recognized and rewarded: he differed from the policy of Cavour both in domestic and foreign affairs; and he retired in a bitter mood from the king's service (1860).

Conquest of the Papal States.

Garibaldi's quarrel with the King.

A huge stride had been made towards the achievement of Italian unity. But a fragment of Papal territory, including Rome, still remained outside and was secured by a French garrison, and Venice and the land as far west as the Adige were still in the power of Austria. Both were won for Italy in the next ten years, but with the annexation of Naples and Sicily the heroic period of the struggle for Italian liberty was at an end. Cavour died in June, 1861.

Death of Cavour.

The new state was faced with many difficulties, economic,

political and religious. A large part of the population was not ready for the self-government which had been won so easily.

Venetia was won to Italy in 1866, but though the Italians fought for the great prize it was not won by their arms. Italian history here comes into close relation with the story of Germany, which we shall trace in the next chapter. It is enough to say here that Prussia in 1866 was about to enter on a war with Austria, and was looking round for allies. If Italy attacked the Austrians in Venetia that would necessarily distract and weaken the efforts of the Austrians in Germany. Bismarck secured the alliance of Victor Emmanuel by a promise that he would make no peace with Austria, which did not include the surrender of Venice to Italy.

The winning of Venice.

In April, 1866, the war began. We shall see in the next chapter how Prussia overwhelmed her enemies and established herself as the leader of Germany without a rival. Very different was the fate of her allies in Italy. The Italians had no statesman to take Cavour's place. Garibaldi gained little success with his irregular troops in Tyrol. The Italian armies were without capable commanders, without proper equipment, without discipline, without a definite plan of campaign. They were beaten at Custozza, where it cannot be said that even their military honour was saved. Even their navy was beaten by the Austrian fleet, which had been held in supreme contempt. Had the war proceeded without foreign interference the outlook would have been very black for Italy. But the Italians had detained a large Austrian army in Italy, and thus rendered invaluable service to Prussia. Bismarck praised "the immutable loyalty of Italy," and was himself faithful to his promises. Italy did not get all she wanted. Southern Tyrol still remained "unredeemed," but Venice was declared free to make her choice. By 640,000 votes to 60 she declared for union with the Italian Kingdom.

The war of 1866.

Venice secured for Italy by Prussia

Rome still remained unconquered: and the Roman problem was a more complex one than the Venetian problem had been. Rome, under Pius IX., became more and more rigid in her challenge to all liberal ideas. In the Bull *quanta cura*, published in December, 1864, it was

Italy and Rome.

declared to be an error "that the Pope can or ought to be reconciled to progress or liberalism or modern civilization." The king of Italy had promised France to respect papal territory, and when in October, 1867, Garibaldi, with a body of volunteers, invaded, relying on the assistance of a Roman insurrection, he was easily defeated by a French force, which hurried to the assistance of the Pope. The French government declared that it would never allow Italy to occupy Rome.

The Vatican Council.

In 1870, while Europe beyond the Alps was occupied with the coming of the huge conflict between France and Germany, Rome was the scene of a great Œcumenical Council. Just as the temporal power of the papacy was about to pass away, and the very day after war had been declared between France and Germany, the infallibility of the Pope, "when he speaks *ex cathedra* and defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church," was solemnly proclaimed.

Occupation of Rome.

The disasters of France led to the withdrawal of the French garrison. Italy declared herself no longer held by her promise to respect papal territory. An Italian army crossed the frontier and occupied Rome on September 20, 1870. The people were asked to vote as to their future, and by 133,000 to 1500 they decided for union with the Italian Kingdom. In vain the Pope launched sentence of excommunication against the invaders: in vain he repelled all overtures for a reconciliation. The capital of Italy was moved to Rome. The dream of a long line of Italian patriots from Dante to Mazzini had come true. Italy was free from the foreign yoke, united under a single government and mistress of her destinies.

Fyffe's *Modern Europe* and Alison Phillips' *Modern Europe* give an excellent account of these events. For more detailed treatment, Stillman's *Union of Italy*; Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity*; Countess Cesaresco, *Life of Cavour*; Marriott, *Makers of Modern Italy*. The whole story, from the side of France, is admirably told by Pierre de la Gorce in his *Histoire du Second Empire*.

CHAPTER XVI

The Unification of Germany and the Foundation of the German Empire

THE revolutions of 1848 had done nothing for the cause of German unity. The bold words of the Prussian King, Frederick William IV., had ended in smoke. The Prussian effort to form a national government for all Germany had failed as disastrously as the Parliamentary movement at Frankfurt. The high hopes and noble struggles of the year of revolution had, however, by destroying illusions prepared the way to more practical measures, and the humiliation of Olmütz impressed on Prussia the need of a different policy and different preparations if she were to succeed in her competition with Austria for the headship of Germany.

No progress towards German unity.

Mental trouble necessitated the retirement of Frederick William IV. in 1857. Prince William ruled as Regent until 1861, when he succeeded to the throne as King William I. He had been known in 1848 as a strong opponent of liberal ideas, and when they triumphed for a time in Berlin he withdrew to England. But English constitutional ideas had no attraction for him. He was always primarily a soldier and upheld the prerogatives of the crown in their extreme form. "I am the first king to mount the throne," he said, "since it has been supported by modern institutions, but I do not forget that the crown has come to me from God alone." His reign was full of the conflict between the Divine right of kings and modern institutions; and in the end it was the Divine right of kings that won.

King William I. of Prussia.

The road to German unity under Prussian leadership was prepared by financial and military organization. After 1815 Prussian territory was divided into many parts, with a very long total frontier, and many internal customs barriers. The early effort of Prussia was to establish complete internal free trade within her own

The Prussian Zollverein.

dominions, to lower the frontier dues so as to decrease the inducement to smuggling and at the same time to levy heavy transit dues on all goods passing through Prussian territory. This was the first of the famous Zollvereins. These arrangements were a great advantage to Prussia, and a serious drawback to the commerce of other parts of Germany. Other similar customs unions were in consequence formed—a South German Union consisting of Bavaria and Würtemberg; and a Central German Union in which Hanover was the most important State. There was for a time great jealousy between these three unions; but the advantages of free trade throughout Germany were great and obvious. The greater part of the South German union joined Prussia in 1834; and Hanover came in in 1854. So that long before German political unity had come within the range of practical politics very nearly the whole of Germany had achieved a commercial unity from which Austria was excluded.

Commercial unity of Germany.

The military reorganization of Prussia was equally important, though it attracted at first little attention in Europe. It consisted largely of the complete realization of the ideas of the reformers who after 1806 had worked for the overthrow of Napoleon's power in Germany. The war minister of William I. was Roon: he shares with Moltke and Bismarck the credit for the measures whereby Prussia rose to be the most powerful State in Europe. Universal military service for three years was enforced with a further obligation to serve with the reserve (*Landwehr*) for four years. At the same time new weapons (especially the needle gun) were being adopted, and drill and tactics were being carefully studied.

Military reorganization of Prussia.

The crown of Prussia in pursuit of its aims came at once into vehement conflict with the representative house. The "progressive party" in 1861 held a large majority and demanded that the ministers of the crown should be responsible to the assembly, according to English example; that the upper house should be reformed; and that the obligations of military service should be limited to two years. When the king refused to yield, the Assembly

Conflict of crown and assembly.

refused in September, 1862, to pass the money vote for the army. It seemed that the king must give way; he even thought of abdicating; but it was at this juncture that he appointed Bismarck to be his chief minister and thus opened a new chapter in German history, the most important probably since the death of Charlemagne.

Bismarck was sprung from the landed aristocracy of North Germany. He had been a member of the Prussian Assembly during the period of revolution, and had been utterly opposed to any unification of Germany through the absorption of Prussia into Germany. "Prussians we are," he said, "and Prussians we will remain." He had already been employed in important diplomatic missions, and had upheld the claims of Prussia against Austria with unflinching firmness. When he entered on his new post at the request of the king he promised "that he would never yield." The administration in Prussia was not dependent (as in England) on the representative assembly, but lay entirely with the king. Bismarck had no belief in votes or debates. "The decision on these principles," he said on one occasion, "will come not by Parliamentary debate and not by majorities of votes. Sooner or later the God who directs the battle will cast his iron dice." **Bismarck.**

According to all English experience Bismarck was engaged in a hopeless struggle. William I. and Bismarck faced the representatives of the people as Charles I. and Wentworth faced the Long Parliament; as Louis XVI. and his ministers faced the States-General or the Legislature. But William I. was not destined to take a place in history by the side of Charles I. and Louis XVI.: his reign was to show one of the greatest of all triumphs of royal power over Parliamentary opposition. The different result is to be explained partly by the special history and circumstances of Prussia, partly by the powerful personalities of the Prussian king and his minister; but chiefly it was success in war and foreign affairs that saved William and Bismarck, as it was failure in these departments which did much to drag to ruin the monarchies of France and England. **Crown and People.**

Bismarck came into conflict with the Assembly with regard

to an insurrection of the Poles against Russian rule: the progressives sympathized with the Poles, but Bismarck co-operated with the Russians in the suppression of the rising. He showed his strong opposition to Austria by refusing even to consider a proposal which she brought forward for a new constitution for Germany. But the most important question that he had to deal with was the future of Schleswig-Holstein. This was in its details one of the most obscure diplomatic questions that ever occupied the attention of the governments of Europe, but it led directly up to Bismarck's greatest triumph.

Conflicts between Bismarck and the Assembly.

Frederick III., King of Denmark, was also Duke of Schleswig and of Holstein; but there was no constitutional union between the Kingdom and the Duchies; and, as Frederick III. was childless, his death would raise the question of the future of the Duchies in an acute form. In Schleswig and perhaps in Holstein no woman could succeed and no woman could transmit a right to succeed, while in Denmark there was no such "Salic Law." The question, even if the decision had rested on legal right, was an obscure one. But Bismarck was determined to make it a question on which "the God of battles should throw his iron dice."

The Schleswig-Holstein question.

Should the Duchies be permanently incorporated with Denmark? Should they be entirely taken from Denmark and incorporated with Germany? Should Schleswig go to Denmark while Holstein remained German? These different solutions found support both in and out of Germany. Bismarck gradually came to see a plan by which the Duchies might be incorporated neither with Germany, nor with Denmark, but with Prussia.

The future of the Duchies?

The King of Denmark shortly before his death passed a decree incorporating the Duchies with Denmark. It was a challenge to Germany, and the Diet at Frankfurt protested, for there was still a Diet, though its power was small in comparison with that of Prussia and Austria. It declared that the Duchies should be occupied by a German army pending their decision,

Incorporation with Denmark.

and they leaned to the idea that both the Duchies should go to the Duke of Augustenburg, a claimant with a strong title. The occupation of the Duchy of Holstein took place. But Austria and Prussia were not in the least inclined to leave the matter in the hands of the Diet. They declared against the King of Denmark's action and prepared to drive him out of both Duchies by force. He appealed in vain to Europe. There was much sympathy with him nearly everywhere, but no one was ready to help. He determined, however, not to withdraw without a struggle. But the Danish armies could effect nothing against the joint forces of Prussia and Austria. The little state was soon helpless in their hands.

War.

The victory of the two great powers had not made the future of the Duchies much plainer. Bismarck's own mind was made up. He had not driven out the King of Denmark to give the Duchies to the Duke of Augustenburg. With or without a pretext they must come to Prussia. Austria was equally firm in support of Augustenburg's claims, and the chief members of the Diet were also in favour of that solution. There were attempts at compromise that had a temporary success. The King of Prussia would have welcomed a road to peace. Bismarck was determined on war. A protest against the action of Austria in bringing the question before the Diet led to the outbreak of hostilities.

Occupation of the Duchies by Prussia and Austria.

All technical questions of legal right fell now into the background. The war was not for the Duchies any longer. Prussia was to fight Austria and the rest of Germany for supremacy in Germany. Bismarck secured, as we saw in the last chapter, the valuable support of Italy whereby a large body of Austrian troops was kept south of the Alps. In Germany Prussia was practically without allies, and had to face Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover, as well as the smaller German powers.

War between Prussia and Austria.

The war which followed was the first intimation to Europe of the new power that had risen in her midst. It was also the first war in which modern methods were used. Moltke directed the campaign by telegraph from Berlin, and only came to the front when the decisive blow had to be delivered. The

railways were largely used for the movements of the troops. In comparison with this war the campaigns in the Crimea seemed to belong to a bygone age.

The war of 1866.

Prussia won a rapid and a complete success. The Hanoverian army was defeated at Langensalza in June, as it strove to effect a junction with the Bavarians and Austrians. The decisive battle came at Königgrätz in Bohemia in July. Victory hung in the balance for some time. But the arrival of the Crown Prince, Frederick, decided the issue in favour of Prussia, and brought the war to an end. It was one of the shortest of wars, but few wars have decided more momentous issues.

The settlement after the war.

The statesmanship of Bismarck after the war was as remarkable as the military skill of Moltke during the campaign; and it prepared the way for the next great triumph of Prussia. Austria was excluded from all participation in German affairs. The states of the north which had resisted Prussia—Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel—were annexed to Prussia, so that her territory now stretched without serious interruption across the north of Germany. The Southern States—Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden—were treated with great consideration. There was a real danger that they might come to see in Prussia their most dangerous enemy, and be driven in consequence into alliance with France. Napoleon III. was eagerly working for such an alliance. But Bismarck treated them generously, emphasized their common German nationality and left them their independence. A little later they all entered into secret treaties with Prussia, whereby they promised that in case of war they would join their forces to hers.

The Southern States.

The North German Confederation.

The States of Northern Germany which still retained their independence were joined together in the North German confederation. This was entirely the work of Bismarck, and the later German Empire was only an expansion of it by the admission into it of the South German States. It had many original features, and diverged widely from the example of the British constitution, which had hitherto been taken as a model in most constitutional experiments on the continent. At the

head was the Federal Council, consisting not of elected representatives, but of envoys from the various governments of Germany, and in the hands of this council lay the control of the administration and the initiative in all legislation. Next came the Parliament (Reichstag). It was elected by manhood suffrage, for Bismarck disliked the liberalism of the German middle classes and thought that he would find in the people a more loyal support for his schemes. It controlled finance; it passed or rejected the legislation that was initiated by the federal council; but it was not like the English Parliament; it was not a government: it did not control the ministers, and had no right of direct interference with the executive.

Reichstag.

The administration was in the hands of the ministers, and at their head was the Chancellor. He had a power greater than that of the English Prime Minister. The ministers were responsible to him; and he alone was responsible to the king for their action. We have to go to the Grand Vizier of Turkey or the Frankish Mayors of the Palace to find any subject with an authority so great as his. Bismarck was the first Chancellor. The war had saved him. The gravity of the issues had silenced opposition, and then the magnitude of his triumph had turned him into a popular hero.

The Chancellor.

The war had had important consequences for Austria also. It hurried on a settlement of her long-standing troubles with Hungary. The Hungarian claim for a separate Diet and government had been temperately urged by Deák, and Austria now consented. The claims made by the other nationalities were refused. But henceforth the Austrian Emperor ruled over a "dual" state. Austria and Hungary had little connection except their submission to the same sovereign.

The settlement in Hungary.

Napoleon had seen the outbreak of the war without uneasiness, but he was alarmed to find that he could exercise no influence on the settlement which followed it. Prussia and France were brought into clear rivalry, and in four years' time appeal was again made to "the iron dice."

Napoleon III. and the war.

Napoleon III.'s power seemed for some time firmly established. The industrial and commercial development of the country proceeded at a great pace. Paris was to a large extent rebuilt and became the centre of European fashion. The emperor had the warm support of the Church on the one hand, and of the commercial classes on the other. He was popular with the majority of the people of France in spite of the despotic character of his rule. The chamber was indeed elected by manhood suffrage; but it had only the shadow of power. It could initiate nothing; its debates were secret; and the electors were to a large extent controlled by the agents of the government. The Senate or upper chamber consisted of 150 men nominated by the emperor and completely under his influence. Its chief duty was to check the action of the chamber. The Council of State, consisting of the king's ministers and others whom he appointed, superintended the general administration of the State; but here, too, the emperor maintained a complete ascendency. The ministers were directly responsible to him, and he was always "his own Prime Minister." The local government of France was controlled by his Prefects. He made unscrupulous use of the tribunals for the punishment of his political opponents, and kept strict watch on the press and on education in all its branches.

The bases of Napoleon III.'s power.

Some critics have thought that if he had kept peace he would not have lost his throne. He himself judged differently: he believed that it was necessary "to gratify the military and domineering instincts of France." We have seen how large a share he took in the Crimean War and in the first stage of the war for Italian liberty, and how numerous were the military successes of France. But, though he probably won some popularity in this way, he also alienated strong supporters. The clergy in France were indignant at the alliance between their emperor and the house of Savoy, which was the great antagonist of the papacy in Italy. Europe was alarmed by his acquisition of Nice and Savoy, which seemed to indicate that he was not without the aggressive ideas of the first Napoleon.

The necessity of success.

Moreover, in 1860, he alienated the commercial and moneyed classes by signing a commercial treaty with England. Napoleon III. had himself been convinced by the arguments of Cobden and his associates in the Free Trade movement, and he believed that a reduction in the duties charged on English goods would be to the advantage of French trade. On his own authority and without consulting the chief commercial houses of France, he signed the treaty. If Napoleon III. was a free trader by conviction the commercial classes in France certainly were not, and they were indignant at what seemed to them a betrayal of their interests.

Commercial treaty with England.

After 1860, Napoleon's foreign policy was never again successful. He entered in 1863 on his strange Mexican adventure. His attention had been directed to central America from an early date, and he had dreamed of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Panama. Just now circumstances in America were unusually favourable for European interference. The United States of America were in the throes of their civil war. Mexico was disturbed by recurrent revolution, and the fact that she owed money to Europeans gave an excuse for interference. The first design was for a joint occupation by England, France, and Spain. But the other two states withdrew, and France went on alone.

The Mexican adventure.

It was a fantastic and grandiose project. Mexico was occupied by a French force. A constituent assembly was called and a vote was procured, electing Maximilian of Austria as king or emperor. But then the house of cards collapsed. The Mexicans did not at all accept the new arrangement, and the French troops which supported Maximilian were harassed by continual guerilla warfare. As soon as peace had been restored in the United States the government of the Republic threw all its weight against the scheme of Napoleon, and that was decisive. The French troops were withdrawn. Maximilian was betrayed by his officers and shot. The adventure left behind it nothing but a record of dismal failure and serious financial loss.

Maximilian of Austria in Mexico.

The ground was shaking under Napoleon's feet. The clergy and the commercial classes were both largely alienated

from him. It was necessary to look for support elsewhere. He proposed to make large concessions to liberalism. He took as his chief minister, Olivier, who had been a republican and a fierce opponent of Napoleon's power. What was practically a new Constitution was promised. The elected Assembly was to have the power to initiate laws; the ministers were to be responsible; the sessions of the Senate were to be public; the control of the Assembly over the Budget was to be made real. Then Napoleon appealed again to the people: 7,300,000 votes were given for the new Constitution, 1,500,000 voted against it.

The Liberal Empire.

On June 30, 1870, after the popular vote had been taken, Olivier said, "On whichever side we look there is an absence of troublesome questions: at no moment has the maintenance of peace in Europe been better assured." Fifteen days later war was declared against Prussia: in a little more than two months the second empire disappeared amidst disasters greater than Leipsic and Waterloo.

Optimism in June, 1870.

The causes of the great war which broke out so suddenly are in their main features not difficult to determine. Neither France nor Germany desired war. But Napoleon III. saw that a successful war would establish his tottering power on a firm foundation. He was in ill health, and neither his will nor his intelligence possessed their former strength. Probably he did not wish for a war, but he did not energetically wish to avoid one. On the other side, Bismarck, Moltke and Roon undoubtedly desired war. It would put the coping stone on all their work. The defeat of Austria had established the supremacy of Prussia in Germany; the defeat of France would establish a German Empire under Prussian leadership. The past histories of France and Germany seemed to require one last duel to decide the question of mastery.

Causes of the war.

The excuse for the war—the *casus belli*—was a flimsy one. There had been a revolution in Spain. The Queen, Isabella, had fled to France. The question of her successor had to be decided. Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of the Prussian King, and a Roman Catholic, was a candidate. Napoleon III. protested against

The Spanish question.

the idea of a Hohenzollern mounting the throne of Spain. King William acquiesced in the protest, and the candidature was withdrawn. Napoleon thought he saw an opportunity of scoring a diplomatic triumph. He instructed his ambassador, Benedetti, to demand of the Prussian King that he should promise "to oppose the candidature of Leopold, if it were ever raised on a subsequent occasion." Benedetti met the king at Ems: the king declined to give the promise, but repeated his approval of the withdrawal of Leopold's candidature. The interview had passed without heat, and the affair seemed at an end.

Yet this affair lit the flames of a furious war. The king telegraphed to Bismarck giving an account of what had occurred. Bismarck was at first depressed by the news, for it seemed to remove any possibility of immediate war; he thought even of resigning his post. But then he modified the wording of the message that he had received from the king, and published it in such a form that it seemed to imply that the Prussian King had been insulted and had broken off all communications with France. A loud cry for war was raised in Germany, and was answered by a shout of defiance from Paris.

The Ems telegram.

France anticipated victory with confidence; but she won no battle and hardly an engagement, and had to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs. The German preparations were perfect, while on the side of France all was disorder. The German armies were largely superior in numbers to those of France, and were under the sole guidance of Moltke, while in France there was neither unity of command nor any plan of campaign. The German artillery, too, was far superior to that of France.

Comparison of the forces.

Half a million of German soldiers poured over the French frontier in three main armies. The campaign was conducted with a rapidity unexampled in history, and the chances of France vanished almost with the first incidents of the war. MacMahon was defeated at Wörth with huge loss. Then Marshal Bazaine's army was beaten and shut up in Metz. The emperor and MacMahon (though the emperor had ceased almost to control events)

The Disasters of France.

decided to retreat on Paris and fight the decisive battle under the fortresses of the city. But the empress telegraphed that a retreat would bring about the fall of the dynasty, and the army changed its direction and marched again towards the enemy in the hope that it might effect the relief of Metz. They were caught by the German army at Sedan on September 1, 1870, and after losing 17,000 men Napoleon surrendered with 85,000.

Abolition of the Empire.

At the news of this disaster the empire was at once abolished in Paris, and a Republic declared. The government rested chiefly with Jules Favre (foreign affairs) and Gambetta (home affairs). The new Republic might have had peace if it would have consented to the surrender of Strassburg and Metz; but it proudly answered that it would not surrender an inch of French territory, and the war therefore went on. The German army gathered round Paris, and the long siege began. No one has denied the heroic endurance of the Parisians during the siege, but no one in Europe would stir a finger to help them, and on January 28, 1871, the end came. Paris capitulated. By the treaty of Frankfort Strassburg and Metz were surrendered with Alsace and Lorraine to the Germans; a huge war indemnity was paid.

Surrender of Paris and end of the war.

Foundation of the German Empire.

Before the end had been reached the Prussian King had become the German Emperor. He was acclaimed by his new title in the great hall of Versailles, which had been the scene of the glories of Louis XIV., while Moltke and Bismarck stood by his side.

The Commune of Paris.

The war was over, but before France could go forward to the task of social and political reconstruction she had to pass through another terrible experience. A National Assembly had been called at Versailles to determine the form of the future constitution of France. Paris meanwhile was fermenting with the wildest revolutionary ideas. Socialism, communism, anarchism, were preached with a violence all the greater because of the recent disasters. Paris proclaimed "the Commune"—declared, that is to say, that she would have a government of her own and go

EUROPE
1815-1912
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of France after the Peace of Frankfort 1871 (Savoy & Nice annexed from Sardinia 1860)
Boundary of the North German Confederation after 1866, & of the German Empire after 1871
Prussia since 1866 (Lippe)
OLD. = Oldenburg. L. = Lippe. S.L. = Schaumburg-
ANH. = Anhalt. THUR. = Thuringian States
W. = Waldeck. BRUNS. = Brunswick
HOH. = Hohenzollern. PAL. = Palatine.
SCHB. Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen and Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.
Kingdom of Italy formed by the union of the various States with the Kingdom of Sardinia
The figures (1859) show date of Union
Balkan Peninsula
Boundary of Turkey under direct rule of the Sultan after the Treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Constantinople (1832)
Country ceded by Russia by the Treaty of Paris (1856) but restored by the Treaty of Berlin (1878)
Rumania
Servia
Montenegro
Bulgaria
after Treaty of Berlin
Bound. of Greece since 1881
Bosnia & Herzegovina under Austrian occupation 1878, annexed 1908
Union of Norway and Sweden (1814) repealed (1905)
Atlantic Ocean
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
BRITISH ISLANDS
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
Dublin
Edinburgh
London
Channel Is. (British)
NORWAY
Christiania
Stockholm
FINLAND
St. Petersburg
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
RUSSIA
Moscow
Copenhagen
Bornholm
Danzig
Königsberg
Stettin
Berlin
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Cologne
Frankfort
KINGDOM OF POLAND (1815-1915)
Warsaw
Posen
Breslau
Dresden
Brussels
Rouen
Brest
Paris
Nantes
Orleans
Tours
Sedan
FRANCE
Rochefort
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Toulouse
Lyons
Grenoble
Nice
Corsica
Marseilles
Toulon
Geneva
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
TYROL
Trieste
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Parma
Modena
Bologna
ROMAGNA
Florence
TUSCANY
MARCHES (1860)
PAPAL STATES (1870)
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Messina
Reggio
Sicily
Malta (British)
Sardinia
Tunis
ALGERIA (French)
MOROCCO (French Protectorate)
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Tagus
Douro
Madrid
ANDORRA
SPAIN
Barcelona
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Valencia
Seville
Gibraltar (British)
Ceuta (Spanish)
Belgrade
SERVIA
Danube
Sofia
E. RUMELIA
BULGARIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosphorus
Dardanelles
Salonica
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
Monastir
Scutari
Durazzo
Prevesa
Ionian Islands (under British protection 1815-63; ceded to Greece)
GREECE
Athens
CRETE (Autonomous State since 1898)
ASIA MINOR
Cyprus (British occupation since 1878)
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Cairo
EGYPT
TRIPOLI (Italian Influence)
Sebastopol
CRIMEA
Batum
Kars
RUMANIA
Bucharest
WALLACHIA
MOLDAVIA
Pruth
Dniester
BESSARABIA
Volga
Caspian Sea
Emery Walker sc.

her own way independently of the rest of France. The movement was partly a republican protest against the monarchial principles which were supposed to be held by the Assembly at Versailles. It was determined that the movement must be suppressed at all costs, and the armies of France were turned against the capital of France. The German troops, not yet withdrawn, looked on at this ghastly epilogue to the war. After much fighting and great cruelty on both sides the Commune was crushed.

Amidst such birth pangs was the third Republic born. There were long and fierce controversies as to the precise form it should take. Thiers was the first President, but it was not until 1875 that it was formally constituted. The Third Republic.

Fyffe, *Modern Europe ;* Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe ;* De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire ;* H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism ;* Headlam, *Bismarck.*

CHAPTER XVII

The Present Age

THE great war of 1870–1871 makes so clear an epoch in the history of Europe that it seems well to bring this long narrative to an end with it, and to glance at the forty years which have elapsed since then in an even slighter and less connected manner. And first, looking back on the twenty-seven centuries of which some account has been given in this book, it will be well to mark some of the most obvious parallels and contrasts between past generations and our own.

The modern European state in all its various phases of republic, constitutional monarchy and absolutism, is something widely different from anything that Greece or Rome or the Middle Ages knew. The narrow limits of the Greek state are nowhere to be found ; there are many modern states whose territories include far more square miles than those that were

contained within the limits of the Roman Empire. Nor is the expansion of the state observable only in area. The old social restrictions to citizenship have disappeared. Even in those European states which are least democratic, the whole of the population shares in the rights of citizenship. Slavery and serfdom have alike disappeared. If this gap separates the modern world from the political ideas of Greece and Rome, still wider is the difference between the modern and the mediæval state. Where feudalism was found in full development the State could hardly be said to exist, and in all lands there was such variety of privileges, rights, laws and customs that, though our political institutions are derived from the Middle Ages and not from the classical world, it is far easier for us to understand and sympathize with the political ideas and aspirations of Greece or Rome than with those of France or England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has been maintained that the classical world was more modern than the Middle Ages, and it is true in political ideas as well as in much else.

The ancient, mediæval, and modern States.

Two characteristics may be noted in the European states of the twentieth century. First, they are or they tend to become national. It was the great task of the nineteenth century to make them so, and though the complete adoption of the national idea would produce many more revolutions in Europe (and would perhaps prove how impossible it is to define exactly what is meant by the word "nationality") it is a principle widely accepted and enforced, that a people which feels itself to be one should have a government of its own.

Characteristics of the modern State

Another marked characteristic of the modern state is the wide range of its activities. In this, too, the modern idea of the State corresponds more closely to the classical than the mediæval. The doctrine of individualism and the limitation of the activities of the State is still preached, but it is nowhere practised. The maintenance of internal order and the defence of the frontier do not complete the duties of the State in the eyes of any modern statesman. Nearly all re-echo the words of

The omni-competent modern State.

Aristotle that it is the business of the State to secure "not only life but a good life" for its citizens. Since 1871 the functions of the State have everywhere developed enormously: and the example of German success has been a powerful influence in favour of this development. The State undertakes a large number of tasks which it would not have ventured to touch half a century ago. It controls every department of life; and every difficulty that arises is met by a demand for the extension of State control. It educates the great mass of the citizens; it takes measures for their health; it determines the circumstances and surroundings under which they shall work; it begins even to determine what wages shall be paid. It is itself the greatest capitalist and perhaps the greatest landowner. Literature, newspapers, and religion are as yet usually outside the sphere of its activities; but indications are not wanting that it may begin to attempt to control them also.

The tasks of the modern State.

The first object, then, that greets our eyes as we survey Europe is "the national omni-competent" State. But there are signs also of movement in a different direction. If nationalism is a feature of the times, so is internationalism, and the latter has made enormous advances in the last fifty years. Capital and Labour—the two still unreconciled opponents of the modern world—are both international, and becoming more so. Capital finds investments in foreign countries as readily as at home: and it is now recognized that the international interests of capital are a great security, though not a complete one, against wars between the civilized States of the world. The organization and sympathies of labour are even more openly international. Socialism is a movement common to all the world, and trades-unionists from many lands meet in congress and regard their interests as identical. Further, art, science, literature and thought are all common to the whole world. Universities have become far more exclusively national than they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but, if scholars and teachers travel less, books and ideas circulate easily, as easily in spite of difficulties arising from language, as when Latin was a common medium for all educated people.

Modern internationalism.

The omni-competent State, too, has many adversaries. There are, in the first place, those who sympathize to a greater or less extent with the views of the anarchist and regard all coercion by the State as wrong. Then there is everywhere in Western Europe freedom of association; and where association is free there may arise at any time some organization—whether it be called trades-union, international league or church—which may claim the allegiance of its members even before the State itself. We have seen how the Roman Empire was afraid of associations which it did not control, and its fear was based on reasonable grounds.

Limitations to the power of the State.

The position which religion holds in the modern world is a feature again, in which it more resembles the classical than mediæval times. Religion is still, without doubt, a great force: it is, perhaps, as great a force as it ever was. But the methods and the channels through which it exercises its influence are widely different. How absolute is the contrast in this respect between Europe in the twentieth and Europe in the thirteenth century! All organs of unity have disappeared from it. There is no one who claims to be universal emperor; there is no belief anywhere that a universal emperor is desirable. There is no church, no doctrine, no form of worship which comes near to finding general acceptance. The spiritual life of Europe, as well as its political life, has no representative. The various churches which exist side by side have all of them abandoned the practice of compulsion, and most of them have lost even the desire to compel. Religious toleration in the widest sense of the phrase is one of the most unquestioned gains of the modern world. We have found that what most statesmen in the sixteenth century thought impossible is really quite easy; men of different faiths can live side by side with one another in the same State.

Religion.

In political and religious matters there are many features then which remind us of past ages. What is new and unexampled in the social condition of the modern State is the emergence of social questions as the controlling force in political life, and even as an important factor in the religious thought of the time. Social conditions have always exercised

a great influence on the character and development of every State. Modern research emphasises the share that they had in determining the external and internal life of the Athenian State and in precipitating the decline of the Roman Empire. Feudalism, as we have seen, corresponded at every point with the social conditions of the time. But the world has not known before, to anything like the same extent, the organized social movements which distinguish our age. They had begun long before 1871. They are to be found in the first French Revolution; they exercised a preponderating influence over the movements in France from 1848 to 1852; they appeared in a wild form in the Commune of 1871. But since then their force has immensely increased and their organization been correspondingly improved. There are strong labour movements in every country in Western Europe; but it is in France that they are most revolutionary; in Germany that they are most powerful. The German Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia are reckoned the most powerful State organizations in Europe to-day. They have done their utmost by direct and indirect methods to resist the growth of Socialism, but they have failed to produce any impression upon it. Over three million votes were cast in its favour at the last elections to the Reichstag, and its power there, where it already counts over one hundred votes, would be vastly greater if the number of representatives in the Assembly bore an equitable proportion to the number of their supporters. There is less sign in Germany than elsewhere of yielding to the demands of Socialism. Two admirably organized armies face one another in the political arena. There is no more interesting question in Europe than the future of this struggle—its methods, its results, its influence on Germany and on other European States.

The new Social Character of the age.

Socialism in Germany.

From 1871 to 1914 the States of Western Europe were at peace with one another. There were conflicts between Russia and Turkey and between Greece and Turkey; there were frequent wars of greater or less importance against the populations of Asia and Africa; Great Britain fought against the Boers; Spain fought against the United States of America. But the Powers of

Peace in Europe since 1871.

Western Europe did not draw the sword against one another. It is not possible to find any other period of forty years since the end of the second century A.D. during which there has been so complete a cessation of war over so large a part of the surface of Europe. Yet the atmosphere of the time was by no means a peaceful one. Rumours of wars were constant, and preparations for war went on without intermission and with constantly accelerating pace. The States of continental Europe, without any important exception, called on all their citizens for military service, and the money spent on armies and navies increased year by year. The number of men under arms in Europe rose to five millions, and the annual naval and military expenditure reached three hundred millions sterling. Many voices foretold that some great war must arise from this constant preparation for war.

Universal preparation for war.

In Western Europe there have been few important external changes during this period, in spite of the fermentation of ideas and the national jealousies. Portugal has shaken off her ancient and effete monarchy and has declared herself a Republic (1910). Norway and Sweden, which had been united by the Peace of Vienna, have divided into two separate kingdoms and the revolutionary change was accomplished without violence (1905). These have been the chief external political changes. During the same time, in Western Europe, there have been no important changes of frontier. What the great states were in 1871, so far as their European possessions are concerned, that they are still in 1914. Nor as yet can we anticipate the changes which the present war is certain to introduce in them.

External stability of the last forty years.

But a different story has to be told if we pass to the East of Europe. The decadence and disintegration of Turkey have gone on continuously; and nearly all round its circumference there have been changes of frontier and the formation of new states. The two forces that have constantly undermined the power of Turkey are religion and nationality. The majority of the population of the Turkish dominions in Europe are Christians of the Eastern or "orthodox" Church, and the Mohammedan

The storm centre in the Balkans.

yoke has pressed on them with irritating and oppressive force. They have all felt, moreover, that the Turks are aliens, and they have been accustomed to look to Russia for protection and sympathy. Greece had established itself in the south in complete independence as early as 1829. The mountain state of Montenegro in the west, after heroic combats, had won for itself practical independence, though the Turkish Government had never recognized its existence. To the north of the Danube, Roumania possessed self government, but remained nominally within the limits of the Turkish Empire. South of the Danube, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Servia, and, above all, Bulgaria, were in continual unrest. The Turks were conscious of the weakness of their hold upon these peoples, and looked to methods of terror to keep them in subordination. There were many promises of reform, but all came to nothing. In 1875 the mutterings of rebellion developed into open defiance of the Turkish power in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The insurgents won some early successes, but then they were overwhelmed by the Turkish armies. At the same time the Bulgarians, who were on the eve of a similar movement for independence, were punished by the Turks with terrible cruelties. The Bulgarian massacres sent a thrill of horror through all Europe.

Disintegration of the Turkish Empire.

It was recognized by diplomatists that the Balkan peninsula was the storm-centre of Europe. Russia and Austria were interested as neighbours; Great Britain because of her commercial interests in the Mediterranean. There were conferences, proposals and counter-proposals in plenty. At last, in 1877, Russia sent an ultimatum, and, as her demands were not accepted, war came at once. The other great Powers stood aloof and looked on at the duel

Russo-Turkish War.

In the war both the Turkish troops and their commanders showed unexpected powers, and it seemed for a time as though the Russians might be driven back behind the Danube; but in the end the numbers, wealth and organization of Russia, and the corruption of the Turkish Government produced their inevitable results. The Russians penetrated into the neighbourhood of Constantinople

Victory of Russia.

and Turkey lay at their mercy. The Treaty of San Stefano was forced upon the Turks, and if it had been put into effect Turkey would have ceased to be an important power in Europe. But here the European powers again intervened, Great Britain under Disraeli taking a leading part. The power of Germany and the influence of Bismarck were displayed by the choice of Berlin as the scene of a European congress, which led up, after much discussion, to the Treaty of Berlin. The deep humiliation of Turkey implied in the Treaty of San Stefano was avoided in the Berlin Treaty; but her loss in territory and prestige was very great. Roumania, Montenegro and Servia were declared sovereign and independent states. Bosnia and Herzegovina, while remaining nominally within the Turkish dominions, were placed under the administration of Austria. Instead of the great state of Bulgaria, which had been planned by the Treaty of San Stefano, a comparatively small state with that name was established, stretching only as far south as the Balkans, but enjoying practical independence. To the south of the Balkans a state was created under the name of Roumelia, with large powers of self government, but still under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Great Britain claimed Cyprus as the reward for her services in the defence of the Sultan.

Conference and Treaty of Berlin.

It was assumed by diplomacy that this was the last dismemberment of Turkey, and the phrase "the future integrity of the dominions of the Sultan" appeared again. But no force seems to avail to buttress up the Turkish power. Roumelia and Bulgaria were united in 1885. Egypt passed under British rule in 1882. Crete was placed under Greek rule in 1898. In 1908, after a revolution had swept the Sultan from the throne and raised a hope of internal reforms, the Austrian Empire took advantage of the internal weakness of Turkey to declare the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time Bulgaria declared her complete independence. In 1912 the Italians invaded and occupied Tripoli. The adventure proved more serious than they had anticipated, but they held their own against all efforts to dislodge them until Turkey was forced to cede them the country, under the

Dismemberment of Turkey since the Treaty of Berlin.

nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, by the great war that broke out in the Balkans.

The Revolution at Constantinople in 1908 and the action of Austria in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina had produced a general fermentation throughout the peninsula. All hopes of reconciliation between the Turks and the subject populations soon died away, and the Christian States of the Balkans saw in the dissensions of the Turks a chance of expelling them from Europe. A secret "Balkan League" was formed between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Servia; they laid aside for the time their own quarrels (which were a little later to lead to so fierce a war) and agreed to concentrate all their efforts on the defeat of the Turks. The war began in October, 1913, and found the Turks unprepared. Greeks, Servians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians all gained victories against them; but the heaviest fighting fell to the lot of the Bulgarians, who defeated the Turks in two great battles, advanced to the lines of Chataldja, which guard Constantinople, and subsequently took the great city of Adrianople. The war seemed at an end, and a congress was called in London to settle the terms of peace.

These efforts, though sincerely made and renewed, proved unavailing, and, while in the West diplomatists still talked of peace, a new and more fearful struggle broke out in the Balkans. The jealousies of the powers were bitter in the extreme; Bulgaria and her King Ferdinand thought that the efforts they had made gave them the right to the greater part of the spoil; the rivalry between Bulgaria and Greece for the possession of Salonica had led to bloodshed even during the first war, and was one of the chief issues in the second. Bulgaria now found herself at war with all the other Balkan powers.

In the struggle which broke out in June, 1913, the Bulgarians fared even worse than the Turks had done. The Roumanians joined their enemies. The Turks reoccupied Adrianople. The Bulgarians were beaten again and again, and soon begged for terms from their opponents and from Europe. This second struggle produced horrors not surpassed by anything in medieval warfare. "The Balkans," said an eye-witness, "is one vast madhouse where sanity seems ridiculous

and folly wisdom." At the end of July an armistice was granted, and peace followed before long.

A new era had opened for the Balkans, though the high hopes of the early days of the struggle—when a confederation of the Balkan States seemed possible—were far from being fulfilled. The Turks still held Constantinople and regained Adrianople; but their days as an important European power were at an end. Bulgaria gained access to the Aegean sea, but fell short of the wide dominions that had at one time seemed within her grasp. Servia, with enlarged borders, became a considerable power; she seemed to have taken her revenge for the battle of Kossovo, in which the Servian Empire had been crushed by the Turks in 1398; but she was still without access to the sea, and still saw in Bosnia and Herzegovina millions of the same race as herself subject to Austrian rule. Greece had gained greatly in territory and prestige: Crete was united to her: Salonica was recognised as Greek: it seems certain that once again, after so many centuries, Athens will count as an important influence in European affairs. There is assured hope for the future of the Balkans; though it was from this quarter that the spark came which lit the conflagration which now blazes in Europe (1914).

The relations of the great powers of Europe have, since 1871, turned on the unceasing antagonism of France and Germany. The catastrophe of 1870–1871 removed France for a time from the list of the great powers: but she showed capacity for recovery which surprised Europe and alarmed Germany. The huge war-indemnity, which had been imposed upon her by the Treaty of Frankfurt, was quickly paid off. The German troops were thereupon withdrawn from their occupation of French soil. The Republic was defined in 1875 and, in spite of constant prophecies of disaster and frequent menace from within and without, it gained in stability with every decade. Adopted in the first instance only "as the form of government which divided Frenchmen least," it has now won the real loyalty of the large majority of Frenchmen. There have been many proposals for changes in the form and spirit of the Republic, but there are few now who doubt that the Republic in some form is the government best adapted to the

Recovery of France.

needs of France. It has been attacked by army leaders, by clerical parties, by labour movements of various characters; but it has triumphed over all. The ministries have changed rapidly, and few have left behind them abiding memories; the Presidents have succeeded no better in stamping their personalities on the State; but through whatever agencies the Republic has grappled with its problems, military, diplomatic and social, with as large a measure of success as has attended the efforts of any other European State.

In Germany the constitution remained what it was in 1871. The southern States of Germany entered into the framework of the North German Confederation, and no revision of the constitution was necessary. The Emperor William died in 1888, and was succeeded for a few months by his son Frederick; but his health was broken before his accession, and his death in the same year allowed the present Emperor William II. to succeed to the throne. His impetuous and masterful spirit could not brook the control, which the influence and personality of Bismarck exercised over all German affairs. Friction between the king and his chancellor led to Bismarck's retirement in 1890, and with him by far the most prominent actor passed from the European stage. Henceforth the German Emperor, with less domineering chancellors, had to face the great problems with which Germany was confronted. The development of the country in wealth and every kind of material prosperity was amazing and perhaps unexampled in European history, and German organization by its success became the model for other European States. We have already spoken of its huge and constantly increasing expenditure on army and navy, and of the increasing growth of organized socialism. Despite its wealth and strength the future of Germany was by no means without grave internal problems. Nowhere in Europe was the State so clearly divided against itself.

Power and retirement of Bismarck.

Progress and prosperity of Germany.

France, immediately after the great war, was completely isolated, and that isolation was maintained for some time. Under the direction of Bismarck, Germany entered into alliance with Austria in 1879, and in 1881 the two empires

were joined by the Kingdom of Italy. It was not until the fall of Bismarck that France was able to find an ally to counterbalance this powerful Triple Alliance. But in 1891 there was a great change introduced into the European situation by the alliance of France with Russia. The two States stood and stand wide apart in social condition, in government and in national aspirations; but they were drawn together by their common jealousy and fear of Germany. The end of French isolation was hailed in France with transports of joy. For many years the Dual Alliance faced the Triple and kept Europe in uneasy equilibrium. Then in 1904 came another important modification of the European situation, when Great Britain entered into friendly relations of the warmest kind with France, if not into actual alliance. Thus now the Triple Alliance was confronted by the Triple Entente which approximated very closely to another Triple Alliance, and for a long time this grouping of Europe seemed favourable to peace.

The Triple Alliance.

Alliance of France and Russia.

Entente of England and France.

But a peace which proceeded from equality in the forces opposed to one another, and which was accompanied by constant preparation for war, fell far short of the ideal. A few voices were raised to declare that war is in itself a good thing, and that without its severe discipline the moral fibre of Europe would degenerate. But the almost universal feeling was that the burden of armaments and war preparations was a crushing load. As the cry of poverty for redress grew louder men thought with increasing regret of the millions of men who were employed in unproductive labour, and the hundreds of millions of pounds that might be spent on work that would make the whole community richer. There never was a time when more thought was devoted to discovering the "way of peace." The chief contribution to the desired end was made by the Czar, when in 1898 he invited the great powers of Europe to meet in conference at the Hague and discuss means for the disarmament of Europe. So far as disarmament is concerned the conference was an entire failure; but it resulted in the establishment of an international tribunal at the Hague,

Efforts for peace.

The Hague Conference.

which has already contributed to the settlement of many international disputes by arbitration, and promises even greater usefulness.

Lovers of peace therefore and those who cherish the hope of European concord, if not of European unity, balancing these happy omens against the military passions and preparations of many States and above all of Germany, dreamed of a dawning peace that should dispel the black and threatening clouds of war. The midsummer of 1914 came and there seemed no reason to suspect any lurking dangers. Then in less than a fortnight all was altered and Europe at the beginning of August was ablaze with an unexampled conflagration, greater even than that which devastated Europe just a century ago. It would not be in harmony with the aim of this book to attempt to apportion the responsibility. It was from the Balkan Peninsula that the first movement came which, rapidly increasing in violence as it passed from State to State, soon threw the whole civilized world into violent commotion. The heir to the Austrian throne was murdered at Serajevo on June 28th. The Servian government was suspected of complicity and Austria-Hungary demanded redress in an ultimatum of so violent a character that it was in itself an act of war. Russia, always the protector of the Slavonic States of the Balkans, showed herself ready to protect Servia against the monstrous demands of Austria. Germany declared her determination to support Austria. France could not refuse to abide by her alliance with Russia. Efforts were made by the British foreign minister to settle the quarrel by conciliation and conference. But all was in vain. Italy indeed declared that she was not bound to support her allies of the Triple Alliance in a war which was aggressive on their side; and in consequence remained neutral. But Great Britain was drawn into the war by her close friendship with France and her promise to protect the neutrality of Belgium which was attacked by Germany, though Germany had herself guaranteed that neutrality. It cannot be doubted that the vast majority of the population of Europe desired peace; but they found themselves dragged helplessly into the teeth of the terrible machine, which it had been

The war of 1914.

the chief business of the statesmen of Europe for half a century to construct. As this edition goes to press Belgium—that hive of industry and home of lovely art—lies in ruins, and on the Aisne and the Eastern frontier of Germany armies are engaged in an undecided struggle, which engages the effort, not of the thousands of soldiers that fought in medieval battles; nor the tens of thousands who fought the battles of Napoleon; nor the hundreds of thousands who joined issue in the Franco-Prussian war; but positively of millions.

The effect of such a catastrophe is at first to shake the foundations of all hopes for the future of mankind. How many theories have been disproved! "If you want peace prepare for war," said some; and the mightiest preparations ever known have issued in a war of unexampled magnitude. Others had said that the deadly nature of modern weapons had made war impossible; but it is clear that modern men can face death from submarines, mines, flying machines and guns of fearful destructiveness as readily as the Romans faced the spears of the Carthaginians or the English confronted the cross-bowmen of France. If peace come it will not come through fear. Yet again it had been held by some that the growth of democracy had changed for ever the character of wars; that the wars of the future would be fought for social or national ends and that men would no longer go to battle because Kings and diplomatists had quarrelled; but Europe is now engaged in a war which is as much the work of Kings and diplomatists as the wars of the eighteenth century.

Its disappointments.

But a study of history—and especially of a long stretch of history—ought to allow us to see things in a true perspective. Not even this war, with all its sufferings and atrocities, should make us lose sight of the general features of the development of Europe, which, if it discourages a facile optimism, still permits of hope.

Sursum corda.

Let us repeat the grounds on which our hopes rested before the present convulsion. The whole globe is at last explored with small and probably unimportant exceptions. And it is clear now that the world is not destined to be controlled by Europe

The world grows nearer to unity.

or entirely by nations of European origin. A marked feature of the last forty years has been the advance of non-European nations to a position of greater equality with the nations of Europe. Abyssinia has defeated the Italians. Japan has humiliated Russia. The fear that China would be partitioned among the European Powers is passing away. There may be wars again among the nations of Europe for colonial and foreign possessions; but this cause of war is not likely ever again to disturb the peace of Europe in the persistent way in which it acted in the eighteenth century. The constant progress of science, and of invention (perhaps the most important fact of the nineteenth century, but one that we cannot deal with here), has brought men into closer and more constant intercourse with one another. Nations do not necessarily like one another the better for knowing one another more thoroughly: throughout history it is neighbouring nations that have engaged in the longest and most bitter feuds. But modern industrial and scientific progress has almost imperceptibly broken down the barriers between nation and nation; the organization of capital and labour, as we saw in the early part of this chapter, is to some extent independent of the limitations of the State. No civilized and developed nation can suffer now without all the others suffering to some extent as well.

These views will all need a close re-examination when peace makes calm thought possible again, but they have still force. The study of history itself must lead to the encouragement of the same hopes. We may see the periods of war growing shorter and the periods of peace longer; we may see peace preserved over ever wider and wider areas. No single phrase will sum up the impression that the survey of the human record leaves upon us; but it can hardly even now be doubted that the history of man shows us the slow evolution of peace.

The evolution of peace.

This book has been occupied with a survey of rather less than three thousand years, the period of human life in Europe for which we have contemporary documentary evidence. There lies behind it another period of human existence of unknown length, but certainly vastly longer than the period of which we have record.

Unity of the Past and Present and Future.

And beyond the present there lies the immeasurable future up to the threshold of which our story has brought us. "The dark imminence of this unknown future," wrote Professor Bury in his inaugural address at Cambridge, "in front of us, like a vague wall of mist every instant receding with all its indiscernible contents of world-wide changes, soundless revolutions, silent reformations, undreamed ideas, new religions, must not be neglected if we would grasp the unity of history in its highest sense. For though we are unable to divine what things indefinite time may evolve . . . yet the unapparent future has a claim to make itself felt as an idea controlling our perspective. It commands us not to regard the series of what we call ancient and mediæval history as leading up to the modern age and the twentieth century; it bids us consider the whole sequence up to the present moment as probably no more than the beginning of a social and psychical development, whereof the end is withdrawn from our view by countless millenniums to come."

Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;
The Form remains, the Function never dies;
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish; be it so!
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know.

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